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A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL

CORPUS OF FLORENTINE PAINTING

BY
RICHARD OFFNER WITH KLARA STEINWEG
CONTINUED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
MIKLÓS BOSKOVITS AND MINA GREGORI

GIUNTI

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PAINTERS IN FLORENCE AFTER THE "BLACK DEATH." THE MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA AND MATTEO DI PACINO

BY

SONIA CHIODO

SECTION IV

VOLUME IX

EDITED BY

MIKLÓS BOSKOVITS

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CONTENTS

Editor's Foreword 9
Author's Preface 11

THE MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

The Master of the Misericordia and his Paintings oo
Documents and Authenticated Facts and Dates of Giovanni Gaddi oo
List of Plates oo
Catalogue oo
Further Attributions to the Master of the Misericordia oo

MATTEO DI PACINO

Matteo di Pacino: Life and Work oo
Documents and Authenticated Facts and Dates of Matteo di Pacino oo
List of Plates oo
Catalogue oo
Further Attributions to Matteo di Pacino oo

General Bibliography oo
Indices oo

THE MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

THE MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA AND HIS PAINTINGS

The Master of the Misericordia in the art-historical literature

"Master of the Virgin of Mercy" was the provisional name given by Richard Offner in the 1920s to the two painted compartments representing *Stories of St. Eligius* (pls. III[1-3]), then in the Cambò collection in Barcelona, and to a small panel of the *Madonna della Misericordia and a group of kneeling nuns*, in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (pl. XII).[1] Expressed in a communication of private character and only published some decades later, Offner's opinion not surprisingly met with no immediate reactions in the art-historical literature. The *Madonna della Misericordia*, namepiece of the group, had hitherto been related to the circle of Agnolo Gaddi, an attribution that can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. Osvald Sirén in fact considered it a precocious testimony of Agnolo's painting and it continued to occupy a central place in the reconstruction of the youthful activity of this artist proposed by Roberto Salvini in 1936.[2] The two compartments with *Stories of St. Eligius*, on the other hand, had been accompanied with an attribution to Taddeo Gaddi ever since they had belonged to the collection of Giuseppe Toscanelli (Pontedera, Pisa); they retained this attribution in the official catalogues of the Museo Nacional del Prado, where they have been displayed since 1941, long after more discerning scholars had re-assigned them to the Master of the Misericordia.[3]

Throughout the second quarter of the last century, and also thereafter, Richard Offner had continued to gather round the namepiece in the Accademia a large group of paintings and had begun their systematic analysis, with a view to the publication of a monographic study on the Master in Series IV of the *Corpus of Florentine Painting*. That publication never happened. Fugitive mentions in various other volumes of the *Corpus* are unfortunately the only published trace we have of the progress of these studies: in 1956 Offner thus cited as a work of the "Orcagnesque Master of the Virgin of Mercy" a processional cross painted on both sides, donated by Jack Linsky to the Metropolitan Museum in New York (pl. XI[1-2]).[4] Two years later he added to the group the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in the Pinacoteca Stuard in Parma (pl. II[2]) and the half-length *Madonna and Child* then on the art market in Florence, previously ascribed more vaguely to an artist of the circle of Bernardo

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1 According to Sánchez Cantón (in *Arte Espanol*, XIV, 1942, 1), Richard Offner in 1927 had attributed the two compartments with *Stories of St. Eligius*, then in the Cambò collection in Barcelona, to the Master of the Virgin of Mercy in the Accademia (pls. III[1-2]). This claim is confirmed by the manuscript notes on the back of the photographs kept in the archive of the *Corpus*, in some cases accompanied by dates in the 1920s.

2 *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 1890, vol. X, No. 8562; Sirén, 1908, 59-60, 92; Sirén, in *L'Arte*, XXIV, 1921, I, 98; Salvini, in *Riv. Arte*, 1934, XVI, 218-220 and 1936, 7-11, 18-19.

3 The attribution to the Master of the Virgin of Mercy or Master of the Misericordia, proposed not only by Richard Offner but also – verbally – by Roberto Longhi (in Marcucci, 1965, 134) and then by Zeri (in *Gaz. B.-Arts*, LXXI, 1968, 74-75) and Boskovits (1975, 369), was accepted only in the recent catalogue of the Cambò collection (*Barcelone Exh. Cat.*, 1990, 135-144) and in the later editions of the catalogue of the Museo del Prado (*Madrid Mus. Cat.*, 1994, 221-223; *Madrid Mus. Cat.*, 1996a, 206; *Madrid Mus. Cat.*, 1996b, 446; Rogelio Buendía, 2000, 221-223).

4 Offner, *Corpus*, III/VI, 1956, 62 n. 2, 166 n. 1. In this case too, however, Richard Offner had notified the owner of his attribution of the Crucifix to the Master of the Virgin of Mercy as early as 1935 (in Wehle, 1940, 14).

Daddi (pl. XLVII).[5] Some of the paintings that Richard Offner had attributed to the Master of the Misericordia were published, as such, by Federico Zeri,[6] but Offner's complete list, comprising some 80 works, remained unpublished until the posthumous volume edited by Hayden B. J. Maginnis in 1981.[7] The research materials collected for the cataloguing of the paintings by Offner in collaboration with Klara Steinweg have also remained unpublished, but are still preserved in the archive of the *Corpus of Florentine Painting* in Florence. This documentation, as is attested by the many references to it in the text of the catalogue entries that accompany this volume, represented the point of departure for my work.

The identification of the artistic personality of the Master of the Misericordia, long remained confined to the more rarefied world of connoisseurship. Its reception by a wider public only came later, long after the studies in which that identification had been formulated. Nothing of the advanced level reached by the research of Richard Offner on this master thus transpires from the pages dedicated to the *Madonna della Misericordia* by Luisa Marcucci in her catalogue of Tuscan paintings of the fourteenth century in the Gallerie Fiorentine; she cites, instead, the opinion of Roberto Longhi, who had independently distinguished the master of the namepiece in the Galleria dell'Accademia from Agnolo Gaddi. Longhi recognized as a work by the same artist the two compartments with *Stories of St. Eligius* in the Cambò collection in Barcelona, and thus proposed the conventional name of Master of St. Eligius.[8] Marcucci, underlining the high qualitative level of the Florentine painting and endorsing its connection with the *Stories of St. Eligius*, then added a series of further paintings to this exiguous corpus: the compartments of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, Nativity* and *Conversion of St. Paul* also in the Galleria dell'Accademia (pls. XX[1-2]);[9] the lateral of a polyptych with a *Martyr Saint* (pl. II[3]), already ascribed by Bernard Berenson to the painter of the *Stories of St. Eligius*;[10] and lastly two paintings subsequently recognized as the work of other masters.[11] Commenting on the figurative characteristics of the *Madonna della Misericordia*, Marcucci noted the combination in this panel of echoes of the figurative style of Bernardo Daddi and influences of the circle of Andrea Orcagna in the period around 1350, such as to suggest affinities "with the finest results" of Jacopo di Cione in his mature activity; on the other hand, "the delicate modelling in conjunction with the fragility of line, the pale yellow and pink intonation of colour, [...] and the considerable but sober decorative taste" would suggest, she argued, contacts with the figurative culture of Siena, probably through the mediation of the activity of the Camaldolese monk and miniaturist Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci and the "school of Santa Maria degli Angeli", which she considered important for the renewal of Florentine art in an "international" spirit. On the basis of these considerations, the painting was dated to an advanced stage in the artist's career, around 1380. She proposed a slightly earlier dating, c. 1375, for the panel with the *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, Nativity* and *Conversion of St. Paul* (pl. XX[1-2]), due to its closer stylistic and iconographic affinities with the works of Taddeo Gaddi, such as to suggest "a youthful product of an artist such as Niccolò Gerini or Agnolo [Gaddi]", though one who was probably active already by the mid-century.

Subsequently, as part of an attempted reconstruction of the successive phases in the career of another anonymous painter, the Master of Santa Verdiana, Miklós Boskovits recognized a compartment of a dismantled polyptych representing a *Bishop Saint*, now in the Worcester Art Museum (MA), as a work of the Master of the Misericordia (pl. II[6]). In the powerful plastic relief, monumentality, *gravitas* and essential immobility of this figure, Boskovits detected signs of the far-reaching legacy of the figurative culture that had characterized the circle of Andrea Orcagna and been transmitted to painters of younger generations, such as the Master of Santa Verdiana, also through the intermediary of the Master of the Misericordia.[12]

Further additions to the corpus of the Master of the Misericordia were then proposed by Federico Zeri, in his review of Luisa Marcucci's catalogue of the paintings in the Gallerie Fiorentine, published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1968.[13] The painter's career which, according to the essential definition formulated by Zeri, "started out from Daddesque and Orcagnesque forms to reach results not very different from those of the first phase of Agnolo Gaddi", was here for the first time documented with a group of no less than sixteen panels. Apart from those already cited by Offner, Marcucci and Boskovits, Zeri's reconstruction comprised new and important accessions, including a proposed third compartment of the series with *Stories of St. Eligius*, namely the panel of the *Saint's Funeral* (pl. III[3]), formerly recorded by Bernard Berenson, in his repertoire of "homeless pictures", as a work close to Lorenzo di Niccolò.[14] Zeri's augmented corpus also included an attempted reconstruction of the dismantled and in part dispersed polyptych which had at its centre the *Madonna and Child* in the Pinacoteca Stuard in Parma, flanked in the laterals by the *Bishop Saint* in the Worcester Art Museum, the *Martyr Saint* formerly in the Lanz collection in Amsterdam and another *Martyr Saint*, unfortunately reduced to a fragment, attributed by Bernard Berenson to a painter close to Lorenzo di Niccolò (pls. II[3], II[5-6]).[15]

A few years later, the most detailed study yet dedicated to the Master of the Misericordia was published by Miklós Boskovits,[16] including a check-list of the works attributed to him, as part of his comprehensive analysis of the development of Florentine painting in the second half of the fourteenth century. The main contribution made by Boskovits to this artist was his assembling of a large corpus, which comprised, apart from the works already attributed to the master by Zeri, also a large part of those included in the list (unpublished at the time) drawn up by Offner and other addenda formerly classified in the art-historical literature under various names such as Jacopo di Cione, Niccolò Gerini, even Giovanni da Milano and Antonio Veneziano. Yet even now the catalogue of the

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5 Offner, *Corpus*, III/VIII, 1958, 188 n. 5, 205. The two paintings had been cited by Richard Offner respectively as work of a "Remote Follower of Bernardo Daddi" and of a "Close Following of Daddi" in Offner, *Corpus*, III/IV, 1934, 163-164.

6 Zeri, in *Gaz. B.-Arts*, 1968, 74, listed the following paintings as attributed to the Master of the Misericordia by Richard Offner: Processional Cross, New York, Metropolitan Museum (pls. XI[1-2]); *Stories of St. Eligius*, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (pls. III[1-2]); *Enthroned Madonna and Child*, Parma, Pinacoteca Giuseppe Stuard (pl. II[2]); *Madonna and Child*, Florence, Bellini collection (pl. XLVII); *Pentecost* (two fragments), Poznań, Muzeum Narodowe (pls. XXI[1-2]); and *Madonna of Humility*, Perugia, van Marle collection (pl. VII).
To these Federico Zeri proposed to add the following works: *Madonna and Child*, Parcieux, Chalandon collection (pl. XLVI); *Bishop Saint*, Worcester, Art Museum (pl. II[6]); *Martyr Saint*, Amsterdam, Lanz collection (pl. II[1]); *Funeral of a Bishop Saint*, formerly Munich, Drey collection (pl. III[3]); *Crucifixion*, London, Agnew (pls. XXXII[4-5]); *Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, Deposition*, Cambridge (MA), Fogg Art Museum (pl. XLV); *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, Kreuzlingen, Kisters collection (pl. XVII[2]); *Madonna and Child*, Ponce (Puerto Rico), Museo de Arte (pl. XLVIII[2]); and *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* and *Conversion of St. Paul*, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia (pls. XX[1-2]).

7 Offner, 1981, 8-13.

8 Longhi, in Marcucci, 1965, 134.

9 Marcucci, 1965, 133-136.

10 Berenson, in *Dedalo*, XII, 1932, 24. Later in the Gallery of Florence Taccani at Milan.

11 The two panels in question respectively represent a *Female Saint*, perhaps Catherine of Alexandria, formerly in the Galardelli collection in Florence and ascribed by Miklós Boskovits to Lorenzo di Bicci (1975, 333, fig. 143), and the *Mater Virtutum* in the Vatican Museums, which Zeri, in *Gaz. B.-Arts*, LXXI, 1968, 75, re-assigned to Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni.

12 Boskovits, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XIII, 1967, 31-60, in particular 41 and n. 23; on the Master of Santa Verdiana, subsequently identified with Tommaso del Mazza, cf. Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000.

13 Zeri, in *Gaz. B.-Arts*, LXXI, 1968, 74-75.

14 Berenson, in *Dedalo*, XII, 1932, 21.

15 See above . [10].

16 Boskovits, 1975, 62-65, 366-372.

Master of the Misericordia, despite its considerable numerical growth, remained devoid of any secure chronological points of reference. Confirming previous assessments of the painter's career, Boskovits placed it in the third quarter of the century. To his presumed initial phase, around the middle years of the 1350s, he assigned the predella with *Stories of St. Catherine,* now divided between various collections (pls. XVII[3-5]), and the small portable altarpiece of the *Enthroned Madonna and Child between Saints Peter and Paul* in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (pl. XIII), in which the Master of the Misericordia is said to show his particular indebtedness to the figurative tradition of Bernardo Daddi, thus participating in an approach common to other artists of the period, such as Pietro Nelli. On the other hand, noted Boskovits, the polyptych that had at its centre the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in the Pinacoteca Stuard in Parma, "in spite of the power and mental autonomy of its realization", should date to "a relatively precocious phase" in the master's career, c. 1360-1365. In the two half-length versions of the *Madonna and Child* respectively in the Art Gallery in Manchester and formerly in the collection of the dealer Luigi Bellini in Florence (pls. XLVI-XLVII) the influence of the Daddesque tradition, by contrast, is accompanied, Boskovits suggested, by ample and plastically defined volumes and the attempt to confer on the figures a monumental effect, emphasized by the harmonious combination of pure colours that reveal an equally close affinity with the circle of Orcagna. To a successive phase, still comprised within the sixth decade of the century, should belong, instead, such works as the *Madonna of Humility* in the Museum of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (pl. XVI), the *Madonna and Child* in the Museo de Arte in Ponce (Puerto Rico) (pl. XLVIII[2]), and the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Kisters collection at Kreuzlingen (pl. XVII[2]); in these works, Boskovits suggested, the composition remains subjected to the rigorous control of the drawing, but at the same time a "strong and diffuse light …alleviates the shadows and softens the forms" revealing the influence of the innovative figurative style of Giottino and Giovanni da Milano. The fact that one of the paintings in question, the *Madonna* in St. Petersburg, had hitherto been assigned to the catalogue of the Lombard master is, Boskovits suggested, indicative of this; for this was a phase in the master's development particularly receptive to the manner of Giovanni da Milano (first documented in Florence in 1346).[17]

In a still later period, he continued, the predominant gothicizing trend of Florentine figurative culture during the 1370s also made its influence felt on the works of the Master of the Misericordia. This is exemplified, Boskovits suggested, by the restless atmosphere of the painting after which the master is named and by the more complex and animated compositions of the panel with the *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, Nativity* and *Conversion of St. Paul*, it too in the Galleria dell'Accademia (pls. XX[1-2]). The slender and fragile Madonna of the namepiece, Boskovits noted, is subtly animated by the graceful gesture of her protective arms, which accentuates the slight rotary movement with which she turns to the right, contradicting the iconic fixity so widespread in contemporary Florentine painting. The harmonious palette in the earlier paintings now gives way to more brilliant, acid and 'shot' colours, with results that seem to cross the threshold of the new Florentine late-gothic style developed in the penultimate decade of the century, and especially indebted to the innovative language of Spinello Aretino and Agnolo Gaddi. Drawing on the reconstruction proposed by Luisa Marcucci a decade earlier, Boskovits developed further the tendencies that characterised figurative culture in Florence in the mid-fourteenth century, from Bernardo Daddi to Andrea Orcagna; the most gothicizing component of the figurative style of the Master of the Misericordia was for the first time analysed in relation to the art of Giottino and Giovanni da Milano, on the basis of the wider range of evidence furnished by the new accessions to the master's catalogue, for example the *St. Luke* now in the Brera (pl. XIV), and by the new studies, in part indebted to Boskovits, on the problems connected with the Florentine activity of Giovanni da Milano and that of the artists working in the Camaldolese *scriptorium* of Santa Maria degli Angeli.[18] Another aspect, fleetingly mentioned by Marcucci and reviewed with new arguments by Miklós Boskovits, regards relations between the Master of the Misericordia and the young Niccolò Gerini,[19] whose hand he recognized alongside that of the more elderly Master in the execution of the polyptych now in the church of Sant'Andrea at Montespertoli (pls. XXXIX[1-2])[20] and in that of some figures in the lower part of the *Crucifixion* in the Rijksmuseum of Amsterdam. On the basis of this evidence, concluded Boskovits, Gerini could have worked in the shop of the Master of the Misericordia "round about 1380".[21]

In spite of the many insights into his oeuvre and the fairly detailed reconstruction of his career, the question of the possible identification of the Master of the Misericordia with an artist actually cited in the documents of the period still remains unresolved. Yet, notes Boskovits, "if we want to venture into the field of conjectures", it is worth devoting some consideration to the coincidence between the artistic affinities revealed by the works attributed to the artist – ranging from familiarity with the manner of Taddeo Gaddi to the influence of Giottino and Giovanni da Milano and subsequently his indebtedness to the earliest works of Agnolo Gaddi – and those that the documents and considerations of historical plausibility attribute to the painter Giovanni Gaddi, elder son of Taddeo. Documented together with Giottino and Giovanni da Milano in Rome in 1369, Giovanni participated with them – and with a large group of other painters – in the renovation of the papal palace at the Vatican initiated by Pope Urban V (1362-1370), and was enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali in 1372.[22] Though it is unsupported by any documentary proof, and therefore must be presented with all due caution, this proposal to identify our anonymous Master with Giovanni Gaddi met with wide assent in the art-historical literature in the following decades, doubtless also due to the fascination aroused by the rapport thus established with an illustrious dynasty of painters in Florence and with two of the most fascinating protagonists of Florentine painting in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, the research conducted to this end by the present writer has found no corroborative documentary support for it. So the identification of the Master of the Misericordia with Giovanni Gaddi, though based on arguments that the present writer thinks largely plausible, must remain for the time being no more than a working hypothesis.

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17 See Procacci, in *Arte Ant. e Mod.*, IV, 1961, 49-66.
An updated survey of the state of studies relating to Giovanni da Milano can be found in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a. For a complete transcription of the known documents relating to the master see Lenza, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, 297-306, with bibliography. For the complete transcription of the documents relating to the works of Giovanni da Milano and his companions in the Vatican Palace see Monciatti, 2005, 318-329 and 97-106 in this volume. For summaries of the documents relating to the biography and activities of Giovanni da Milano see also Gregori, in *Enc. Art. Med.*, VI, 1998, 728-738; Ascani, in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, LVI, 2001, 87-91; and Travi, in *Allg. Künstlerlex.*, 55, 2007, 41-44.

18 Important contributions to our knowledge of the activity of Giovanni da Milano and necessary premises to the observations of Miklós Boskovits on the activity of the Master of the Misericordia include, apart from the above-cited catalogue of Luisa Marcucci, the later interventions of the same author (1966 and in *Rev. Art*, 1971, 55-58) and that of Mina Gregori, in *Paragone*, XXIII, 1972, 265, 3-35. On the miniaturists active in the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli see Boskovits, in *Paragone*, XXIII, 1972, 265, 35-61. For miniatures in Florence in the third quarter of the Trecento, apart from the studies of Gaudenz Freuler (*Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997; in *Diz. Miniatori*, 2004, 937-939; in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 77-85) and Ada Labriola (in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXVII, 1999, 189-202; in *Diz. Miniatori*, 2004, 940-942; in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 67-75), see also *New York Exh. Cat.*, 1994, 124-219 and Levi D'Ancona, 1993; Levi D'Ancona, 1994; *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 1995.

19 Marcucci, 1965, 135.

20 The polyptych had previously been attributed to the circle of Giovanni del Biondo by Richard Offner (*Corpus*, IV/V-2, 1969, 189-191, pl. XLIV).

21 Boskovits, 1975, 103, 367. A recent allusion to the problem can be found in Bellosi, in *Prospettiva*, 2001, No. 101, 36 who cites Niccolò di Pietro Gerini as "un allievo degenere" of the Master of the Misericordia. The problem has been further examined by Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 43-56.

22 For the documentary evidence relating to the biography of Giovanni Gaddi see Colnaghi, 1928, 111; Labriola in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, 51, 1998c, 172. See also 97-110 in this volume.

From 1975 to the present day the most significant contribution to the Master of the Misericordia was, as we have said, the posthumous publication of the catalogue on which the reconstruction of this personality attempted by Richard Offner was based. The interest of this list, however, especially concerns the history of the master's reception in the art-historical literature, since it largely coincides with that published by Miklós Boskovits. The more significant differences in it stem from its inclusion of paintings that have had a more persuasive art-historical definition over the last three decades.[23] Over the last thirty years, moreover, the references to the Master of the Misericordia almost exclusively regard his role as rare interpreter of the naturalism of Giottino and Giovanni da Milano in the context of Florentine painting in the third quarter of the Trecento. It is in this role that he is recalled by Carlo Volpe, together with Puccio di Simone and Giovanni Bonsi, to exemplify the "sustained mental quality" of the finest artists active around the mid-century, from Giottino to Nardo di Cione and the Master of San Lucchese, in contrast to the "mental immobility of painters endowed only with shrewd and dogged craft, such as the verbose Andrea Bonaiuti, or the gloomy Niccolò Gerini".[24] The same stylistic allegiances of the Master of the Misericordia are also underlined by Angelo Tartuferi, according to whom the most distinctive feature of the painter's style is his "interpretation of the sophisticated proto-courtly culture of Giottino and Giovanni da Milano".

In presenting some additions to the catalogue, Tartuferi also seized the opportunity forcefully to re-propose the question of the Master's possible rapport with the formative period of Agnolo Gaddi,[25] an aspect sporadically touched on, or merely implied, in the art-historical literature relating to individual works of the Master and explicitly underlined by Boskovits, but virtually ignored in the monograph dedicated by Bruce Cole to Taddeo's younger son some thirty years ago.[26] Particularly flattering is Luciano Bellosi's judgement of the calibre of the Master of the Misericordia: thanks to the monumentality of his figures and the chromatic harmony of his works, the painter, claimed Bellosi, heralded the late-gothic tendencies of the *fin de siècle*,[27] while in a more recent contribution – though ideally linked with that of Carlo Volpe – the same scholar identified the "aristocratic gracefulness inspired by Giovanni da Milano" that he detected in the earlier works of the Master of the Misericordia as "an exception" in the Florentine artistic panorama of the second half of the fourteenth century, prevalently characterised, in his view by "a weakening of propulsive and innovative force".[28]

[23] This is the case for example of the *Madonna and Child Enthroned* in the Museo Stibbert in Florence (Inv. No. 8562), now reinstated in the corpus of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, or the drawing of the *Martyrdom of St. Miniato* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library), near to the Master of the Misericordia according to Richard Offner, but proposed as a work of Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni by Boskovits (in *Zeitschr. Kunstgesch.*, XXXI, 1968, 278-279, fig. 7; Boskovits, 1975, 291, fig. 314), whereas according to Luciano Bellosi it is a work of Taddeo Gaddi (in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 1978, XIV; in *Boll. Arte*, LXX, 1985, 30, 12-15 and in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 208-209; but see the re-editions of the two earlier contributions in Bellosi, 2000, 173, 194-195). More recently Angelo Tartuferi, decidedly in favour of the affinities of the Pierpoint Morgan drawing with the catalogue of Cenni di Francesco, has noted in it an "undeniable Gaddesque stylistic component" combined with an "intimate Orcagnesque manner", and wonders whether "a possible attribution to the Master of the Misericordia cannot be taken into consideration" (in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 21). See also in this volume 00.
For the complete list of the rejected works see the appendix below.

[24] Volpe, in *Storia Arte*, V, 1983, 240: "[…] l'immobilità mentale di pittori dotati soltanto di scaltro e caparbio mestiere, come il verboso Andrea Bonaiuti, o il tetro Niccolò Gerini".

[25] Tartuferi, in *Ant. Viva*, XXXV, 1996, 4, 3-4.

[26] Cole, 1977.

[27] Bellosi - Folchi, in *Barcelone Exh. Cat.*, 1990, 135.

[28] Bellosi, in *Prospettiva*, 2001, No. 101, 36.

These critical observations form the basis from which the reconstruction of the career of the Master of the Misericordia offered in the following pages starts out. The impossibility of determining the master's real civic identity, and even more so the lack of secure chronological references for the works attributed to him, inevitably condition the method of research adopted in the present volume. Forced to adopt an essentially comparative method, it will try to draw useful clues for the elucidation of his oeuvre from comparison with, or deduction from, better known, or more securely documented events in the history of the figurative arts of this period. For this reason, it seemed to me useful to attempt a reconstruction of his career by starting out from an analysis of a particularly significant aspect of his art, and one to which the art-historical literature has frequently recalled: namely, his rapport with the gothic naturalism of Giovanni da Milano and with the inviting humanity of the figures painted by Giottino.

The time-span covered by this career has remained substantially unchanged from that conjectured by Miklós Boskovits over three decades ago, other than a slight back-dating of the period of his debut to the early 1350s. But the chronological sequence of the paintings within this time-span differs from that proposed by Boskovits, for it takes into account new findings and more exhaustive analyses of the activities of leading masters of the period such as Andrea Orcagna, Giottino, Giovanni da Milano and Antonio Veneziano, and also a deeper knowledge of second-ranking personalities such as Puccio di Simone, Giovanni Bonsi, Andrea Bonaiuti, Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, the Master of Santa Verdiana (now identified with Tommaso del Mazza) and others.[29] The chronological ordering of the master's work has also had to take into account the results of studies in recent decades that have adopted new techniques in art-historical investigation, such as the classification of the punches used for the decoration of the gold ground in Trecento painting, pioneered by Erling Skaug and Mojmir Frinta.[30]

[29] On Andrea di Cione see the recent monographic study by Kreytenberg, 2000, and its reviews by Parenti, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 325-332 and Franci, in *Arte Cristiana*, XC, 2002, 251-260. On Giovanni da Milano see now the exhibition catalogue *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, with previous bibliography, among which we may especially cite Boskovits, 1966; Volpe, in *Storia Arte*, V, 1983, 289, 298-301, and Gregori, in *Enc. Art. Med.*, VI, 1995, 728-738. For Giottino see Volpe, in *Storia Arte*, V, 1983, 245-246, 248-268; Bellosi, in *Prospettiva*, 2001, No. 101, 19-40; Boskovits, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCI, 2003, 173-180 and, more recently, Parenti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2005, 26-27; Branca, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2005, 54-57 and lastly Baldini, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 170-173. On Antonio Veneziano see the contribution of Bellosi, in *OPD Restauro*, X, 1998, 75-86 relating to the rediscovery of an important cycle of frescoes in the Florentine church of San Marco and Parenti, in *Predella*, I, 2010, 129-136. On Puccio di Simone see the recent reconstruction of his career attempted by Miklós Boskovits, in Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 17-21, 337-527 and the contributions presented on the occasion of the recent restoration of the polyptych of the *Madonna of Humility and Saints* (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 1890/8569), the necessary point of departure for the reconstruction of this artist's career (*Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2005). On Giovanni Bonsi and Tommaso del Mazza see Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus* IV/VIII, 2000; on Andrea Bonaiuti, Tripps, *Corpus*, IV/VII-1, 1996; on Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997; and on Matteo di Pacino, Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 27-42.
Our knowledge of painting in Florence in the third quarter of the Trecento has been further enriched by contributions dedicated to personalities that are not of the very first rank but that nonetheless occupy a significant place in the art of Florence during this period, such as the Master of Barberino (Scalella, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCII, 2004, 93-105 and Francalanci, in *Bagno a Ripoli Exh. Cat.*, 2009, 104-107, 122-123, 159-171), the Master of the Christ Church Coronation (Scalella, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 117-130) and the Master of Tobit (Palmeri, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 405-416).

[30] Skaug, 1994; Frinta, 1998; and Skaug, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, 103-113. On the techniques used in the execution of such punched decoration see also Bellucci - Frosinini, 2002, 37, arguing for a substantial non-involvement of artists in this phase of the execution of the work, which was assigned to a specific craft, that of the *battiloro* and, conversely, the objections to this reconstruction of the division of work operated by medieval artists expressed by Erling Skaug (in *Zeitschr. Kunstgesch.*, LXXI, 2008, 571-582).

The *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Galleria dell'Accademia (pl. XII) is a small painting for private devotion that, thanks to its accomplished technique, testifies to the sustained qualitative level of the artist's works. The Virgin, significantly larger in dimension than the other figures, stands imposingly at the centre of the painting. She turns her gaze to her left, apparently towards the representation in a companion panel, the other leaf perhaps of a diptych. Her mantle is raised by two angels and stretched out to fill the whole breadth of the panel. She opens her arms, welcoming under her protection two groups of kneeling nuns and four lay donors. The figure of the Virgin is caught in a pose of statuesque monumentality. Her dress, furrowed by long tubular folds, falls in a bell shape to her feet, while her head, drawn in three-quarter profile, is characterised by the squared volume of the jaw and the dignified cut of her face. Affinities with the marked plastic effects cultivated by Andrea Orcagna and his brothers can be detected in the incisive drawing, which gives the figures a clear-cut profile, and in compositional effects such as the presence of the Redeemer and angels in adoration placed to the sides of the scene, along the arched profile of the upper part of the panel; they recall the two choirs of angels to the sides of Jacopo di Cione's *Madonna of Humility* now in the National Gallery in Washington.[31] Some physiognomic peculiarities, such as the regular oval faces, elongated eyes and pronounced cheekbones, their effect further heightened by the contrast with the small pointed chin, reveal in turn an affinity with the figurative style of Taddeo Gaddi, as may be illustrated by comparison between the face of our *Mater Misericordiae* and that of St. Lucy in Taddeo's triptych in the Church of San Martino a Mensola (Florence).[32]

The profound link with the more orthodox interpretations of the Giottesque tradition is accompanied, on the other hand, by features that belong to a more modern figurative culture: the movement suggested by the slight forward step of the Virgin's right leg and the turning of her head, the rich and vibrant modelling of the faces of the kneeling nuns, rendered with delicately modulated chiaroscuro, the minute undulation of the hem of the Madonna's dress as it falls over her feet floor, or the ruffling of her sleeves round her elbows, are all indicative of an attempt to enrich the composition with effects of greater naturalism in the rendering of surfaces and enliven it with a more intense and animated narrative vein. These features reflect a more advanced style of painting that explain, even if they cannot justify, past attempts either to insert the painting in the youthful activity of Agnolo Gaddi or to underline its affinities with the figurative language of Giovanni da Milano, which Georg Gombosi was the first to point out.[33] Giovanni was first documented in Florence in 1346.[34] He probably left the city after this date, only to reappear once again towards the end of the following decade, after having completed the polyptych for the Spedale della Misericordia e Dolce in Prato.[35] Probably towards the end of 1362 the Lombard painter enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali.[36] He continued to reside in Florence in the following year when he presented a tax declaration to the Ufficio dell'Estimo, attesting his ownership of some real estate in the city. Both his surviving works and the available documents attest his continuous presence in Florence in the following years: on 26 May 1365 he obtained from the *Capitani* of Orsanmichele an extension of deadline to the following November to enable him to complete his *magnum opus*, the fresco decoration of the Guidalotti (later Rinuccini) Chapel in the sacristy of the basilica of Santa Croce. In the same year he signed and dated the *Pietà* now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence, while in 1366 he obtained Florentine citizenship. But after this date we have no further news of Giovanni da Milano till 1369, when he was documented in Rome, engaged in the decoration of two chapels in the papal palace commissioned by Urban V (1362-1370), together with Giottino, Giovanni Gaddi, and other artists to whom humbler tasks were assigned, including the young Agnolo Gaddi.[37] On the basis of the documentary information and stylistic analysis, art historians generally agree in recognizing an early period represented by the polyptych painted for the Spedale della Misericordia e Dolce in Prato, in which the open naturalism of Giovanni's lombard origins is combined with the more refined language of Simone Martini, perhaps known to Giovanni through his activity in Avignon. This was followed by a more solemn and classicizing phase, introduced by the Ognissanti polyptych and then more explicitly expressed in the *Pietà* of the Accademia painted in 1365, in the contemporary frescoes in the sacristy of Santa Croce and then in the polyptych that has its centre the panel with *Christ Sitting in Judgement with Angels in Adoration* now in the Pinacoteca di Brera. In these works the greater control of spatial effects and greater volumetric richness of the figures betray a growing influence of the more monumental style of painting in vogue in the circle of Andrea di Cione (Orcagna) and his brother Jacopo.

The aspects of more outspoken naturalism found in the polyptych painted by Giovanni da Milano for the Spedale della Misericordia e Dolce in Prato do not seem, in truth, to have left any significant traces in the figurative language of the Master of the Misericordia, who remained firmly attached to the more sober and impassive artistic culture of Florence in the mid-century. He tried nonetheless to make the narrative content of his paintings more intense and vivid; he invested the gestures of his figures with greater animation and eloquence, and especially cultivated effects of greater naturalism in modelling and in facial expressions. A comparison between the figure of the Madonna in the Accademia and that of Christ at the centre of a predella panel of the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (New York, Alena collection), already attributed to Giovanni da Milano by Bernard Berenson,[38] will show, I believe, this new and more naturalistic style: the two figures adopt a very similar pose, resting the weight of the body on the left leg and relaxing the slightly forward-projecting right leg; the slight flexing of the leg is implied, more than expressed, by the iridescent hue of the garments, struck by a slanting light that transforms the folds of the fabric into luminous striations. A further reflection

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31 The *Madonna of Humility* in the National Gallery in Washington (Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, pl. X) is one of the earliest versions of this subject in Florence, of which other versions are known: those by Giovanni del Biondo (Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/V, 1969, pl. XLV); Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Firenze, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 3161 (Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 1997, pl. XLII); Tommaso del Mazza, Philadelphia, Museum of Art, No. 45.25.119 (Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/IX, pl. XXVIII); Lorenzo di Bicci, Loro Ciuffenna, parish church (Fremantle, 1975, fig. 848); Niccolò Gerini, Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais (Laclotte-Mognetti, 1976, No. 78); and Niccolò Gerini, Florence, Acton collection (Boskovits, 1975, fig. 169).

32 Ladis, 1982, 222-223.

33 Gombosi, 1926, 117.

34 See in this volume 18 n. 17.

35 The dating of the Prato polyptych has been the subject of much discussion. Recently the present writer proposed 1355 as *terminus post quem* for the execution of the work on the basis of some unpublished documents (Chiodo, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, 182-189). A date prior to 1354, on the other hand, had been suggested by Roberto Longhi (in *Paragone*, X, 1959, 109, 10-11) and more recently has been supported by Mina Gregori (in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, 38).

36 According to the reconstruction of the *libri delle matricole* proposed by Margaret Haines, the enrolment of Giovanni da Milano in the guild occurred on November 22, 1362 (Haines, in *Riv. Arte*, XLI, 1989, 181, 188). Cf. also Lenza, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, 297 and 306 n. 2.

37 See in this volume 18 n. 17.

38 The panel was published as a work of Giovanni da Milano by Berenson (in *Dedalo*, XI, 1930-1931, 1061, 1063-1066); subsequently Alessandro Marabottini (1950, 88-89, pls. XVIIIa-b) proposed to recognize in it and another panel of identical shape and size, namely the *Resurrection*, it too belonging to the same series and already restored to the painter by Berenson, part of the predella of the polyptych of which the *Christ Sitting in Judgement* in the Pinacoteca di Brera and the left lateral with figures of *Saints* in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin formed part. The hypothesis was accepted with some reservations by Boskovits (1966, 23), who also added to the same dismantled polyptych three gable panels with *God the Father*, the *Virgin* and a *Prophet* in the National Gallery in London (Boskovits, 1966, 24, figs. 61-63). Cf. Davies, 1988, 34-37 and Parenti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, 242-249 for summary of the art-historical discussion and conjectural restoration of this polyptych.

of the manner of the Lombard master can be detected in the modelling of the faces of the Virgin, of the angels that support her mantle and of the kneeling figures, obtained by superimposing over a darker foundation colour a close network of lighter and more delicate brushstrokes which gain in density (and culminate in highlights) on the projecting surfaces of nose and chin, and then gradually disperse in the zones more in shadow. In spite of these signs of a renewal that takes into account the more naturalistic style of Giovanni da Milano, the profound links of the Master of the Misericordia with the characteristics most strongly rooted in Florentine painting in the third quarter of the century – such as the almost sculptural definition of volumes, the clear-cut definition of contours, and the aspiration to a classicizing compositional balance – is never relinquished: the more vivid and emotionally expressive tones of the works of the Lombard master remain essentially alien to him.

The attempt to modernise his own figurative language through some elements of the style of the Lombard master, which seem to me detectible in the *Madonna della Misericordia*, can also be detected, I believe, though with different gradations, in other works of the artist. These permit the identification of a well-defined phase in his career, which can then furnish a good point of departure for an overall reconsideration of his career. Particularly significant seems to me the case of the panel, unfortunately fragmentary, representing *St. Luke the Evangelist in his Study* formerly in the Lamberto Vitali collection in Milan and now in the Pinacoteca di Brera (pl. XIV). The painting appeared on the English art market in the 1960s. It bore an attribution to Giovanni da Milano himself, immediately corrected by Roberto Longhi in favour of Antonio Veneziano; it was then recognized as a work of the Master of the Misericordia by Miklós Boskovits.[39] The fragment is all that remains of a painting with several figures: to the far left we can see the garment of a female figure, while in the upper right the restoration, to which the painting has been subjected in recent years, has revealed the presence of the headless bust of a male saint, who perhaps held a book in his hand. The identification of the saint in this panel as Luke, based on the text he is engaged in writing, suggests that the painting originally represented the Virgin offering to St. Luke her own witness of the Gospel, based on a hagiographical tradition that goes back to Late Antiquity but is less frequent in the medieval period.[40] A rare, and hence all the more significant testimony of the occurrence of this iconographic theme in Florentine painting of the Trecento is however identifiable, perhaps not by chance, in the predella of a polyptych representing the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints*, in the parish church of Santo Stefano at Secciano near Calenzano (Prato). The polyptych is attributed to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, a painter whom various pieces of evidence suggest was in close contact with the Master of the Misericordia in a fairly precocious phase of his activity.[41] If this hypothesis is correct, it should be possible to identify

39 The attribution of the *Madonna del Parto* in the church of San Lorenzo at Montefiesole (Pontassieve) is also illustrative of the interchange of paintings between the catalogues of these two artists and hence of the perceived analogies between them: it was attributed to the Master of the Misericordia by Miklós Boskovits (1975, 63, 370, pl. 70) but thereafter given to Antonio Veneziano, first by Bonsanti (in *Antologia Viesseux*, 1975, 99-100; 1985, in *Paragone*, XXXVI, 1985, 419-423, 53-56; in Bonsanti - Ciatti - Rossi Scarsella, in *OPD Restauro*, 15, 2003, 112-122) and, subsequently, by Czarnecki (in *Burl. Mag.*, CXIX, 1977, 188-191) and by Parenti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 186-187.

40 The only painting of this subject reported by George Kaftal (1978, 637) is a fresco, now lost, painted by Giovanni Storlato in the church of Santa Giustina at Padua between 1436 and 1438. The painting is described as follows in the contract of the commission: "Como la nostra Dona, staendo in uno oratorio, demonstra la natività del Segnore, ...E Sancto Luca sede in una sedia e guarda la Madona, la quale ge enara el modo dela nativita. E sancto Luca scrive lo evanzelio, el quale secondo i doctori sancto Luca have da la nostra Dona..." (*Padua Exh. Cat.*, 2000, 166). However, for an ideal reconstruction of the composition, reference to the *Vision of St. Bernard* at the centre of a polyptych of Matteo di Pacino may also be useful (Palmeri, in Boskovits - Tartuferi, 2003, 174-181; see also in this volume 000-000 e pl. 00).

41 The polyptych in the parish church at Secciano was attributed to Niccolò Gerini by Boskovits (1975, 415), who proposed a date of c. 1370-1375 for it. Cf. also Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 47-48 and fig. 7.

the truncated figure glimpsed in the upper right as St. Paul, who according to the sources took part in the writing of Luke's Gospel or, less probably, as Theophilus, who is addressed by the Evangelist in his prologue (*Lk* 1: 3).

The original provenance of the *St. Luke* now in the Brera is unknown; so the task of defining more precisely its place in the artistic development of the Master of the Misericordia must be based essentially on stylistic analysis. The Evangelist is shown in profile. He is intent on writing, holding a pen in one hand and an erasing-knife in the other. In the upper part of the painting can be glimpsed a shelf with some books, portrayed with accurate foreshortening. In spite of its fragmentary state, the painting still preserves traces of the minute description of the room in which the protagonists are placed: the background is decorated with a pattern of lozenges, while the writing-desk at which the Evangelist is seated is adorned with marquetry work, consisting of rows of geometric motifs such as lozenges and ovals, so-called *intarsio alla certosina*: this is a type of inlaid ornament widespread in wooden furniture during this period, and exemplified by the fourteenth-century cupboards in the sacristy of Santa Croce. The desk probably had a structure similar to that portrayed in the compartments of the predella with the *Annunciation* and *St. Bernard Conversing with the Virgin*, in the polyptych painted by Giovanni da Milano for the Spedale della Misericordia in Prato,[42] or at an earlier date in the *Evangelists* frescoed in the abbey church of Viboldone.[43] As is suggested by its reception in the art-historical literature itself, the Brera *St. Luke* shows, I believe, that the figurative manner of the Master of the Misericordia was profoundly conditioned by his effort to come to terms with the delicate naturalism of Giovanni da Milano: that is shown not only by the master's detailed description of the Saint's study, but also by his attempt to express the concentration of the Evangelist intent on writing: a motif remarkable for the pregnant naturalism in the subtly modulated drawing of the hands. The influence of the Lombard painter can also be felt in the accomplished pictorial rendering of the flesh parts that the light seems to penetrate in depth, emphasizing the projecting cheek-bone and neck with a greater concentration and saturation of light, while the shadow is deepened with a delicate *sfumato* in the other parts of the face and hands; the final effect of the modelling of the flesh parts is one of soft and natural consistency. Some arguments already presented by the present writer in a previous contribution, and based on the meagre indications furnished by archival documents, suggested that the panel of *St. Luke* may have been painted for the seat of the Arte dei Giudici e Notai, built, soon after the mid-fourteenth century, on the Via del Proconsolo in Florence, where an image of St. Luke is documented as having been borne in procession on the occasion of the Saint's feast-day on 19 October 1366.[44] The possibility that the image mentioned in this document is identifiable with the painting to which the Brera fragment belonged seems to me worth considering, especially in view of the close match between the date of the episode recorded in the registers of the Proconsolo and that suggested by an analysis of the style of the *St. Luke*.[45]

42 For the fourteenth-century sacristy cupboards in Santa Croce cf. Massinelli, 1993, 128; for the Prato polyptych, Ciatti - Mannini, 2001, especially pages 44 and 51.

43 Gregori, in *Monastero*, 1999, 252-253, figs. 68-69.

44 Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 45-46. The cited document is found in ASF, Arte dei Giudici e Notai-Proconsolo, 91, fol. 185v: "Idem eisdem portatoribus qui apportaverunt tabulam ymaginis Sancti Luce ad domum dicte artis s. duos pro pretio". During this period the Arte dei Giudici e Notai was completing the construction of its new seat facing the church of San Procolo, on what is now the Via del Proconsolo, and began its decoration, commissioning Jacopo di Cione to decorate the ceiling of one of the rooms (Borsook, in *Burl. Mag.*, CXXIV, 1982, 86-88).

45 Other possible destinations of the painting might have been the altar of the Compagnia di San Luca in the church of Sant'Egidio, or in the seat of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali, or the little known monastery of San Luca in Florence (Paatz, II, 1941, 597-599). In the former case, the documents record a "tavola di Santo Lucha" drawn by "Andreuzzo dipintore" for the Spedale degli Uomini of Santa Maria Nuova in 1374 (Cohn, in Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 37 n. 10; Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/VI, 1979, 12-13). Richard Offner and Klara Steinweg correctly

To the same stylistic phase as the *Madonna della Misericordia* and the Brera *St. Luke* also belongs the *Madonna of Humility* in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (pl. XVI). This too, like the painting in Brera, has in the past been attributed to Giovanni da Milano.[46] Unfortunately the analysis of its style is complicated by the misleading retouches of a nineteenth-century restoration that adjusted the face of the Madonna to the rather saccharine taste of the period. The figure of the Christ Child, fortunately, is better preserved. In solidity of modelling, delicacy of drawing and facial type he is revealed as a close relation of similar figures painted by the Master of the Misericordia, for example in the panel now in the Pinacoteca Stuard in Parma (pl. II[2]), in that formerly in the Raimond van Marle collection in Perugia (pl. VII) and in that of the Manchester Art Gallery (pl. XLVI). On the other hand, as in the already discussed *Madonna della Misericordia* and Brera *St. Luke*, the confident drawing, rooted in the Florentine figurative tradition, is, in this case too, combined with the reflections of the more delicate modelling and the search for a more naturalistic style of the kind disseminated in Florence by Giovanni da Milano. This is especially apparent in the slight torsion of the Virgin's bust, in the natural luminosity of her skin and in the accomplished effect of transparency achieved in the veil that envelops the legs and lower body of the Child, while the affectionate tenderness of the glance that the Madonna bestows on the Child is reminiscent of the example of Giottino. To the same phase could probably be dated the panel with the *Madonna of Humility* (pl. XV) in a private collection, unfortunately too ruined for a properly evaluation of his stylistic features.

The processional Cross in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (pl. XI[1-2]) still seems closely linked to Gaddesque models in the figures of the Evangelists and in the grieving Madonna. On the other hand, its pictorial modelling seems freer; it is characterised by brushstrokes charged with colour and broad highlights that model the faces and underline the intensity of their gaze. Striking too is the minuteness – almost like that of a miniaturist – in the description of St. Luke intent on writing, holding a quill in one hand and a little ink-pot in the other; it reveals the same acute observation of the real world we have already noted in the Brera panel. The figures of Jesus, both on the *recto* and *verso*, though identical in the subtle modulation of contours, seem to differ slightly in pictorial treatment: the figure of *Christus patiens* is modelled with a vibrant chiaroscuro and characterised by an effect of greater softness, while on the other side the modelling is more vigorously contrasted and the individual brushstrokes seem more placid in line. Yet the painting of both sides is coherent and would seem to exclude the intervention of other artists.

If I am not mistaken in identifying the influence of the figurative style of Giovanni da Milano in the above-cited passages, the chronology of the paintings I have cited would have an important *terminus a quo* in the years of the documented residence of the Lombard painter in Florence. Other more precise points of reference, however, would still need to be identified in elucidating

identified "Andreuzzo" with Andrea Bonaiuti; they argued, however, that Andrea had left the work unfinished; it was only completed, they concluded, roughly a decade later by Pietro Gerini (Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/VI, 1979, 12 n. 11), who is documented as having been paid by the Spedalingo di Santa Maria Nuova, on behalf of the Compagnia di San Luca, on 15 May 1383 for a panel "di Santo Lucha". In my view, a re-reading of the documents suggests a different reconstruction of the facts: the two painters were probably paid for two different paintings: "Andreuzzo" for a panel painted for the Spedale degli Uomini and Niccolò for another panel, commissioned by the Compagnia dei Pittori for the chapel in the choir of Sant'Egidio, where the work in question is also recorded by Vasari (1878, I, 675: "San Luca che ritrae una Nostra Donna in un quadro; e nella predella, da un lato gli uomini della Compagnia, e dall'altro tutte le donne ginocchioni"); Vasari thought it was painted by Jacopo del Casentino. I have been unable to find any documentary evidence of the presence of a panel of St. Luke in the seat of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali, though the large panel of the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints John the Baptist and Luke* painted by Bernardo Daddi and now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (Inv. No. 1890/ 6170) was displayed there (Offner, *Corpus*, III/IV, 2° ed. 1991, pl. XII; Tartuferi, in Florence Exh. Cat., 2003, 63-65).

46 *Saint Petersburg Mus. Cat.*, 1958, 90.

the links between the paintings attributable to the Master of the Misericordia and those works that are securely dated and form the basis, at least in the present stage of our studies, for the reconstruction of the development of Florentine painting in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. As is well known, the securely dated paintings in Florence in the decade between the early 1360s and early 1370s are relatively few in number.[47] A useful point of departure in our chronological study seems to me the evidence of the kinship between some works of the Master of the Misericordia and the polyptych attributed to Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, now, at least in part, preserved in the church of San Cristoforo at Perticaia, near Florence (Rignano sull'Arno), which is dated 1370 by an inscription in the lower part of its central compartment.[48] The polyptych, now reduced to a triptych, represents the *Enthroned Madonna and Child between Saints Cristopher and Margaret*; another compartment with a *Bishop Saint*, now in the Museo Diocesano in Milan (former Crespi collection), was already recognized by Klara Steinweg as forming part of the same polyptych,[49] while the fifth panel has been lost. The distinguishing feature of this work is the slightly archaizing tone of its composition, emphasized by the fact that the figures of the central group are larger that those of the Saints in the lateral compartments. On the other hand, the figures are uniformly tall and slender and

47 The list of these securely dated paintings in the period 1360-1373, in part compiled by Richard Fremantle (1975, 629), comprises, apart from the already cited frescoes of Giovanni da Milano in the sacristy of the church of Santa Croce, two triptychs painted by Nardo di Cione for two chapels of the Chapter House in Santa Maria degli Angeli in 1365 (*Trinity between St. Romualdo and St. John the Evangelist*, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 8464, and *Enthroned Madonna and Child between St. Gregory and the Prophet Job*; see Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/II, 1960, pls. XXVI-XXVII; the triptych commissioned from Andrea Orcagna in 1367 by the Arte del Cambio for Orsanmichele, the completion of which was entrusted to Jacopo di Cione in the following year (Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, pl. I), but see also Boskovits, 1975, 51, 373 for the identification of the painter who completed the work with the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella, in turn held by Luciano Bellosi (in Bellosi - Angelini, 1986, 25-26) to be no other than Jacopo di Cione himself in a precocious phase of his activity; a fresco of *Saints Julian and Catherine* painted by Pietro Nelli in the *pieve* of San Lorenzo at Signa in 1366 (Bellosi, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XVII, 1973, 189); an *Annunciation* frescoed in the church of Ognissanti in 1369 and attributed to the Master of Barberino (Boskovits, 1975, 214 n. 71, Foto Brogi 26252); the polyptych in the church of San Cristoforo at Perticaia, dated 1370 and attributed to Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni (Boskovits, 1975, 293, pl. 86); the polyptych painted by Giovanni Bonsi in 1371 and now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana with a provenance from the church of Santi Jacopo and Lucia at San Miniato (Pidsa) (Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, pl. XIII); the polyptych of the *Coronation of the Virgin and Saints* painted for the high altar of San Pier Maggiore at Florence between 1370 and 1371, attributed to Jacopo di Cione; and the painting of the same subject painted for the Florentine Zecca by the same artist between 1372 and 1373 (Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/II, 1965, pls. III-III[33], VI). In the period 1370-1375 can also be placed no less than four dated paintings by Giovanni del Biondo (*Madonna and Child with Saints*, Florence, Santa Croce, and *Coronation of the Virgin*, Traversetolo (Parma), Fondazione Magnani Rocca, painted in 1372; *Coronation of the Virgin and Saints*, Fiesole, Duomo, dating to 1373; *Coronation of the Virgin and Saints* in San Donato in Poggio, close to Tavarnelle Val di Pesa, Pieve, dating to 1375; cf. Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/IV, 1967, pls. XXVI, XXVII, XXIX, XXXIV). Dating to 1375 is also the polyptych painted by Pietro Nelli and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini for the *pieve* of Santa Maria at Impruneta (Boskovits, 1975, 409, 420, pl. 61). This list can be further supplemented with the triptych painted by Niccolò di Tommaso for Sant'Antonio in Foria at Naples in 1371 (Skaug, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 195-209), the frescoes painted by the same artist in the Convento del Tau at Pistoia in the following year (Neri Lusanna, in Neri Lusanna - d'Afflitto, in *Storia Pistoia*, 1999, 360-363) and those in the former convent of the Girolamini alle Campora, datable to c. 1372, the date that could formerly be read on the entrance arch of the chapel (Sirén, in *Monatsh. Kunstwiss.*, 1908, 501-510), and lastly a less well-known triptych painted in 1373 by the Master of the Coronation in Christ Church Gallery in Oxford (*Madonna and Child between Saints Catherine and Anthony Abbot*, Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine (Scalella, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 123, fig. 9).

48 The inscription reads: AN(N)I D(OMI)NI MCCCLXX DIE (...) ME(N)SIS IULII T(EM)P(O)RE P(R)E(SBITE)RO PETRO RECTO(RE) ISTI(US) EC(C)LE(SIAE) HO(M)I(N)ES / E(T) P(ER)SO(N)AS SOCIETATI S(AN)C(T)E (...)RIE DE S(AN)C(T)O (CHRISTO)FORO FECIT FIERI HOC HOPU(S).

49 In Boskovits, 1975, 293; see also Labriola, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXIX, 1991, 448; Labriola, in *Dipinti italiani*, 2000, 56-59.

delineated with incisive contours. The draperies are gathered in groups of straight folds with deep undercutting at an acute angle: a drapery style suggesting affinities with the contemporary activity of Giovanni del Biondo, but also with the neo-Daddesque style of Pietro Nelli, as is especially evident in the figure of St. Margaret.

Utterly original and innovative aspects of this polyptych, on the other hand, can be recognized in the delicate soft radiance of the flesh parts, the attenuation of the modelling and especially the direct rapport that its protagonists establish with the observer both by gesture and facial expression. These are all characteristics revealing, it seems to me, significant affinities with the figurative language of the Master of Misericordia, as expressed in such works as the *Madonna and Child* in the Museo de Arte de Ponce (Puerto Rico) (pl. XLVIII[2]), not by chance attributed in the past to the same painter as the polyptych of Perticaia, and also the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Kisters collection at Kreuzlingen (pl. XVII[2]).[50] In this latter painting, the figures of the Madonna and Child, though similar to those in Ponce especially in facial type, are distinguished from them by the rather simplified lines of their contours and the captivating humanity of the Virgin's face; the Madonna in Ponce, by contrast, is more frozen in expression; her complexion has almost the consistency of porcelain. The Kisters panel and the *Madonna and Child* at the centre of the Perticaia polyptych seem, instead, to belong to the same expressive world and the same phase of elaboration as this earlier and hence more genuine type: they share the same tendency to elongate the figures and give greater movement to the contours, while the incisive and meticulous drawing similarly adds three-dimensional substance to the modelling of the body of the Christ Child, almost the same child studied from two points of view. In the painting of the Master of the Misericordia the softness of the flesh parts is hinted at by the highlights on chin, nose, and knuckles. In Cenni's polyptych, by contrast, this is reduced to an even more schematic feature. This helps us to reconstruct an order of precedence that, once again, sees the earliest phase in the sequence being accorded to the artist whose career we are here trying to reconstruct. So, on the basis of these considerations, the hypothesis of a dating of the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* to a date not far removed from 1370, but still within the seventh decade, seems to me the most plausible. Further corroboration of such a hypothesis would seem to be lent by some affinities between this painting and the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Accademia, as shown by a comparison between the clear-cut contours of the St. Catherine in the painting in Kreuzlingen and those of the angel that supports the Madonna's mantle in the Accademia panel, and by the similarly full forms of the faces in both panels, modelled by a minutely modulated chiaroscuro.

The robust modelling that represents one of the peculiar features of the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Accademia, however, is less marked in the Kisters painting. Here, instead, the artist seems more intent on giving the figures more graceful profiles, more elegant contours, and investing the faces with more natural expressions, a sign of a further widening of his cultural horizon, which now includes an evident susceptibility to the peculiarities of the figurative language of Giotto di maestro Stefano, called Giottino, or more precisely, of the painter whose activity can be reconstructed on the basis of the frescoed *Madonna and Child*, formerly in the tabernacle at the corner of the Via del Leone (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia) and the *Lamentation* formerly in the church of San Remigio (Firenze, Uffizi).[51] Reflections of the manner of this master, still mysterious in many respects, can be grasped in the simplified and placid curve of the contours of the figures, and especially in the tender and muted expression of sorrow that characterises the face of the Virgin, animating the neo-Daddesque character of her features with a new and gentler impulse.

Unfortunately documents relating to Giotto di maestro Stefano, called Giottino, are scarce, and the lack of secure references for the dating of the few works that compose his catalogue is of little help to us in trying to unravel the chronology of the paintings attributed to the Master of the Misericordia. Essentially, the documented biographical data of Giottino are limited to his enrolment in the Compagnia dei Pittori in 1368, and his participation together with Giovanni da Milano, Giovanni Gaddi and others in the (lost) decoration of two chapels in the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican in Rome between July and October 1369; only on the basis of the information reported by Giorgio Vasari is the panel of the *Lamentation* formerly in the church of San Remigio (Florence, Uffizi) attributed to him; it is variously dated between the early sixth and middle of the following decade.[52] The *Madonna and Child with Saints* in the tabernacle formerly on the corner of the Via del Leone (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia) is generally identified with the fresco formerly in the Piazza Santo Spirito mentioned among Giottino's works in the *Libro di Antonio Billi*;[53] it is therefore associated with the date 1356 on the basis of an early inscription commemorating a chapel founded in that year "pro anima Gherardo Bernardi de Manfredi", built into the wall close to the site where the fourteenth-century tabernacle can be assumed to have been placed.[54] Despite some apparent correspondences, however, the identification of the tabernacle now in the Accademia with the one that the sources attribute to Giottino is – in the view of the present writer – far from being proved. In particular the presence in the foreground to the left of a Saint who can be identified on the basis of his white scapular with wide hood as St. Benedict or St. Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese Order, suggests an alternative hypothesis.[55] For a few steps from the Via del Leone stood the Cama-

[50] Before being recognized by Miklós Boskovits as a work of the youthful activity of Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni (in *Zeitschr. Kunstgesch*; XXXI, 1968, 276), the polyptych of San Cristoforo at Perticaia was attributed to an anonymous "Master of the Perticaia Triptych" or "Master of the Giraldi Tabernacle", another name adopted by art historians to indicate the artist of the same group of paintings that comprised, among others, also the *Madonna and Child* of the Master of Misericordia in the Museo de Arte at Ponce, reinstated in the corpus of the Master of Misericordia by Federico Zeri (in *Gaz. B.-Arts*, LXXI, 1968, 75). For the "corpus" of the "Master of the Giraldi Tabernacle" or "Master of the Perticaia Triptych" see Shapley, 1966, 43 and Fremantle, 1975, 221-228.

[51] The relations of the Master of the Misericordia with Giottino have been especially underlined by Miklós Boskovits (1975, 63-64). For a recent summary of the complex art-historical debate on the personality of Giottino see Labriola in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, 55, Roma, 2000, 423-427, and the proposals of Luciano Bellosi (in *Prospettiva*, 101, 2001, 19-40), Miklós Boskovits (in *Arte Cristiana*, XCI, 2003, 173-180). More recently see Parenti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2005c, 25-27; Branca, *ibid.*, 54-57; Tartuferi, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008b, 30-33 and Baldini, *ibid.*, 166-173.

[52] Vasari, I, 1878, 627-628. Volpe (in *Storia Arte*, V, 1983, 299) suggested a dating of the *Lamentation* to the sixth decade of the century, while Luciano Bellosi preferred to push the date back to the first half of the 1350s (in *Prospettiva*, 2001, No. 101, 27); according to Bellosi, the affinities in composition with the *Deposition* painted by Giovanni da Milano in the portable altarpiece in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome (Boskovits, 1966, fig. 4), generally considered a work of the mid-1350s, would indicate an even earlier dating for the Giottino panel. On the other hand, Erling Skaug (I, 1994, 191-193), on the basis of an examination of the punches used by the painter in the *Lamentation*, considers that the painting cannot have been produced earlier than 1363. See further Baldini, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 172-173 and further below in the text.

[53] *Il Libro di Antonio Billi*, ed. C. Frey, 1892, 8-9.

[54] Chiappelli (in *Rass. Arte*, IX, 1909, 71-73), presenting the tabernacle formerly on the Via del Leone, noted its possible provenance from another site and wondered whether it might not be the same as that cited by the sources in the Piazza Santo Spirito as a work of Giottino. Subsequently Procacci (in *Scritti Salmi*, 1962, 30) drew attention to an early inscription recorded by Lumachi (1928, 524) placed to the side of the tabernacle in the Piazza Santo Spirito, commemorating a chapel founded by the Manfredi family in 1356, and later the property of the Arte dei Cappellai, and hence proposed to link the painting of the fresco with this date. Procacci also identified a further clue that would seem to confirm the Via del Leone tabernacle's provenance from the Piazza Santo Spirito in the evidence of a more modern wall than that surrounding the zone where the fresco is once said to have been placed, before it was removed and transferred to a wooden support. For the transcription of the text contained in the commemorative tablet see Ciabani, 1992, III, 658.

[55] For the habit see *Roma Exh. Cat.*, 2000, 142-146.

ldolese monastery of San Salvatore, first settlement of the new Order in the city. Severely damaged during the siege of Florence in 1529, it was then partially demolished during the enlargement of the city's circuit of walls in the time of Cosimo I, and later, at least in part, converted to other uses, as is well documented by the observations of Giuseppe Richa shortly after the mid-eighteenth century.[56] I wonder, in short, whether the fresco now displayed in the Accademia might not have been transferred from the Camaldolese monastery to the corner of the Via del Leone during one of the several structural interventions to which the monastery was subjected. Further archival research might perhaps provide a definitive answer to this problem. Meanwhile, however, we need to consider with extreme caution the fresco's link with the date 1356, even if its execution in the sixth decade would seem to be confirmed by its stylistic features; reflections of it can, I believe, be found in the works of other artists of the period, for example in Puccio di Simone's *Madonna and Child* dated 1360 (New York, Alana collection).[57] The San Remigio *Lamentation*, in my view, is later than the tabernacle in via del Leone. For in this work the elements of more exquisite elegance presented by Giovanni da Milano in his Prato polyptych (1355-1360) seem to be more fully assimilated, as shown by the precious dress of the kneeling young girl, while the contrast between the bright red of the Magdalene's mantle and the grey-blue of her dress, or the marked naturalism achieved in the expression of grief in her face and the rendering of the tresses of hair spread over her shoulders, seem to reflect the brilliant colour contrasts privileged by the Lombard master. The orchestration of the scene, which is developed in depth, with an accomplished grasp of foreshortening, indicates, however – in my view – a phase subsequent to the Via del Leone tabernacle, because Giottino too – like Giovanni da Milano from the Ognissanti polyptych onwards – seems to be more consciously entering into dialogue with the more monumental and solemn language of Florentine painting of the time.[58]

An eloquent testimony of the attention paid by the Master of the Misericordia to the tender humanity of the figurative language of Giottino and the sophisticated courtly elegance of Giovanni da Milano can be found in the *Enthroned Madonna and Child between Saints Peter and Paul* and, in the predella, the *Vir dolorum* between the *Martyrdom of St. Catherine* and the *Martyrdom of St. Agatha* in the Galleria dell'Accademia (pl. XIII). A "certain affinity" between the figurative style of the Accademia altarpiece and that of Giottino was already remarked by Luisa Marcucci,[59] though she suggested its attribution instead to Matteo di Pacino. Subsequently, Miklós Boskovits included the Accademia *Madonna* in the corpus of the Master of the Misericordia,[60] while Erling Skaug, analysing the decoration of its gold ground, pointed out that the punches used are not identifiable in other works of this painter, but derive instead from the set of tools introduced into Florence by Giovanni da Milano, in his view, in c. 1363; a date which could be considered a useful *terminus ante quem* for the dating of this painting, as also of others in which the same punch is used, including Giottino's San Remigio *Lamentation*.[61]

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[56] Richa, IX, 1761, 142-155. In this passage Richa also recalls the botched attempt to remove and transfer a fresco depicting St. Jerome.

[57] Labriola, in *The Alana Collection*, 2009, 174-176.

[58] It goes beyond the objectives of the present study to discuss in any detail the complex question of the relations between Giovanni da Milano and Giottino, and in particular the much-debated problem of whether the small *Lamentation* painted by the Lombard painter in the lower part of the eight-part panel in the Galleria Corsini should predate that of Giottino for the church of San Remigio, or vice versa. It seems to me worth pointing out, however, that the two painters belong to different generations: the elder of the two was Giovanni da Milano, whom the documents show was already active as a painter in 1346. Giottino must have been considerably younger; he is documented only between 1368 and 1369 and was the son of the painter Stefano, whom the documents mention no earlier than the 1330s.

[59] Marcucci, in *Jahrb. Berliner Mus.*, V, 1963, 32; 1965, 93.

[60] Boskovits, 1975, 63, 202 n. 107, 368.

[61] Skaug, I, 1994, 191.

While the poor condition of the paint surface of this small altarpiece, gravely compromised by abrasion and subsequent retouches, does not facilitate analysis of its figurative style, its inclusion in the catalogue of the Master of the Misericordia seems to me clearly suggested by comparison with the Madonna of the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Kisters collection: the design of the face is substantially identical, characterized by the small pointed chin, retreating jaw, and the elongated eyes that emphasize the high and pronounced cheekbones. Despite the precarious condition of the Accademia panel, the close correspondence with the Master of the Misericordia's manner is further evident in the compartments of the predella in which the *Martyrdom of St. Catherine* shows a composition very similar to that of the painting of the same subject in the Worcester Museum (MA) (pl. XVII[1]), with which it also shares the incisive profile of the figures and the lively language of gestures. In the *Madonna and Child with Saints Peter and Paul* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, on the other hand, the colour is applied in a more minute way that follows and emphasizes the curves of the modelling and confers on it a particularly light and delicate consistency, only in part recognizable in the other paintings of the Master of the Misericordia. However, the singular position of this work in the corpus of the Master of the Misericordia is shown by the circumstance that two punches used for the decoration of its gold ground are recognizable among those used in the San Remigio *Lamentation*. This represents an important indication of a phase in the master's career in which he was evidently working in close contact with this artist, perhaps within the same *bottega*, and helps us to understand the experimental attitude of some developments in his art. A possible link with the activity of Giottino cannot however furnish us with any precise clues on the chronology of his development.

I believe, at this point, that it may be useful to introduce into the discussion the results of an analysis of a half-length *Madonna and Child* painted by Jacopo di Cione, which an inscription on its frame dates to 1362.[62] In this painting, still legible despite the rubbing of its paint surface, the Virgin's face is distinguished by its aristocratic character, while below the mantle, hemmed with precious braid, we can glimpse her soft flaxen locks spread on her shoulders. Her red dress, characterized by its fashionably wide neckline, is decorated with gold-embroidered foliated motifs, as too is the red cloth draped round the body of the Child. The pursuit of courtly elegance is evident throughout the painting, which is also characterised by its acute observations of the real world. On the basis of these findings, it seems to me possible to recognize in this work (which does not represent an isolated case in the catalogue of the younger brother of Andrea Orcagna)[63] the signs of a growing receptiveness to the more precious and courtly features of the paintings of Giovanni da Milano and Giottino between the sixth and seventh decade of the century. At the same time we can identify in it some support for dating to the same years, not long after the start of the 1360s, also the precocious, but still in some sense harsh, response to the same stimuli expressed by the Master of the Misericordia in the *Madonna and Child* No. 437 in the Accademia.

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With the above observations I have tried to circumscribe, at least in its essential elements, a peculiar phase in the activity of the Master of the Misericordia, roughly coinciding with the 1360s. From this basis we can then proceed to a reconsideration of the development of this artist: from his earliest

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[62] Kreytenberg, 2000, fig. 46. Kreytenberg thinks the painting (which was in a private collection in the USA in 2000) was painted by the brother of Jacopo di Cione, Andrea. An attribution to Jacopo, shared by the present writer, has been expressed by Daniela Parenti, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 325-332.

[63] The early 1360s is also the period in which can plausibly be placed the small tabernacle of the Madonna *and Child with two donors* and (in the shutters) the *Annunciation, Saints* and the *Crucifixion* in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (Inv. No. 1890.8465) (*Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 116-121), as also can the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* formerly in the Kaulbach collection in Munich (Benati, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 1999, 50-52).

works, still linked to the tradition of Florentine art in the mid-century, to those intrusive developments we have just been considering. The inner dialectic between these contrasting influences in the master's work – Florentine tradition of Giotto on the one hand, intrusive late-gothic naturalism on the other – will also need to be better defined. Lastly we will then take into consideration the large series of paintings in which, from the early 1370 on, the master developed new forms, and enriched his art with new stylistic features, expressing them in works we can associate with a further and final phase of his lengthy career.

1345-1365: from Bernardo Daddi to Andrea Orcagna

When, in the first half of the 1360s, the Master of the Misericordia began to succumb to the influence of the "naturalistic" vision of Giovanni da Milano, he was clearly already in possession of a mature figurative style. That style was firmly based on the principles of form and manner privileged by Florentine artistic culture in the mid-fourteenth century, such as the tendency to underline monumentality of figure, plastic relief of volume and clear-cut sharpness of drawing. The research summed up in the following pages starts out from this Florentine substratum. My aim is to deduce more precisely the circle in which the master's formative experiences were made and then, on that basis, to reconstruct the earliest phases of his career.

A useful starting point to this end can be identified in the polyptych, now dismembered and in part dispersed, that had at its centre the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in the Pinacoteca Stuard in Parma (pl. II[2]). Of the four compartments that originally flanked the centrepiece, one representing a *Martyr Saint* appeared on the art market (Florence Taccani) in Milan in the 1970s (pl. II[3]); another, also with a *Martyr Saint*, is now in the Bonnefanten Museum in Maastricht (pl. II[5]); while a third, portraying a *Bishop Saint*, is now in the Museum of Art in Worcester (MA) (pl. II[6]). The polyptych, like most of those painted in Florence in this period, probably had five compartments in its main tier (in our case a Madonna at the centre flanked by four Saints) and it would have been completed by a narrative predella. That the three lateral compartments come from the same polyptych is clearly confirmed by their matching measurements, figurative style and similarities in figural composition; even more conclusively, as Federico Zeri already pointed out,[64] the common origin of these three panels and the *Madonna* in Parma is shown by the fact that the same carpet painted on the floor at the foot of the Virgin's throne extends into the compartment with the *Martyr Saint* in Maastricht, where its edge can be seen (in the bottom right): so this latter saint must have been situated on the Virgin's left and would have been flanked in turn by the *Bishop Saint* in Worcester. The *Martyr Saint* formerly in Milan and another compartment, now lost, would have been placed to the right of the Virgin. The predella has also been dismembered and lost, but it is probable that a little panel of the *Invention of the Bodies of the Martyrs Gervasius and Protasius by St. Ambrose*, now in the Musée des Hautes-Alpes at Gap (pl. II[4]), originally formed part of it; it was conjecturally given to the Master of the Misericordia by Offner and independently recognized as a work of the same master by Boskovits, who suggested its provenance from the polyptych we have just described on the basis of a comparison of measurements and compatibility of style.[65]

The identification of the three Saints that flanked the Virgin in the main tier of the polyptych is complicated by the lack of specific attributes. Yet, if we are correct in assuming that the predella panel in Gap forms part of the polyptych we are here trying to reconstruct, the scene it describes

[64] Zeri, in *Gaz. B.-Arts*, LXXI, 1968, 75.

[65] Offner, 1981, 10; Boskovits, 1975, 368. The latter mistakenly identified the episode described in the painting as a *Miracle of St. Augustine*; the iconography of the panel was more correctly interpreted by Kaftal, 1952, 28.

may provide some useful clues for the identification of the Saints portrayed to the sides of the Virgin: the *Bishop Saint* in the museum at Worcester could in this case be identified as St. Ambrose, and the two young *Martyr Saints*, characterized by their marked facial resemblance, as Gervasius and Protasius, whom the early medieval hagiographical literature describes as twins.[66] Moreover, since the *Saint* in Maastricht must have been placed, as we have said, to the left of the Madonna, the other *Martyr* (pl. II[3]) must have been situated in a symmetrical position on the other side. This would suggest, in turn, the provenance of the polyptych from an altar or church dedicated to Saints Gervasius and Protasius. Research conducted to this end on the cult of the two saints in Florence has yielded no firm evidence of this, even if some clues would seem to support its provenance from the now demolished church of Santi Gervasio e Protasio situated just outside the medieval circuit of walls of Florence.[67]

What first prompted art historians to devote particular attention to the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in the Pinacoteca Stuard in Parma was its patent Daddesque origin: more particularly, its derivation from Bernardo Daddi's half-figure *Madonna and Child*, now in the Biblioteca Berenson,[68] or from a very similar work. This same model was reflected by the Master of the Misericordia also in works of his full maturity, such as the *Madonna and Child* in Manchester Art Gallery or that formerly in the Galleria Bellini at Florence (pls. XLVI-XLVII). Reminiscences of Bernardo Daddi are also recognizable in the figures of the two young *Martyr Saints*, who recall in their pose, hairstyle and dress those of *Saints Nereus and Achilleus* in the laterals of the polyptych painted by the Florentine master for the high altar of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in c. 1335, while the pose of the *Bishop*

[66] Rimoldi - Raggi, in *Bibl. Sanctorum*, VI, 1965, 298-305. Useful for confirmation of the identification of the two Saints seems to me a comparison with their representation in the polyptych of the Master of the Christ Church Coronation now in the church of San Cristoforo in Perticaia (Rignano sull'Arno, Florence), but with a provenance from Santo Stefano a Torri (cf. Scalella, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 118, fig. 1); in this polyptych the identity of the Saints is indicated by an inscription in the lower part of the panel.

[67] According to tradition, the first relics of Saints Gervasius and Protasius were brought to Florence by St. Zenobius, who had received them from the hands of St. Ambrose himself (AASS, 19 June, *Commentarius Praevius*, 64); however, the relic of the body of St. Gervasius now venerated in SS. Apostoli only came to Florence much later: it was donated to the church in 1661 (Richa, IV, 1756, 51). Similarly, another relic of this Saint was donated to the monastery of the Beato Chiarito in 1644 (Richa, V, 1757, 212). The only ancient attestation of the cult of the two martyrs in Florence regards the suburban church of Santi Gervasio e Protasio (on which see Moreni, VI, 1795, 71-83; Santoni, 1847, 108-109; Bacci, 1980; Villani - Cirri, 1993, 133-134), founded by St. Zenobius in 395, according to the tradition to which reference is made in the inscription found behind the painting on the high altar. The medieval building was damaged by the siege of 1529 and then restored by the Guicciardini and Bardi-Serzelli families before the close of the same century. During this restoration the church's three altars were renovated, based on designs by Santi di Tito, who also painted the altarpiece of the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* on the high altar, on commission from Ilarione de' Martelli (AAF, Visite Pastorali, 16.1, Alessandro d'Ottaviano de' Medici. 1689-1692, fols. 489r-v). Santi di Tito also painted the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* for one of the side altars (AAF, Visite Pastorali, 19.1, Alessandro Marzi Medici. 1617, 23 maggio). Passignano's *Adoration of the Shepherds* adorned the third altar. From the reports of the Pastoral Visits, however, we learn that in 1638 "A sinistris Altariis Maioris adest aliud Altare cum tabula in qua sunt expressae Imagines SS. Gervasii et Prothasii Patronum dicte ecclesiae" and that "in medio predictae tabulae dipicta est Imago Beatissimae Virginis, quae paliotto serico retinetur coperta" (AAF, Visite Pastorali, 12.52, Pietro Niccolini, Documenti, SS. Gervasio e Protasio). The same painting is also recorded in the report for 1663 (AAF, Visite Pastorali, 38.2, Francesco Nerli, fol. 33v), but all trace of it is thereafter lost. Subsequently the church was renovated during the period of Austrian rule (1784) and then destroyed during the Second World War. It cannot be excluded, in my view, that the altarpiece recorded by documents down to the seventeenth century is identical with the polyptych of the Master of the Misericordia, probably preserved in the church down to the end of the eighteenth century and then acquired by the marchese Alfonso Tacoli Canacci for his own very extensive collection (Buonocore, in *Arte Cristiana*, XC, 2002, 423-428; Buonocore, 2005, 17-117).

[68] Offner, *Corpus*, III/III, 2nd ed., 1989, pl. XIII; according to Boskovits, however (in Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 17 n. 40), the painting of Bernardo Daddi represented right from the start the half-length Madonna and formed the centrepiece of a polyptych, flanked by Saints, they too half length.

Saint in Worcester, turned in three-quarter profile towards the centre, seems to reflect the imposing figure of *St. Zenobius* in the same polyptych.[69]

Yet the precious and persuasive language of Bernardo Daddi at the time he painted his polyptych for Florence Cathedral is by now worlds apart from the mentality of the Master of the Misericordia: it is instead in the figurative language of Daddi's final period (in the 1340s) that the Master's works find their most direct precedent.[70] That world, characterized by a compositional balance of classicizing tone, is reflected in the Master's ample forms and soberly draped garments, in the full modelling of his faces and their serenity of expression, and in the plastically accentuated volumes of his figures, which move with restrained and rigorously balanced gestures, absorbed in a dimension inaccessible to the observer.

The recognition that the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in Parma has a Daddesque pedigree runs through the whole literature on this painting. Indeed it was to Bernardo Daddi himself that it was first attributed in the early years of the last century. It was then included in the catalogue of Puccio di Simone (a painter active in Daddi's shop as early as the fourth decade of the Trecento), as suggested by Roberto Longhi. The Daddesque character of the work was further underlined by Offner who, in a series of observations as part of his wider studies on Daddi and his circle, recognized it as the work of the personality he himself had reconstructed around the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Accademia (pl. XII). Our current knowledge of the activity of Puccio di Simone prompts a deeper reflection on the relations between the two artists and the nature of the link between them.[71] In the ample forms and rounded profiles of the figures in what we may call the polyptych of Saints Gervasius and Protasius we can in fact recognize close affinities with works of Puccio's more strictly Daddesque phase. One such work is the triptych of the *Coronation of the Virgin and Saints* now divided between a private collection and the Galleria Nazionale in Parma;[72]) it is perhaps datable to the period 1340-1345. Other examples are the slightly later polyptychs in the oratory of San Pietro at Petrognano and in the Galleria Nazionale di Urbino.[73] In the *Coronation* formerly in the Cenami Spada collection in Lucca, Christ's mantle is gathered over one hip with an elegant serpentine profile, revealing its ermine lining as in the cloak of the Madonna in Parma, while in the angels in the foreground, and in the Saints to the sides, the draperies tend to dilate around the bodies and are furrowed by long deep tubular folds. This drapery style evinces a quest for monumentality similar to that pursued by the Master of the Misericordia. On the other hand, Puccio di Simone's more assured pictorial technique and his receptiveness to the gothicizing fashion of the time are reflected in such motifs as the fashionable dress of Saint Reparata in the left compartment of the triptych, and especially in the delicate softness of the modelling of the faces and in the mental agitation expressed by the Saints to the right. Puccio's two above-cited polyptychs in the oratory of San Pietro at Petrognano and in the Galleria Nazionale in Urbino reveal, in turn, a closer kinship with the austere tone of the Master of the Misericordia. Not only does the central group of the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* follow a scheme closely resembling that of the *Madonna* in Parma, but analogies can also be observed in the absorbed expressions of the faces and the tendency to dilate the draperies around the bodies in the search for effects of greater grandeur. By contrast, the modelling strongly underlined by the Master of the Misericordia with a robust chiaroscuro that invests the figures with an effect of imposing monumentality seems to have little interested Puccio, whose figures are more fragile and insubstantial; they are essentially two-dimensional.

It should be borne in mind, however, that Puccio, already active in the second quarter of the Trecento,[74] and the Master of the Misericordia probably belonged to different generations. So the relations between the two need to be evaluated in the context of a common affiliation to Daddi's shop, perhaps in the 1340s. In contrast to his older colleague, however, the Master of the Misericordia would show himself more responsive to the innovations of Andrea Orcagna during this period. In his *Annunciation* painted in 1346, Andrea had tried to enrich his own figurative language with the complexities of an architectural setting of gothicizing forms and favoured a light and brilliant palette. But he shows evident signs of a change of direction in the triptych he painted shortly after for the Baronci chapel in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore: the drawing of the contours is more nervous, jagged and intermittent in line; the colour more sombre;[75] and the composition atmospherically more dramatic, thanks to a light that strikes the figures with "an intense ray, almost like a beacon, highlighting the illuminated parts and accentuating the contrast with the parts left in shadow".[76] In short, a positive revival of the values of *disegno* and chiaroscuro can be detected in this painting. It signals an abandonment of the chromatic naturalism of the "*dipingere dolce e tanto unito*" pursued by many artists in previous years.[77] The painted figures assume a sculptural consistency. They capture the observer's attention with a dramatic effect that is quite new.

In the *Madonna* in Parma, and in the *Saints* that originally flanked it, the Master of the Misericordia seems to share, at least in part, the new innovative style that Andrea had championed: the figures emerge clearly and sharply from the gold ground; they confidently occupy the space allotted to them and assume poses that suggest a slight rotary movement. The accomplished modelling of their faces and the deep folds of their garments are accentuated by a strong light. The colour assumes

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69 Offner, *Corpus*, III/III, 2nd ed., 1989, pl. XIV; see further Padoa Rizzo (in *Studi Arte*, 4, 1993, 211-222) for a reconstruction of the complex history of the polyptych and its provenance from the high altar of Santa Maria del Fiore, and Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 571-573.

70 See for example the polyptych with the *Madonna and Child with Saints*, dated 1344, formerly in the Cappellone degli Spagnoli at Santa Maria Novella (Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, pl. XVII), or that with the *Crucifixion and Saints*, dated 1348, formerly in the church of San Giorgio a Ruballa near Florence and now in London, where the exemplary value of Daddi for the development of the Master of the Misericordia's style is evident, especially in the figures of St. Lawrence and St. Peter in the two outer panels (Offner, *Corpus*, III/III, 2nd ed., 1989, pl. XIX).

71 Boskovits, in Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 17-21; Boskovits - Tartuferi, 2003, 237-243; *Firenze Cat. Mostra*, 2005, 13-24.

72 Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, pls. XXXIX-XL.

73 Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, pls. LI, LIV.

74 According to a recent and cautious proposal of Miklós Boskovits (in Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 19-20), one of the earliest testimonials of the activity of Puccio di Simone is perhaps to be identified in the monumental painted *Crucifix* in the Florentine church of San Marco, datable according to Boskovits to the second half of the 1330s. The attribution of the painting to Puccio di Simone had already been proposed by Erling Skaug (1994, I, 137-138 and n. 22) and re-affirmed by Mojmir Frinta (1998, 427), on the basis of the punches used in the decoration of its gold ground. Puccio's presence in the shop of Bernardo Daddi in the 1340s is indicated by the collaboration of the two artists in the execution of the polyptych now re-composed in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (Inv. Nos. 443, 6140a-d) (Tartuferi, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 79-83). The painter's subsequent period of activity in the Marche can be placed in the period around 1350; it is testified by the triptych with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* now in the National Gallery in Washington, with a provenance from a church in Fabriano and painted together with Allegretto Nuzi, and by the panel of *St. Anthony Abbot* in the Pinacoteca of the same Marchigian city, painted by Puccio alone (cf. Boskovits, in Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, pls. XXXVI-XXXVII). Puccio's last securely dated work is the *Madonna of Humility*, dated 1360, formerly in the Artaud de Montor collection (New York, Alana collection) (Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, pl. LII; Labriola, in *The Alana Collection*, 2009, 172-175). The fact that many of the punches used by Bernardo Daddi passed to Puccio di Simone after the mid-century suggests that the latter had continued to pursue his activity in Daddi's shop after the death of the older master (Skaug, 1994, I, 116).

75 Kreytenberg, 2000, 63-71, pls. 14a, 15; Feraci, in *Florence Exh Cat.*, 2008b, 106-107. The Baronci triptych was painted in 1350, as attested by the inscription on the base of the central compartment ("Hoc opus fecit fieri Tommas Baronci An(n)i MCCCL").

76 Boskovits, 1975, 24.

77 Cf. Volpe, in *Storia Arte*, V, 1983, 229-304, and also Bellosi, in *Prospettiva*, 2001, No. 101, 19-40.

warm and bright tones, exemplified by the contrast between the deep purple and brilliant red of the garments of the *Martyr Saint* in Maastricht.[78] The warm and radiant yellow, red, orange and gold that dominate the palette in the Parma *Madonna* further recall the colour combinations seen in the paintings of Bernardo Daddi, for example the *Madonna* in Orsanmichele,[79] but they offer a more modern interpretation of them, in line with the more mature style of Orcagna. In such works as the Baronci triptych[80] or the polyptych of the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, painted by Andrea himself shortly after,[81] the majestic figures directly enter into rapport with the spectator. By contrast, the figures of the Master of the Misericordia are more self-absorbed, assuming an impassiveness that borders on indifference.

Another sign of the closeness of the Master of the Misericordia to Orcagna's ideas must – in my view – have been evident in the relation between the painted surface and the original wooden frame of the polyptych of Saints Gervasius and Protasius: a visual continuity seems to have been suggested, or created, between the individual compartments; for some details suggest that the Parma *Madonna and Child* and the two *Martyr Saints* occupied a single unified pictorial space, undivided by the elements of the frame. For instance, a small fragment of the carpet below the Virgin's throne remains visible in the Maastricht compartment, while the spandrel marking the intersection between the arch of the centrepiece and that of its lateral has left an imprint in the fragmentary panel formerly in Milan. We must think, therefore, of a format similar, at least in part, to that adopted by Andrea Orcagna in the altarpiece for the Strozzi chapel in Santa Maria Novella between 1354 and 1357.[82] This time span ought not to be too different from that within which the Master of the Misericordia's polyptych should be placed. The correspondence of this work to the figurative conventions of Orcagna and his circle in the sixth decade is also confirmed by the absence, or rather the invisibility, of the architectural throne in the central compartment. Completely concealed by the cloth of honour,[83] it is transformed into a richly brocaded backdrop, as in Orcagna's triptych for Santa Maria Maggiore in 1350, or in the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by his brother Nardo now in the Brooklyn Museum in New York,[84] and also in the small *Madonna and Child with Saints* attributed to Niccolò di Tommaso which bears the date 1359.[85] The discreet hint of the flat surface on which the Virgin is sitting, or of the step of her throne, is closely matched

78 De Jong-Janssen, 1995, pl. 21.
79 Colour reproduction in Bertani - Vervat, 2000.
80 Kreytenberg, 2000, 66-71, pl. 15; *Florence Exh. Cat.,* 2008b, 106-107.
81 Offner, *Corpus*, IV/I, 1962, 62-64, pls. IV-IV[9]; Kreytenberg, 2000, 78-80, pl. 17a. The polyptych came to the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence from the convent of SS. Annunziata in the early nineteenth century, following the suppression of the religious congregations ordered by the Napoleonic government. Its possible provenance from the Del Palagio chapel, dedicated to San Nicola and consecrated in 1353, which the sources describe as decorated with frescoes of Taddeo Gaddi, was first proposed by Offner (*Corpus*, 1962, IV/I, 62), and later revived by Kreytenberg. In this regard see further Parenti, in *Arte Cristiana*, 2001, 329.
82 Offner, *Corpus*, IV/I, 1962, 34-40 pls. I-I[1-29]; Kreytenberg, 2000, 84-96, pl. 22. An even earlier example, probably datable to the second half of the 1330s, is the polyptych to which belonged the compartment with Saints John the Baptist and Paul (New York, Alana collection) and which was attributed by Miklós Boskovits to Stefano di Ricco di Lapo (Boskovits, in *Florence Exh. Cat.,* 2008b, 124-125; Pasut, in *The Alana collection*, 2009, 192-198).
83 On the decorative motifs of the brocaded cloth see Klesse, 1967, No. 365b; Klesse identified the same motif in works of Nardo di Cione (*Saints*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, No. HG 1027) and Jacopo di Cione (*Coronation of the Virgin*, London, National Gallery, No. 569).
84 This painting can perhaps be identified with the one signed and dated 1356 which was once displayed in a room of the Palazzo della Gabella dei Contratti in Florence; Offner, *Corpus*, IV/II, 1960, 4 and 68-69; *New York Mus Cat.* 1997, 146-147.
85 Tartuferi, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXI, 1993, 758, 337-338, fig. 1. Cf. also *London Sale Cat.*, December 2, 2008, lot 30).

also in the central compartment of the polyptych with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* at the centre and *Saints* in the laterals, also by Orcagna, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, presumably dating to the period 1350-1355,[86] and in the similar centrepiece of Taddeo Gaddi's polyptych in Pistoia, which we know was completed in 1353.[87] These correspondences help not only to clarify the Orcagnesque character of the Master of the Misericordia's polyptych but also to date it to the mid-1350s.

Though the figurative style of the polyptych that had at its centre the *Madonna and Child* in Parma reveals the hand of an artist of undoubted originality and fully mature style, it is not easy to identify the traces of his previous activity. However, a testimony very close to the polyptych of Saints Gervasius and Protasius, and perhaps predating it, can, I believe, be recognized in some fragments of fresco already associated with the painter by Miklós Boskovits in a passing mention some years ago. The fragments are found on the underside of the arch between the first and second cross-vault (from the entrance wall) in the nave of the Florentine church of Santa Maria Novella (pls. I[1-4]).[88] The decoration of the undersides of the arches between the cross-vaults of the nave of the Dominican church is known to have begun from the part closer to the transepts with the arches between the first and second bay and between the second and third; here, within the first decade of the century, Lippo di Benivieni, or a painter of his circle, had frescoed figures of *Saints and Angels*.[89] The fresco decoration was probably carried out shortly after the completion of the corresponding part of the vaulting, before the massive scaffolds necessary for its construction had been dismantled. Reflecting progress on the construction of the church, a few decades must have separated this first intervention from the decoration of the other undersides of the arches of the nave, which stylistic analysis clearly shows was completed in a later phase, round about the mid-century; in this case too (and for similar reasons) we can assume this decoration was painted shortly after the completion of the corresponding vaulting above. Covered over by an old coat of whitewash, a large part of the frescoes painted on the undersides of the first three cross-arches from the entrance wall were recovered during a restoration conducted in the 1960s, but largely ignored by art historians, also in view of the difficulty of seeing them. After a first and vague attribution to Florentine masters of the first half of the fourteenth century, an attempt to define more precisely the stylistic classification of the frescoes of the three cross-arches was made by Boskovits, who related the figures of *Female Saints* painted between the first and second bay to the manner of the Master of the Misericordia. By contrast, he thought the *Angelic Hierarchies* between the second and third and the *Male Saints* between the third and fourth bay respectively close to the figurative language of Andrea di Cione and Giovanni Bonsi (figs. 1-2).[90] Since the erection of the church proceeded from the transepts to the entrance wall, the presumed intervention of the Master of the Misericordia in the first bay must have marked the conclusion of the work: for this reason it seems to me worthwhile to devote some brief preliminary remarks to the stylistic definition and dating of the decoration of the two undersides of the arches that preceded his intervention. The few references found in archival documents and sources of the period associate the completion and decoration of the "numerous" vaults of the Dominican church with the building activity supervised by Fra' Jacopo Passavanti, who also presided over the decoration of the *cappella maggiore* under the patronage of the Tornaquinci, a family to which he was related through his mother; the

86 See above n. 81.
87 Ladis, 1982, 162, fig. 19-1; Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 247-256.
88 Boskovits, *Corpus*, III/IX, 1984, 188 n. 3.
89 Boskovits, *Corpus*, III/IX, 1984, pl. LXI[b], 188.
90 Boskovits, *Corpus*, III/IX, 1984, 188 n. 3.

Fig. 1 Orcagnesque Painter, *Cherub*, Florence, Santa Maria Novella.

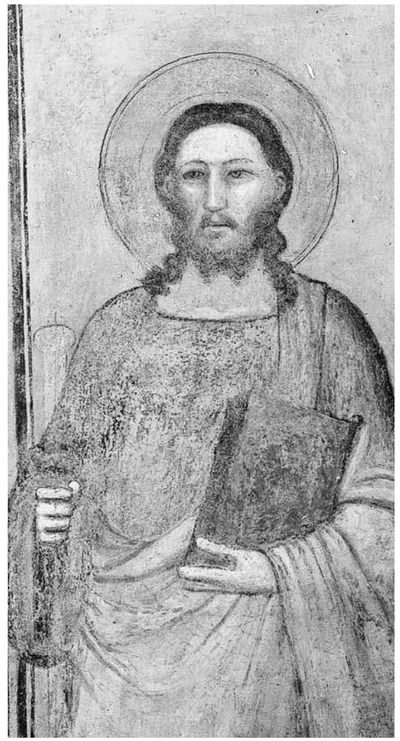

Fig. 2 Close to Andrea Orcagna Painter, *Saint Apostle*, Florence, Santa Maria Novella.

decoration in this case can be dated to the years around 1350.[91] Since the illustrious Dominican friar – not only an architect, but pioneer of the Tuscan vernacular and author of *Lo Specchio della vera Penitenza* – is known to have resided permanently in the convent of Santa Maria Novella at least since 1346, and served as its prior from 1356 to 1357, the year of his death, we can assume that this

[91] The few pieces of documentary evidence relating to the erection of this part of the church unfortunately don't provide any secure points of reference for the chronology of the vault decoration. On the building phases of Santa Maria Novella see W. and E. Paatz, III, 1952, 666 and 763, n. 26, and the observations of Piccinini (2000) relating to the types of capitals and of Adorisio (in *Ant. Viva*, XXVII, 1988, No. 2, 32-35 and in *Mem. Domenic.*, CXVIII, 2001, 383-419. According to the latter, "non appare possibile... specificare quale sia stata l'effettiva progressione dei lavori" on the erection of the walls and vaults of the longitudinal body of the church, since the capitals of the first four bays "furono eseguiti tutti nello stesso tempo, ad eccezione di quelle delle semicolonne in controfacciata collocabili, a quanto sembra, tra il primo e il secondo decennio del XIV secolo". Padoa Rizzo (in *Riscoperta Chiese*, 2002, 76) notes that the church must have been "pressoché compiuta in ogni parte intorno al 1350, anno giubilare". The link between the realization of the last two vaults towards the façade and Jacopo Passavanti's completion of the fabric of the church was first suggested by Villetti, in *Boll. Arch. Roma*, 28, 1981, 5-20.
For the frescoes of the *cappella maggiore* cf. Kreytenberg, 2000, 71-78, figs. 90-106, 114-130. The fragments, now detached and preserved in the adjacent Museum of Santa Maria Novella, were first published by Becherucci (in *Boll. Arte*, XXXIII, 1948, 24-33) as the work of Andrea Orcagna and, subsequently, often classified as the work of his shop or at least in part by assistants (Kreytenberg, 2000, 74 n. 85 for a résumé of the literature), whereas Offner (*Corpus*, IV/I, 1962, IV, IX, 25 n. 5) thought them the work of a follower of Maso di Banco. Kreytenberg, for his part, distinguishes no less than five different hands in the frescoes, including Andrea di Cione himself, his brother Nardo and the painter of the frescoes in the Davanzati chapel (*Stories of St. Catherine*) in Santa Trinita. In this regard see further Neri, in *Maso di Banco*, 1998, 39; Parenti, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 328 and Feraci, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIV, 2006, 91-92.

was also the period within which the decoration of the undersides of the three cross-arches of the nave cited above would have been completed.[92]

The analysis of the style confirms the reports in the historical sources. The attribution of the *Angelic Hierarchies* (between the second and third bay; fig. 1) to Andrea Orcagna and of the *Saints* (between the third and fourth bay; fig. 2) to Giovanni Bonsi seems to have passed unobserved in the monographic studies recently dedicated to these two artists respectively by Kreytenberg and Pasquinucci.[93] In the view of the present writer, the painting of the undersides of the two cross-arches in question is quite homogeneous in style, as is well illustrated – for example – by a comparison between the Cherub of the second underarch and the Bishop Saint of the third. It seems to me possible, therefore, to attribute this decoration to a single master, whose figurative style shows the closest affinities with the language of Andrea Orcagna in the 1350s. The figures are generally enveloped in ample garments, their dense folds emphasized by deep undercutting. Their faces are characterized by deep shadows and often dark in complexion; in this sense they are not too dissimilar from those we see in some of the fragments detached from the underarch over the entrance to the *cappella maggiore*; but they also recall the *Saints John the Baptist and James* of the orcagnesque polyptych now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in their direct rapport with the observer.[94] In the *Angels of the Powers and Dominations* the light and pink hues of the flesh parts and the rounded profile of the faces are also reminiscent of models of Maso di Banco, though by now assimilated into a facial type that is peculiar to the artist, as recognizable in the triptych formerly in Santa Maria Maggiore or in other works of this earliest phase in the activity of Orcagna, such as in the figures of the sides of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome.[95] If the references we have so far identified are correct, a dating of the paintings of the two underarches in question to the years between the late 1340s and early 1350s, coeval with or slightly preceding the lost frescoes of the *cappella maggiore*, would seem to be probable.

The completion of the decorative programme in the nave of Santa Maria Novella lastly entailed the frescoing of the *Female Martyr Saints* on the last underarch, between the first and second bay. Here both the figurative style and also the incorporation of the figures in aedicules, in contrast to the panels profiled by moulded frames in the two afore-mentioned underarches, suggest the intervention of a different artist, perhaps a few years later, when the construction of the new church of the Dominicans was finally completed. This second artist can, I believe, be identified with the Master of the Misericordia. The identification seems to me supported by affinities with the figures of the dispersed polyptych whose central *Madonna and Child* we have studied in Parma and whose laterals we have identified in the panels in Worcester, Maastricht, and formerly in Milan. As in the *Madonna* in Parma or in the young *Martyr Saint* in Maastricht, the figures are imposing in presence. Their forms are rounded, and their surfaces smoothed, by a suffused chiaroscuro. The facial features in these panels match those in our frescoes, while the broad quadrangular necklines suggest that the two works belong to much the same period, datable to c. 1355.

[92] Orlandi, I, 1955, 450-471.

[93] Kreytenberg, 2000; Pasquinucci, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 15-106.

[94] Kreytenberg, 2000, 78-80, pl. 17.

[95] The painting (Alinari, 27440), classified by Offner as a work of the Master of San Lucchese (1981, 22), was included by Boskovits (1975, 200 n. 87) in the corpus of Andrea Orcagna's works in the 1340s.

Another work whose style suggests proximity in date to the *Madonna and Child* in Parma, but which probably follows it some time later, is the polyptych to which three compartments with *Stories of the Life of St. Eligius* originally belonged. Two of these panels are now in the Museo del Prado as part of the bequest of the Cambò collection in Barcelona, while a third was formerly with the dealer Paul Drey in Munich but is now lost (pls. III[1-3]). The original provenance of this altarpiece, and the structure of the polyptych to which these panels belonged, are unknown. On the other hand, in spite of their considerable height (.355 m) and unusual square proportions, the horizontal graining of the wood excludes the possibility that they might have belonged to an altarpiece with movable shutters, similar, for example, to the polyptych of St. *Matthew and Stories of his Life* commissioned from Andrea di Cione by the Arte del Cambio for the oratory of Orsanmichele.[96] It suggests, instead, that they probably belonged to a *paliotto* with the figure of the Saint at the centre, though it cannot be excluded that they might have formed part of a predella of a polyptych of considerable size.

The belonging of the three panels to the corpus of the Master of the Misericordia, and also their chronological proximity to the polyptych of Saints Gervasius and Protasius, is clearly indicated by the close correspondence of the facial types, the firmly defined contours of the figures, and the peculiar drapery style, furrowed by long folds with deep undercutting. On the other hand, the proportions of the figures in the Prado panels are more slender and elongated, and the narrative is enriched with a wealth of genre details that would still seem unusual at the time of the more essential narrative presented in the predella with the *Invention of the Bodies of Saints Gervasius and Protasius* in the Musée des Hautes-Alpes at Gap (pl. II[4]). The attention devoted to describing the scenes in which the figures act and move is indeed something new. It takes the form of a minute description of the tools and objects shown in the scene of *St. Eligius in his Goldsmith's Workshop*, and of the costumes of the onlookers, reflecting the latest developments of fashion in the third quarter of the century.[97] The compositions are crowded; the figures, congregated in small groups, are placed in complex architectural settings, decorated with polychrome marble inlays, reflecting the marble incrustation of the most prestigious buildings of the period, and also implying familiarity with similar scenes forming part of monumental cycles, such as the frescoes of Taddeo Gaddi in the Camposanto of Pisa.[98] The incisive calligraphy, the sculptural modelling accentuated by a chiaroscuro which makes the figures stand out from their background almost with the effect of figures in the round, as especially shown by the cripples before the catafalque of the Saint in the scene of his *Funeral*, confirm once again the painter's affinity with Andrea di Cione. On the other hand, there is no attempt to soften the modelling or ingratiate the facial expressions, in a way that in later works reflects the master's responsiveness to the more modern language of Giovanni da Milano and Giottino. This suggests a dating no later than the early 1360s.

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96 Offner, Corpus, IV/III, 1965, pl. I; Kreytenberg, 2000, 166-169, pl. 48.

97 For a discussion of male fashion in the mid-Trecento see Bellosi, 1974, 43-54. A particularly striking feature of dress in our panel is the close-fitting bonnet with the long 'tail' that falls over the back, of a type we can also identify in the scene of the *Dinner in the House of the Pharisee* painted by Giovanni da Milano in the Guidalotti - Rinuccini Chapel in the sacristy of Santa Croce in Florence (c. 1366) in the figure of the servant seen from the back in the foreground and in the frescoes of Andrea Bonaiuti in the Cappellone degli Spagnoli, next to the church of Santa Maria Novella (Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/VI, 1979, pls. II[4], II[6]).

98 We may note in this regard the similarities between the painted architecture of the Master of the Misericordia in the episode of *St. Eligius in his Goldsmith's Workshop* and those of the *Thanksgiving of Job* at Pisa; cf. *Camposanto Monumentale*, 1960, fig. 98. In the scene of the *Saint's Funeral* a campanile can be glimpsed in the background: a reference perhaps to the progress of work on the Campanile of Florence Cathedral, which, according to the documents, had been almost completed by the sixth decade of the fourteenth century. Cf. Rocchi Coopmans de Yoldi, in *Santa Maria del Fiore,* 1996, 129-130, 138.

St. Eligius (or Eloy), protagonist of the three compartments, was the patron saint of goldsmiths and metalworkers. In Florence he was particularly venerated by the goldsmiths who were members of the Arte della Seta, and by the members of the Arte dei Fabbri e Maniscalchi (guild of blacksmiths and farriers). These latter had their own guildhall on the Via delle Ruote. The information we have on the organization of goldsmiths in fourteenth-century Florence is scanty: the earliest document relating to their organization in the form of a confraternity dates to 1333, a period during which they met in the church of Santo Stefano al Ponte; subsequently their meeting place was transferred to the church of Santa Cecilia, then, from the late fifteenth century on, to the Via della Crocetta (now via Laura).[99] These manifestations of devotion to St. Eligius reflect two different aspects of the hagiographical tradition of the seventh-century bishop of Noyon: one refers to his activity as a farrier and is associated with such miracles as that of the lame horse whose hoof the saint is said to have amputated and then re-attached after replacing its horseshoe; the other commemorates him as a goldsmith in the service of the Merovingian king Clotaire II.[100] The paintings of the Master of the Misericordia illustrate this second aspect of the life of the Saint. In one of the two panels now in Madrid, he appears in the foreground before the enthroned king Clotaire II, who is entrusting to him the commission to make a golden throne; in the middle distance, to the right, the Saint appears again; here he is represented in reduced proportions, looking out of his shop and receiving from a merchant the necessary metal. In another compartment – also in the Prado – Eligius is shown in his workshop, together with other goldsmiths, intent on chiselling the precious object for the king. In the background, we can see a number of necklaces hanging from a rod, and other objects (a chalice, a crown), while some tools of his craft are scattered on the work-bench. The third (now lost) compartment represents the *Saint's Funeral*. The large number of monks who attend it could allude to the numerous monastic foundations attributed to the saint, while a number of cripples also flock to the bier, trusting in the Saint's thaumaturgic virtues.[101]

On the other hand the emphasis given to the activity as goldsmith of the bishop of Noyon, also through the minute description of his workshop and the tools of his trade, suggest that the altarpiece of which our panels formed part was actually commissioned by the confraternity of goldsmiths. If it is the case, it was probably intended for the altar of the chapel at which they met in the church of Santo Stefano al Ponte or for another altar under their patronage.[102]

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99 Weissman, 1982, 64; Henderson, 1994, 454 (It. ed. 1998, 471) and Artusi - Patruno, 1994, 168 (on this latter see also the review by Sebregondi, in *Arch. Stor. It.,* CLIII, 1995, 591-597). From the fifteenth century onwards, the patronage of goldsmiths is also documented by an altar in the church of San Marco, where a panel painted by Sandro Botticelli was placed in 1488 (Ciatti, 1990). In Orsanmichele the goldsmiths shared the altar of the powerful Arte della Seta, adorned with Giovanni del Biondo's panel of the *Enthroned St. John the Evangelist*, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia (Zervas, 1996, *Atlante*, 523, pl. 972). The location of the altar of the Arte dei Fabbri e Maniscalchi in this guild-church on the other hand is unknown; according to Diane Zervas (1996, *Testi*, 152) it was perhaps against the square pillar in the south-west, on the side of the church where the tabernacle of this guild with the marble figure of *St. Eligius* sculpted by Nanni di Banco would be placed on the exterior in the following century.

100 Weiner, in *Lex. Christl. Ikon.*, 6, 1974, ed. cons. 1994, 122-127.

101 Unfortunately the painting is known only from an old black and white photograph and it impossible to determine the colour of monk's dresses. Nonetheless if they were grey or brown, as it seems in the photograph, the monks could have been members of the Silvestrini order (*Rome Exh. Cat. 2000,* 197-201), to whom belonged the patronage of the church intitled to San Marco in Florence, where goldsmith are known to have had an altar in the XV[th] century.

102 The earliest indications relating to works present in the seat of the Compagnia degli Orefici date to the period of its suppression and are so vague as to provide no useful evidence to help us identify the polyptych here being discussed (ASF, Patrimonio Ecclesiastico, 45, No. 147: "...17 luglio 1784... tre quadri di più grandezze, ...una tavola dipinta in tela)". More detailed, on the other hand, is an inventory of the furnishings of the church of the Spedale di San Lo', of the Arte dei Fabbri e Maniscalchi, with seat in Via San Gallo, already existing in 1361 when it is

To this first period of the activity of the Master also belongs a group of paintings which, like those we have just been discussing, document the painter's participation in the pursuit of volumetric relief and monumentality that characterise the figurative style of the major personalities in Florentine art between the sixth and seventh decade of the fourteenth century, from Taddeo Gaddi to Andrea di Cione. The paintings in question include a *Crucifixion* formerly in the Carlo De Carlo collection in Florence (pl. IV); two other paintings of the same subject, whose whereabouts are now unknown but that were respectively in the Gualtiero Volterra collection in Florence (pl. V) and in the gallery of Paul Drey in Munich (pl. X); a little panel of the *Last Judgement and Man of Sorrows between Symbols of the Passion* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna (pl. VI); a *Madonna of Humility* formerly in the Raimond van Marle collection in Perugia (pl. VII); the centrepiece of a tabernacle representing the *Enthroned Madonna and Saints*, formerly with Charles Napper in London (pl. IX); and a small tabernacle with the *Enthroned Madonna and Saints*, the *Annunciation*, and the *Nativity and Crucifixion* formerly in the Brunati gallery in Milan (pl. VIII).

In the former De Carlo *Crucifixion* (pl. IV) and in that formerly in the Volterra collection (pl. V) the composed tone of the sacred drama, suggested by the calm gestures of the onlookers and the perfect aplomb of the body of Christ – his musculature plastically accentuated by chiaroscuro – clearly indicate the artist's allegiance to the solemnity of the Florentine figurative tradition and to the example of Taddeo Gaddi in particular. This is shown by comparison with such works as the *Crucifixion* formerly in the gable of the polyptych of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas and the painted *Crucifix* in the church of San Giorgio a Ruballa,[103] both close in date to the mid-century. To the same

recorded in the will of Bartolo di Cino Benvenuti de' Nobili (27 October 1361, recorded in Lami, 1758, II, 1364). In this inventory (ASF, Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 734), drawn up in 1738, we find cited "Un quadro che serve di tavola sopra l'Altare dipintovi sul legno la SS. Vergine con Bambino Gesù, San Giovanni Battista e San Lo'...; un quadro di legno all'antica sopra la porta di chiesa dipintovi la Madonna con Gesù Bambino, San Giovanni e San Lo'; ...nella stanza dell'Udienza... un quadro di legno all'antica diviso in tre quadri con il frontone ciascheduno in terzo acuto dipintovi la Madonna con Gesù Bambino, quattro Santi e quattro Angeli". One of these works could, in my view, be identified with a polyptych of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini that is now lost, but that can be reconstructed, at least in part. Miklós Boskovits (1975, 403) was the first to recognize Niccolò di Pietro Gerini as the author of two predella panels with Stories of St. Eligius (*St. Eligius Cutting off a Horse's Hoof and Re-shoeing It*, Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais, cf. Laclotte - Moench, 2005, 104; *St. Egidius Re-attaching the Hoof*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, cf. Boskovits, 1975, fig. 181). Later Federico Zeri (in Laclotte - Mognetti, 1976, 79) claimed to recognize one of the compartments of the main tier of the polyptych from which the two predella panels came in a panel of *Saints Eligius (?) and John the Baptist* (formerly in Vienna, Lanckoronscki collection; in 1959, according to an annotation on the back of the photograph in the archive of the Corpus, this panel was in the Kisters collection at Kreuzlingen, Switzerland; then in the Newhouse Gallery, New York; Boskovits, 1975, fig. 185). Though the Saint portrayed in the New York panel next to St. John the Baptist is not certainly identifiable, the characteristics of his dress and the large hammer he holds in his hands correspond to those of the protagonist of the predella panels in Avignon and Amsterdam and also the measurements are compatible (the compartment formerly in New York is 46 cm wide, that in Avignon 49 cm). I think that the compartment from a dismantled polyptych with *Saints Jerome and Julian* might also have formed part of the same polyptych; it recently appeared on the art market with an attribution to Matteo di Pacino which its stylistic features do not seem to confirm [London, Dickinson]. That this panel might have belonged to the same altarpiece as the panel with Saints Eligius and John the Baptist is suggested by the correspondence of their measurements (95 x 44 cm), by the recurrence in both of the faux-marble motif that decorates the floor, by the type of punched decoration of the haloes and, lastly, by the presence of a horizontal cut in the gable that is the same as the one can be seen in the painting formerly in New York, a sign that the two panels were conjoined at least until the time of this damage. A precise identification with one of the polyptychs recorded by the documents in the archive of the Spedale di San Lo' is not possible. Nonetheless, the presence of St. Eligius together with John the Baptist (as some documents also record) and St. Julian, who was also venerated for his activity of assistance to pilgrims (Kaftal, 1952, 593-601), makes such a hypothesis very probable.

[103] Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 805, 247-256, fig. 1. Ladis, 1982, 170.

stylistic phase probably belongs also the fragment of the shutter of a tabernacle with the *Crucifixion* (pl. X), known to me only from old photographs, which show its surface worn and obscured by dirt, but which seems to me to show close affinities, both in design and in the full forms of the modelling, with the *Crucifixion* formerly in the collection of Gualtiero Volterra. The same goes for the little panel of the *Last Judgement and Man of Sorrows between Symbols of the Passion* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna (pl. VI), where the faces, characterized by the typical squared jaw, and the bust of the *Vir dolorum* standing in the sarcophagus are modelled with a sharp but subtly modulated chiaroscuro, despite the painting's small size. The drawing is accomplished; the forms are ample and firmly positioned in space. The small Bolognese painting is also remarkable, however, and has been extensively commented on, for its peculiar iconographic features. Datable – in my view – no later than the early 1360s, it seems to be the earliest known version in Florence of the theme of the *Arma Christi*, i.e. the representation of the dead Christ standing as the *Vir dolorum* at the centre of his tomb, between the symbols of the Passion. The representation of the *Man of Sorrows* in the foreground and that of the *Last Judgement* in the upper half of the panel further combines the narrative with the themes of *pietas* for the dead and of trustful expectation of the Last Judgement. The identification of the two figures who rise in the pose of orants from a sarcophagus in the lower left-hand corner remains uncertain, but the connotation of the painting as a work destined for private meditation on the themes of death and last judgement suggests that they are deceased figures dear to the memory of the person who commissioned the painting.[104]

A dating close to that of the *Stories of St. Eligius* should probably be accorded to the *Madonna of Humility* formerly in the van Marle collection in Perugia (pl. VII). The composition follows a scheme that was widespread in Florentine painting of the second half of the fourteenth century, beginning with the better known examples of Jacopo di Cione and Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci; these present the more complex version of the iconography, including as they do angels in adoration at the sides and God the Father sending down the dove of the Holy Spirit in the upper part of the panel.[105] The spread of this iconography in Florentine painting from the 1360s on presupposes the existence of an influential model to which particular devotion was paid. It can perhaps be identified with one of the abovementioned versions, whose original destination and date are unfortunately unknown, or with a prototype that predated them but of which no trace remains.[106] The question is not unimportant with a view to establishing the chronology of the works of the Master of the Misericordia, since the identification of the model could provide a useful *terminus post quem*. Leaving to one side the problem of the possible existence of a lost prototype, there seems to be wide agreement among art historians that Jacopo di Cione's *Madonna of Humility* in Washington is earlier than that of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci in the Accademia.[107] In my view, however, some considerations suggest a different order of precedence. The two panels are very similar in composition, monumental size and the arched

[104] Chiodo, in *Bologna Mus. Cat.* 2004, 152-154.

[105] Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, pl. X; Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997, pl. XLII ; Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, pls. XXVIII[1-2]. On the problems connected with the iconographic interpretation of this theme see Kreytenberg, 2000, 165-166.

[106] See in this volume 22 n. 31.

[107] The view that the Washington *Madonna of Humility* is earlier than that of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci is shared, among the others, by Gaudenz Freuler (*Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997, 293-294, 412-417), Gert Kreytenberg (2000, 164-166) and *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2010, 153-155. Kreytenberg, however, thinks the painting is a work of the maturity of Andrea di Cione, datable between c. 1363 and 1365, in contrast to other art historians who recognize in the painting the figurative style of Jacopo di Cione (Boskovits, 1975, 330; Parenti, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 329-330; Baldini, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 124). Only Luisa Marcucci (1965, 136-137), though confirming the derivation of the painting of Don Silvestro from that of Jacopo, considered "non inverosimile... il contrario", judging its style "palesemente impregnato di ricordi senesi".

profile of their support. But they also resemble each other in the design of the figures, which differ only in secondary variants. Yet it is in these variants, in my view, that the key to recognizing the earlier example from which the other versions derive can be found. These versions are often limited to the figures of the Madonna and Child, as in the case of the Master of the Misericordia. But in some cases they are particularly faithful to their model, as in the *Madonna of Humility* attributed to Tommaso del Mazza now in the Museum of Art in Philadelphia (Penn.),[108] where the composition also includes the angels in adoration to the sides but lacks the figure of God the Father and the dove of the Holy Spirit in the upper part.[109] The model from which Tommaso del Mazza derived his version has been identified in Jacopo di Cione's *Madonna of Humility*. But a careful examination of the three paintings seems to me to suggest a different order of precedence. Comparison with Jacopo's panel reveals some small variants, especially that of the two hems of the Virgin's mantle, which in Tommaso del Mazza's panel fall to the centre below, leaving a strip of pavement visible between them just as in the painting of Don Silvestro. A different treatment of this particular passage is found in each of the versions of Jacopo di Cione, Master of Misericordia, and Niccolò Gerini. Other details, such as the position of the hands of the angels, confirm the direct derivation of Tommaso Del Mazza's painting from that of Don Silvestro, whereas in this case too Jacopo di Cione presents different motifs. If the identification of the *Madonna of Humility* of the Camaldolese painter as the model from which the other versions known in Florence derive is true, the chronology of the small painting of the Master of the Misericordia could avail itself of a useful *terminus post quem*. For, although Don Silvestro's painting is not certainly dated, its stylistic features suggest a dating close to the start of his Florentine period, documented from 1362 on.[110] The small painting of the Master of the Misericordia ought not to be much later than that, for the more massive forms of the figures still closely resemble those of the polyptych that had at its centre the *Madonna* in the Pinacoteca Stuard in Parma or the *Stories of St. Eligius*, while the light and delicate colours of Don Silvestro are re-invigorated by a more decided chiaroscuro that reflects the model of the paintings of Orcagna.

To this same period should also date two works given to the Master of the Misericordia by Offner but since lost: the central compartment of a tabernacle depicting the *Madonna and Child with Saints*, formerly with the dealer Charles Napper in London (pl. IX) and a small tabernacle, with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* at the centre, flanked by the *Nativity* and the *Crucifixion*, formerly with the Galleria Brunati in Milan (pl. VIII).[111] The condition of both paintings, as photographs suggest, is mediocre, and does not facilitate analysis of their figurative style. However, the figures, characterized by slender contours, but firmly occupying the space allotted to them, seem to me to coincide with the types of the Master of the Misericordia, for example in the predella panel with the *Disputation of St. Catherine* (pl. XVII[3]). A similar accord between the strongly simplified character of the compositions and the confident rendering of the volumes and modelling may be

[108] Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 187-190, pls. XXVIII[1-2].

[109] A punched decoration marks the upper margin of the panel, attesting to the original horizontal profile of the main representation. The figures of God the Father and the dove of the Holy Spirit, however, were probably represented in an upper gable, now lost.

[110] The gothicizing character of Don Silvestro's painting is also underlined by Freuler (*Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997, 296) who detected in it – not only in its style but also in its iconography – references to Sienese figurative culture deriving from Simone Martini. Freuler's observations also seem to me to be confirmed by comparison with the Saints depicted in the compartments of a dismembered and in part dispersed polyptych (Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII-2, pls. XXXVI[1]-XXXVI[4]), where in the elegant serpentine undulations of the contours of the garments we may note solutions very similar to those of the *Madonna* in the Accademia, though combined with markedly incised contours and a study of modelling that indicated a deeper knowledge of the style of Orcagna. The marble decoration of the pavement in Don Silvestro's painting, moreover, closely resembles the one we see in the Accademia panel.

[111] Offner, 1981, 11.

noted in some paintings associated with the circle of Orcagna, such as the tabernacle of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by the young Jacopo di Cione, formerly in Munich (Kaulbach collection).[112] In the other tabernacle panel attributed to the Master of the Misericordia, the *Madonna and Child with Saints* formerly in London, on the other hand, the fragile elegance and tenderly affectionate treatment of the Virgin seem to reflect the first echoes of the emotionally winning language of Giottino, as is suggested by a comparison with the central compartment of the tabernacle with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child and Crucifixion* (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia) attributed to Giottino by Luciano Bellosi.[113] One further indication of the precocious dating of this painting in the context of the activity of the Master of the Misericordia may lastly be deduced from the peculiar description of the cloth of honour hanging behind the Madonna; it is embellished with a fringed border of a type recurrent in the 1350s and found, for instance, in a tabernacle compartment with the *Madonna and Child with Saints*, a work of Niccolò di Tommaso, bearing an inscription with the date 1359.[114]

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With this work, our analysis of the earliest known activity of the Master of the Misericordia concludes. The frescoes of the nave of Santa Maria Novella and the polyptych that has at its centre the *Madonna Stuard* in Parma have revealed him as an artist indebted to the elegant and monumental style of Bernardo Daddi in his final period, though with some affinities with the style of Daddi's pupil, Puccio di Simone. He always tries, however, to invigorate his figures with a new volumetric consistency, isolating them in space and making them emerge from their background with a three-dimensional effect, like figures in the round. This effect of relief shows a growing attention to the figurative style of Andrea Orcagna. From the *Stories of St. Eligius* onwards, however, the more minute drawing and the more accentuated chiaroscuro reflect the more polished and complex language of Taddeo Gaddi. The Master of the Misericordia thus shows, in the first phase of his career, a progressive appropriation of the founding values of the Florentine figurative tradition.

A new occasion to widen his own cultural horizons, and develop further his style, would be offered by the intrusive naturalistic vision of Giovanni da Milano in the early 1360s. This innovative approach would find a prompt response in the Master of the Misericordia. It would enable him to develop a new and original style of his own in such works as the *St. Luke* in the Brera or the panel from which he takes his name.

1370-1375: toward a more precious style

During the 1360s Florentine painting was enriched by the arrival of a number of artists from outside the city: first Giovanni da Milano, whose name explains his origins, then the Sienese Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci and lastly, and again from Northern Italy, Antonio Veneziano.[115] The innovative figurative language of these artists – minute description of the natural world and architectural *mise-en-scène*, attention to secondary aspects of daily life, verisimilitude of gestures and expressions of the figures represented, and emphasis on preciosity of detail and elegance of dress –, while they excited interest, were unable to stimulate any significant change in the substantially neo-giottesque

[112] Benati, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 1999, 50-55.

[113] Bellosi, in *Prospettiva*, 2001, No. 101, 19-27, 37-39; Branca, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2005c, 54-57; Baldini, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008b, 171-171.

[114] Tartuferi, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXI, 1993, 338, fig. 1.

[115] On Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci cf. Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997; on Antonio Veneziano cf. Bellosi, in *OPD*

character impressed by Andrea Orcagna and his brothers on Florentine painting in the third quarter of the century. Indeed, both in the art of Giovanni da Milano and in that of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci it is not difficult to grasp an adjustment of their style to the severe and solemn language that reigned in Florence and that dominated the output of the Orcagna shop. It is in this context of reciprocity of influence – the tension between conservation and innovation – that the emphasis given in the art-historical literature to the Master of Misericordia and his elaboration of some of the novel features imported into Florence by the Lombard painter can best be explained.

Yet the influence of Giovanni da Milano on Florentine painting of the 1370s should not be underestimated. At the end of the seventh decade, the fresco cycles of Andrea Bonaiuti in the chapter house of Santa Maria Novella and of Niccolò di Tommaso in the Convento del Tau at Pistoia, and also the polyptych painted by Jacopo di Cione for the church of San Pier Maggiore in 1371,[116] reveal a closer observation of the real world in the description of details of landscape, dress and physiognomy, though these remain subservient to the ideals of elegance, dignity and solemnity of the final effect. The new naturalism marked a trend to which artists of the younger generation such as Agnolo Gaddi paid close attention, and in which the roots of the international reception of the Florentine late-gothic reside, at least in part.[117] Round about the mid-1370s, the polyptych painted by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and Pietro Nelli for the *pieve* of Santa Maria di Impruneta[118] and subsequently that painted by Jacopo di Cione formerly in Vienna (Fischel collection) dated 1379[119] already reflect, however, a different phase of development: the compositions seem more rigorously balanced, the figures tend to present themselves in frontal poses or in profile, the expressions of the faces are austere, and the volumes plastically enhanced by chiaroscuro. This change has been explained in terms of possible repercussions of the difficult political and economic situation in the city between 1375 and 1378, when Florence was also locked in a bitter conflict with the Papal State. In this period of crisis the figurative language of most Florentine artists then active seems to have been essentially backward-looking: it was forced within the narrow constraints of a recurrence to the traditional values of a largely irrecoverable past.[120] Jacopo di Cione, at the head of a flourishing workshop that seems to have won the leadership in the pictorial field in Florence, proposed a more sober and captivating version of the vigorous plasticism of Orcagna, while artists like Giovanni del Biondo, Pietro Nelli or the young Niccolò Gerini tended to privilege in their painting descriptions minute in detail but in general devoid of human participation.[121] A few years later, in the 1380s, Agnolo Gaddi and then Spinello Aretino would seize the reins of innovation, leading Florentine artists towards the representation of visual spaces in which the figures act more freely and the narrative is fragmented in innumerable episodes. At the same time, the luminous naturalism of colours of the painting of Giottino and Giovanni da Milano, now the object of renewed attention, was crystallized in the bright and algid hues of late-gothic culture.[122]

It is against the background of these developments that the mature activity of the Master of the Misericordia can be placed. This period in his career can be subdivided into two successive phases. In the first, roughly coinciding with the years 1370-1375, the echoes of the art of Giovanni da Milano and Giottino remain a still vital component in the painter's figurative style, but are combined with the gothicizing tendencies that emerged in Florentine artistic culture during these years. In the second phase, by contrast, the clear-cut contours and pronounced chiaroscuro, that had characterised the paintings of his formative period in the mid-century, or soon after, now gained the upper hand over the formal elegance and delicate naturalism of his immediately preceding works; they showed the painter once again fully attuned to the more widespread orcagnesque tendency of the period.

As we have seen, such works as the artist's name-piece, the *Madonna of the Misericordia* in the Accademia (pl. XII), the two-sided painted cross in New York (pls. XI[1-2]), the fragmentary altarpiece with *St. Luke* in the Pinacoteca di Brera (pl. XIV) and the *Madonna of Humility* in St. Petersburg (pl. XVI), find their most plausible dating in the late 1360s.

Closely related to the last of these works, but with some features that suggest the start of a new phase in the master's career, are the panel with the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Kisters collection at Kreuzlingen (pl. XVII[2]) and the little narrative panels that probably formed its predella, now dispersed in various collections (pls. XVII[3-5]). As in the case of the slightly earlier painting of the same subject by Puccio di Simone,[123] the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* formed the centrepiece of a

Restauro, 10, 1998, 75-81; *Idem*, in *Prospettiva*, 2001, No. 101, 35; Parenti, in *Da Giotto a Botticelli*, 2008, 97-109; Parenti, in *Predella*, I, 2010, 129-136.

116 On the frescoes of Andrea Bonaiuti and on this artist's relationship with Sienese figurative culture in particular, see Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus,* IV/VI, 1979 and Tripps, *Corpus,* IV/VII (Part I), 1996, 21-31, 46-52. For Niccolò di Tommaso see, apart from the fundamental interventions of Richard Offner, in *Art in America*, XIII, 1924, 21-37 (subsequently reprinted in Offner 1927, 109-126 and Offner, ed. by Ladis, 1998, 209-235) and in *Mitteilungen KIF*, VII, 1956, 173-192, also the contributions of Miklós Boskovits, 1975, 35-36, 202 n. 108 and the more recent contributions of Tartuferi, in *Paragone*, XXXVI, 1985, 425, 6-13; Ladis, in *Mitteilungen K.I.F.*, XXXIII, 1989, 3-16 and Skaug, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 804, 195-209 and in Acta Archeol. et Artium, XVIII, 2005, 289-321; for the documents relating to the fresco cycle in Pistoia see Gai, in *Bull. Stor. Pistoiese*, LXXII, 1970, 75-94). On the polyptych of Jacopo di Cione see Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 31-74, pls. III-III[33] and Boskovits, 1975, 50-54. A study on the technical aspects of this work can be found in *London Exh. Cat.,* 2005, 154-189.

117 On the earlier activity of Agnolo Gaddi see Boskovits, in *Burl. Mag.*, CX, 1968, 209-215; *Idem*, 1975, 65-68. For recent biographical and art-historical surveys of the career of this artist and relevant bibliography see Labriola, in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, 51, 1998a, 144-148 and Chiodo, in *Allg. Künstlerlex.*, 47, 2005, 112-115.

118 For the document relating to the Impruneta polyptych see Milanesi, 1872. On the execution of the altarpiece by two different artists see Offner, in *Art in Amer.*, IX, 1921, 238-240; Bellosi, in *Mitteilungen K.I.F.*, XVII, 1973, 179-194 and Boskovits, 1975, 59-60, 409-410, 420, pls. 61, 67, figs. 160, 165. The document published by Milanesi has also provided the basis for a reconstruction of Pietro Nelli's career as a painter. In this regard, however, it is worth pointing out that his identification with the master of the Stories of the Virgin and of the Childhood of Christ and the Apostles in the upper register of the polyptych painted for the *pieve* of Santa Maria dell'Impruneta in 1375, though widely accepted in the art-historical literature, is wholly hypothetical. It is based on the assumption that this is the polyptych for which Pietro Nelli endorsed the receipt of a payment made to him by an otherwise unknown Piero di Lippo. The document in question, generally dated 1384, in actual fact consists of a fragment of a loose sheet, undated, inserted in a file containing a series of receipts of which only the preceding and succeeding one (relating to other payments) are dated 1384 (ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 1023, unnumbered sheets). The possibility that the payment refers to another work painted by Nelli for the *pieve*, now lost, cannot be excluded, and indeed is made more likely by the fact that elsewhere in the same file (fol. 115r), other payments made to the painter by the *pievano* of the Impruneta between 1403 and 1412 are annotated. Another piece of evidence that suggests caution in assuming Pietro Nelli's involvement in the Impruneta polyptych is the fact that the name of the *pievano* involved in the commission of this polyptych (Stefano) does not coincide with the Piero di Lippo who made the payment in the above-mentioned document. A summary of the known documents relating to Piero di Nello can be found in Colnaghi, 1928, 214 and Jacobsen, 2001, 625.

119 Boskovits, 1975, 330, pl. 53.

120 Boskovits, 1975, 43-47. For Florentine history in these years, apart from the by now classic accounts such as Brucker, 1962 and Becker, in *Speculum*, XXXVII, 1962, 509-527 (reprinted in *Florentine Essays*, 2002, 69-93), see further the more recent treatments of R. C. Trexler, 1974; *Idem*, in *Riv. Stor. Chiesa*, XXXIX, 1985, 448-501; *Idem*, in *Riv. Stor. Chiesa*, XL, 1986, 1-25; J. M. Najemy, 2006, 144-166; and Ricciardelli, 2007, 157-217.

121 Boskovits, 1975, 43-78. On the painting, often unjustly depreciated, of Niccolò Gerini see Offner, in *Art in Amer.*, IX, 1921, 148-155, 233-240; Boskovits, 1975, 58-60, 98-101, 402-415; Tartuferi, in *Enc. Art. Med.*, VI, 1995, 551-553, and the more recent biographical essay of Pierguidi, in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, 53, 1999, 427-429.

122 On Agnolo Gaddi see n. 117. On Spinello Aretino, apart from the seminal study of Bellosi, in *Paragone*, XVI, 1965, 187, 18-43, see the more recent monographic study of Weppelmann, 2003, 49-62 and Bellosi, in *Arezzo. Il Trecento*, 2005, 97-112.

123 Offner, Corpus, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 489-499, pls. LIII-LIII[4].

polyptych of larger dimensions, of which at least two of the lateral compartments are still untraced.[124] Comparison with the version of the *Mystic Marriage* painted by Puccio di Simone well illustrates the different approach of Florentine painters belonging to different generations. In the earlier painting Puccio shows little interest in spatial and plastic values and greater attention to the merely decorative aspects. But he establishes close communication between the figures in the scenes through the exchange of glances. Twenty years later, by now conversant with the innovations introduced by Giovanni da Milano and Giottino, the Master of the Misericordia shows himself capable of staging a more complex and psychologically compelling narrative scene. He thus tries to give his physiognomies a more precise individuality and enhance their verisimilitude by the soft and *sfumato* modelling of complexions. At the same time, his ability to vary poses, gestures and expressions introduces into the narrative details that convey the psychological state of his protagonists. The Christ Child, a faint smile playing over his serene face, is in the process of slipping the ring of betrothal onto the finger of St. Catherine who, in a pose of humility, respectfully lowers her eyes. The action is accompanied by the Virgin's gestures, as in the earlier painting, but her sorrowful gaze is turned elsewhere, already presaging the tragic destiny of the Son of God. In the Master's rendering of the individual details of flesh parts, hair, and hands, by contrast, the more analytical vision that we have noted in the description of St. Luke's *scriptorium* in the Brera, or in that of the nuns kneeling at the foot of the Madonna in the Accademia, seems to be weakened, while the contours tend to be drawn in a more rigid and conventional manner.

In the compartments of the predella the space is limited to a rather narrow band in which the figures are arranged as if in a frieze; this corresponds to what the Master of the Misericordia had already proposed in similar works, as in the youthful predella with *Stories of Saints Gervasius and Prothasius* or in the later compartments below the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints Peter and Paul* in the Accademia (pls. II[4], XIII). On the other hand, the artist evidently did not aim at very elaborate compositions in staging his narratives, as shown by the rather unconvincing relation between the figure of the protagonist and the painted architecture in the compartment with St. Catherine praying before the image of the Virgin (pl. XVII[4]).

Two further panels seem to me to correspond to the characteristics of this phase in the artistic development of the Master of the Misericordia: the first is a rare *instrumentum pacis*[125] with the *Holy Face*, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Linsky Collection) (pl. XVIII); the second, a small panel of the *Annunciation* in the Vatican Museums (pl. XIX). In the New York painting, in spite of the fact that the immobile iconic fixity of the face of Christ tends to gain the upper hand over any attempt at individual characterization, the artist is already able to present delicate passages of chiaroscuro that model the face of Jesus, expressing the most minute variations of luminosity on the nose, cheek bones or the area of the collar-bones; results such as these are closely matched, it seems to me, in the face of St. Luke in the Brera. The *Annunciation* in the Vatican Museums (pl. XIX) has lost its initial freshness due to the many abrasions and small colour losses it has suffered; nonetheless, the full forms of the faces, characterized by the pointed chin and the touches of light colour over the cheek-bones confirm that the painting is the work of the Master of the Misericordia, at a date that ought not to be much later than the early 1370s, as suggested by analogies with the figure of St. Catherine in the Kreuzlingen *Mystic Marriage* (pl. XVII[2]) or with the angels to the sides of the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Accademia (pl. XII).

These works, especially the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Kisters collection, still reflect the ideals of tender humanity expressed in the works of Giottino. Yet in paintings not much later, beginning with the tripartite panel with scenes of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, the Nativity and the Conversion of St. Paul* in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (pls. XX[1-2]), the figurative style of the Master of the Misericordia is enriched with details and assumes a more persuasively narrative manner. New elements signalling the beginning of a new phase in the Master's activity can then be found in the two versions of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, the one formerly in Münster, and the other formerly in the Drury Lowe collection at Locko Park (Derbyshire) (pls. XXIII-XXIV[1-2]), or in the *Apostles* of the two fragments in Poznań (pls. XXI[1-2]). The austere protagonists in these paintings reveal the pursuit of monumentality, an effect of relief accentuated by the modelling and a style of drawing in which short and broken lines or dense serpentines predominate.

The destination and function of the panel with the three episodes of the *Conversion of St. Paul,* the *Nativity* and *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, formerly in the convent of the Franciscan Sisters at Monticelli and now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (pl. XX[1-2]), are not clear. The vertical graining of the support would suggest its provenance from a larger polyptych, which was probably higher than it was wide and, in view of its accomplished technique, must have been an important commission and prominently displayed. In this regard the hypothesis that the three compartments were painted on the same support as an enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints, forming a kind of predella in the lower part of the panel, would seem supported by the existence of works of this type in the corpus of the Master of the Misericordia himself (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia; pl. XIII).[126] The rarity of this type of painted panel, however, does not permit us to make any precise conjectures about its destination and function; that it might have formed part of another kind of altarpiece in the monastery where it was conserved until the early nineteenth century cannot be excluded.

The combination of the three episodes is also unusual. The link between them is now difficult to reconstruct due to the loss of the larger ensemble to which they would have originally belonged; clearly, however, the theme of the revelation of the Lord represents a common denominator. The scene of the *Nativity* also includes (in its upper part) the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, according to the narrative of the evangelist Luke that was particularly close to Franciscan spirituality since it was a sign of Christ's predilection for the most humble.[127] The theme

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[124] At the time when the work being discussed here was painted, the pentatych structure was undoubtedly more in fashion than the more archaic structure of the triptych; on the other hand the tripartite hagiographic cycle dedicated to the Saint in the predella could be considered complete, since it comprises an episode linked to the youth of St. Catherine (the Apparition of the Child), the central scene of the Disputation with the philosophers in the Emperor's presence and, lastly, the scene of Martyrdom with the wheel. I wonder, however, given that the polyptych was dedicated to the celebration of the Saint of Alexandria, whether it might not be logical to expect as the final scene in the cycle that relating to her death, namely by decapitation, or the episode of the transport of her body to Mount Sinai by angels, as in the more extensive cycles dedicated to the Stories of this Saint by the Master of Calci (Boskovits, *Corpus*, I/I, 1993, 82-84), dating to the first half of the thirteenth century (*St. Catherine and Stories of her Life*, Pisa, Museo di San Matteo, Inv. No. 1583; cf. Garrison, 1949, No. 399; *Pisa Exh. Cat.,* 2005, 192-193 and Boskovits, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIV, 2006, 168) and by Gregorio and Donato d'Arezzo dating to the early years of the following century (*St. Catherine and Stories of her Life*, Malibu, Calif., J. P. Getty Museum, Inv. No. 73.PA.69; cf. Offner, *Corpus*, III/I, 2nd ed., 1986, 202-209, pls. XVIII-XVIII[5]). If this supposition is true, we may assume that another episode relating to the youth of the Saint, probably the one relating to her meetings with the female hermit, would have been placed on the left side of the polyptych (Kaftal, 1952, 225-236).

[125] See in this volume oo.

[126] This type of panel was in truth not common in the Florentine tradition, but it does have illustrious precedents in Giotto's panel of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* now in Paris (Musée du Louvre; formerly in the church of San Francesco at Pisa (Previtali, 1967, ed. 1993, 72, 380-382). The fragmentary panel with *Two Apostles* in the Giorgio Cini Foundation in Venice, recently attributed to Giotto by Boskovits (in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 96-97 and in *Arte Cristiana*, XCVI, 2008, 295-298), could perhaps come from a panel of similar type.

[127] Luke 2: 9-14. Worth noting, however, is the fact that the protagonist of the *Annunciation* is not, as usual, an angel (Schiller, I, 1966, 95-97) but the Redeemer himself, who is accompanied by two angels in adoration. This is a very unusual iconography, of which I am unable to cite any other examples; a relation with the presence of God the Father in the *Nativity* also seems to me unlikely, though in this regard Schiller (I, 1966, 88-90, 97) rightly emphasized the influence of the *Rivelationes* of St. Brigida of Sweden.

of God's revelation to man is then resumed, from a different point of view, in the scene of the *Stigmata,* in which Christ is revealed to Francis in such an ecstasy of faith and compassion as to "be transformed wholly into a visible portrait of Christ not by physical martyrdom, but by the fervour of the spirit".[128] The third episode, which has St. Paul as its protagonist, is clearer in iconographical intention. Its connection with the theme of the conversion of the gentiles and thus with the glorification of the role of preaching, dear to the Franciscans, seems clear. Those who commissioned the altarpiece may also have wished to draw a comparison between the apostolic mission of St. Paul, begun by the miraculous apparition of Christ on the road to Damascus,[129] and the mission to renew the Christian community begun by St. Francis, *novus Evangelista* in the words of the Saint's biographer Tomhas of Celano.[130] The precedent set by the Pauline experience in relation to the biography of St. Francis in general, and to the episode of the *stigmata* in particular, on the other hand, is recurrent in Franciscan literature; the link between the two apparitions was already identified in the bull *Mira circa nos* relating to the canonization of Francis by Pope Gregory IX on 19 July 1228, while an explicit comparison between these two saints is found in a hexameter inscription accompanying the effigy of the founder of the Friars Minor in the chapel of St. Gregory in the Sacro Speco at Subiaco dating to the same year, and was later repeated in the hagiographical writings.[131]

From the point of view of figurative style, the narrative of the *Stigmata* as recounted by the Master of the Misericordia is precise even in its most minute details, but the tone of the painting is devoid of any dramatic charge; it assumes instead a character that anticipates the courtly taste of the *fin de siècle*: the wild woodland of Verna, where the episode of the *Stigmata* took place, is interpreted as a bare rocky landscape dominated by the precipitous slopes of La Verna and enlivened by a few scattered trees. In the *Nativity*, the composition recalls the similar episode painted by Taddeo Gaddi in the *Stories of Christ* formerly in the sacristy of Santa Croce,[132] but the narrative is enriched with other details: an imposing turreted building with crenellated roofline emerges in the background to the left (allusion to the city of Jerusalem); the Madonna's mantle is elegantly fur-lined, while the sheep that have arrived with the shepherds graze peacefully in front of the hut where the Nativity takes place. In the third compartment, St. Paul, having fallen from his horse, leaning on one elbow as he lies on the ground, dialogues at his ease with Jesus while his suite looks on more with indifference than with astonishment. On the other hand, the contours defined with an almost geometric regularity, the sculptural relief of the figures of St. Francis and Friar Leo, and also the minute study of the effect of light on their faces, expressed with minute brushstrokes of light colour, still indicate some chronological proximity to the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Accademia, suggesting a dating not much later than the early 1370s for the three compartments.

In the following years a further testimony of the Master of the Misericordia's effort to wean himself from the more traditional schemes and to enrich his own style with a more delicate naturalism, is recognizable in a small panel, perhaps in origin the leaf of a portable diptych, representing the *Coronation of the Virgin between St. Lucy, St. Nicholas of Bari and Two Music-Making Angels*, now in the Kunstmuseum in Bern (pl. XXII). Affinities with the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Accademia are evident in the full forms of the faces, carefully modelled with a *sfumato* chiaroscuro and enlivened by the sidelong but eloquent exchange of glances. A more pronouncedly gothicizing accent emerges

[128] Bonaventura Bagnoregi, *Legenda Maior*, cap. 13, par. 3, in *AF*, X, 1946-1951, 616 ("se non per martyrium carnis sed per incendium mentis totium in christi crucifixi similitudinem transformandum"). With regard to the many theological and doctrinal implications of the episode of the *stigmata* see Frugoni, 1993, 137-201.

[129] Acts 22: 6-11.

[130] Thomae de Celano, Pars II, cap. I, par. 89, in *AF*, X, 1926-1941, 68. Frugoni, 1993, 358.

[131] Frugoni, 1993, 270-272. On the theme of the comparison/parallelism between the preaching of Francis and that of St. Paul see in particular the observations of Krüger, 1992, 103 and Frugoni, 1993, 259 n. 38.

[132] *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, fig. 126.

from the slight torsion that characterises the figure of the angel with the viola in the foreground and by the undulating contours of both this angel and the Virgin. The tendency to contract the space of the action and limit the scene to the bare minimum, already noted in the compartments of the predella with scenes from the life of St. Catherine, is here expressed even more markedly by the elimination of the throne, substituted by a simple fabric-covered seat adorned with decorative motifs incised with a graving tool, its structure suggested not by any architectural forms but by the simple alternation of different colours. The importance assumed by the decorative elements is further reinforced by the extension of the punched decoration not only to the margins of the panel but to the frame itself, in turn characterised by fairly elaborate mouldings.[133]

Presumably close in date to the *Coronation* in Bern are two other paintings of the same subject, respectively in the Museum in Münster and in the Drury-Lowe collection at Locko Park (Derbyshire) (pls. XXIII-XXIV[1-2]). In the Locko Park version, the square format of the principal compartment gave the painter the chance to devise a circular composition formed of angels and two saints in the foreground, placed round the figures of the Virgin and Jesus at the centre. The sense of movement suggested by this arrangement of the figures is amplified by the dense and swarming decoration of the cloth of honour, pavement and dress of St. Bartholomew, and also by the intermittent line of the drawing that minutely follows the variations of contours. The ample drapery of the Redeemer's mantle in the gable, unfortunately heavily retouched, is closely matched by the elegant profiles of the Apostles in Poznań (pls. XXI[1-2]).

The *Coronation of the Virgin*, formerly in the Museum at Münster but now returned to the art market, presents similar features, but is distinguished from these precedents by the more elongated proportions of the figures, accentuated by the draperies that tend to cling to the bodies and to fall in dense folds, as in the figure of St. John the Evangelist in the foreground to the right.

The two panels with truncated figures of *Apostles* now in Poznań are all that remains of a large altarpiece that represented *Pentecost*, probably one of the most significant commissions in this phase of the Master of the Misericordia's activity. Unfortunately the work is difficult to assess due to its fragmentary state and the poor conservation of the pictorial surface, heavily rubbed and darkened by overpainting, old varnishes and grime. The format and original dimensions of the work have been plausibly reconstructed by Maria Skubiszewska:[134] in contrast to the polyptych of the same subject by Andrea Orcagna, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence where the figures are placed in three distinct compartments,[135] this was a single panel topped with a gable at the centre, over the figure of the Madonna. But of this latter figure only the hem of her mantle remains, still visible in the left margin of the compartment to the left; the Apostles on the other hand, probably kneeling to the sides of the central figure, as in the triptych of Andrea Orcagna, have been cut just below the waist. In spite of their mediocre state of conservation, the fragments contain some features useful for the definition of a possible chronology. The figures, shown in full or three-quarter profile, are enveloped in voluminous mantles that imply the pursuit of a kind of monumentality. What remains of the modelling of the faces of the young Apostle originally placed at the extreme left of the panel

[133] The punch used in the frame has been identified by Skaug (Skaug, 1994, II, 8.1) in other works of the Master of the Misericordia, including the *Risen Christ* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pls. XXXII[2-3]) and the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Fogg Museum (pl. XXXV). An identical frame can be found in the *Coronation of the Virgin and Angels* in Zurich (pl. LV), which belongs, in my view, to a later stage in the painter's career.

[134] Skubiszewska, 1995, 111-115. For the iconography of Pentecost see Gardner van Teuffel, in *Zeitschr. Kunstgesch.*, XLI, 1978, 16-40.

[135] See Kreytenberg, 2000, pl. 44 and Tartuferi, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 43-47. More uncertain, on the other hand, is the reconstruction of the original structure of the altarpiece of the same subject by Spinello Aretino, of which only one fragment is known; that with *Three Apostles and Mary Magdalene* now in the Allentown Art Museum in Allentown (PA), Inv. No. 60.11.KBS, on which see Weppelmann, 2003, 223-225.

and the other two young Apostles placed to the right is characterised by forms skilfully modelled by chiaroscuro and reveals affinities with the *St. Luke* in the Brera (pl. XIV). At this stage in his art, however, the artist seemed eager to complement the monumental character of the figures with more curvilinear, elegantly undulating contours, indulging in motifs such as the softly backward stretched hem of St. Peter's mantle in the fragment to the left, or the mantle elegantly looped over the arm of the younger Apostle in the centre foreground in the other panel. The Master of the Misericordia also brings his lens closer to the figures he paints, trying to individually distinguish their faces with an approach similar to that we have noted in the *St. Luke* in Milan. These analogies suggest for the two fragments in Poznań a dating not too far removed from that of the *St. Luke* in the Brera, perhaps still within the period 1370-1375.

The taste for more animated compositions and more expressive figures is found expressed in a yet more explicit way in other works datable to this same period, such as the *Betrothal of the Virgin* in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge (MA) (pl. XXVIII), a *Crucifixion* formerly in a private collection in Milan (pl. XXVII) and another painting of the same subject in a private collection in the UK (pl. XXV). In these works the Master's skilful attention to composition permitted him to achieve a harmonious balance between the powerful volumetry of the figures and an intense and emotion-charged pictorial narrative. In the *Betrothal of the Virgin*, though he does not abandon the traditional iconography,[136] the painter gives proof of his own original narrative skills and, as in the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in the Kisters collection, establishes a close and convincing link between the description of the expressions of his protagonists and their psychological states. The figure of the mitred High Priest dominates at the centre of the painting. Placed in a rigorously frontal pose, he solemnly looks on as the elderly Joseph before him is placing the ring of betrothal on the finger of the overawed girl Mary, who looks down bashfully with bowed head. Behind Joseph's back the disappointed pretenders break their staffs in gestures of anger, while in the background two trumpeters vigorously blow their long clarion-like trumpets. As in other works of this period, the more elongated format of the composition invests the monumental figures of the Master of the Misericordia with a more supple and willowy character, accompanied by the undulating folds of their draperies that break the contours and reinforce the agitated and restless atmosphere of the narrative.

That the *Crucifixion* in a private collection in England (pl. XXV) belongs to the same stylistic stage as the *Betrothal of the Virgin* is suggested by a similar combination of acute psychological penetration, closer observation of realistic details and reserved solemnity of conduct. The drawing and modelling of the body of Christ are rendered with great delicacy, and the contrite and anguished expressions of the figures at the foot of the cross are expressed no less effectively. On the other hand, they are arranged in a rigorously balanced composition that accentuates the Crucifix as the formal hinge of the whole painting. Similar characteristics are recognizable in another *Crucifixion* in a private collection in Milan (pl. XXVII) and in an other painting of the same subjet, unfortunately very ruined (pl. XXVI). In the painting now in Milan, a nervous and continually broken line defines the contours of the body of Jesus and the ruffled folds of St. John the Evangelist's mantle, while the four mourning Angels flutter to the sides of the cross with almost heraldic symmetry. The pure and strong colours of the earlier works, for example the *Madonna* in Parma, and also the slightly later *St. Luke* in the Brera, now give way to more adventurous chromatic harmonies, with marked contrasts and almost jarring combinations; the artist now makes more frequent use of shot colours, such as the red morphing into orange and pink of St. John's mantle, contrasted with the bright yellow of its lining and the deep blue of his tunic.

In a stage of the career of the Master of the Misericordia close to this can also be dated, in my view, a fragmentary little panel portraying a young *Prophet* (pl. XXIX[1]), part of a panel of which two other compartments, they too with figures of *Prophets* (pls. XXIX[2-4]) are known; they were in Paris in the 1930s, but are now homeless.[137] That the three fragments belong to the same work is clearly shown by their matching dimensions, figural poses and punched decoration of the gold ground, but the identification of the type of panel of which they formed part remains unclear. The *Prophets*, in three-quarter profile, are set in trefoil-shaped compartments incised in the gold ground; the interspace between the rectangular outer frame and the inner frame surrounding the figures was probably originally painted and then incised with a tendril motif of which some surviving traces can still be distinguished. Two of the three compartments were seen and drawn by Johann Anton Ramboux during his period of residence in Florence between 1832 and 1842; Ramboux explained that they were derived "von einer Predella in Tempera" (pl. XXIX[4]).[138] However, the nature of the support and the composition of the three panels suggest a different hypothesis. That they formed part of a predella is precluded by the vertical graining of the wood itself. The three-quarter pose of the figures, moreover, is, as far as I am aware, unparalleled in the decoration of the predellas of Florentine fourteenth-century polyptychs. The characteristics of the composition and the vertical graining of the support suggest, instead, that the three fragments originally belonged to a monumental painted crucifix similar to that realized in the shop of Bernardo Daddi and now in the Museo Bardini in Florence or the crucifix in the church of Santa Maria Primerana at Fiesole.[139] Since the three prophets are all looking leftward it may be inferred that they were placed, one on top of the other, in the *tabellone* to the right of Jesus on the cross (the six similar figures in the apron of the Santa Maria Primerana Crucifix represent either evangelists or prophets). As regards the master of these paintings, a manuscript annotation by Ramboux himself in the margin of his drawing of the more elderly *Prophet* attributed the panels implausibly to Gaddo Gaddi, perhaps reflecting a traditional link with this important family of painters; more recently the two fragments with the elderly *Prophets* were associated instead with the Sienese school of the early Quattrocento.[140] That the Master of the Misericordia was responsible for the younger *Prophet* (pl. XXIX[1]) seems to me clearly indicated by comparison with other works of the artist: the oval face, characterised by the rounded contour of the forehead and the small pointed chin, on which the light dwells with greater intensity, and also the way the locks of hair are divided to the sides of the face and fall loosely over the shoulders, find a close correspondence in other works of the painter, for example in the figures of the *Betrothal of the Virgin* (pl. XXVIII), in the face of the Angel in the *Annunciation* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pl. XIX) and in those to the sides of the *Holy Face* in New York (pl. XVIII). I only know the other two fragments from old photographs; in these figures, however, it seems to me that the contours follow a more rigid and simplified line; the chiaroscuro seems more strongly contrasted; and the facial types preserve a more marked stamp of the stern personages of Orcagna. But not even these austere facial types are alien to the painter's figurative style, as can be shown by comparison with the bearded figure to the left of the throne of Clotaire in the compartment with *St. Eligius Receiving the Commission to Sculpt the Golden Throne* (pl. III[1]) and with some figures in the nuptial procession of the later *Betrothal* in Cambridge (pl. XXVIII). In the figure with darker hair and beard (pl. XXIX[2]), moreover, the careful drawing of the hand that holds the quill and of the other hand firmly grasping the scroll, where the highlights explore the knuckles one by one, as in the *St. Luke* in the Brera or in the *Madonna of Humility* in St. Petersburg, unmistakably reveal the hand of the Master of the Misericordia.

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[136] Schiller, IV-2, 1980, 76-80.

[137] Hueck, in *Prospettiva*, 1980, No. 23, 3, 5, figs. 10-11.

[138] Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Fr. IV, S. u. See Hueck, in *Prospettiva*, 1980, No. 23, fig. 9. It cannot be excluded, however, that at the time Ramboux made his drawings the original polyptych had already been dismembered and some fragments re-composed in a different structure.

[139] Offner, Corpus, III/IV, 2nd ed., 1991, pl. XLIX; Tartuferi, in *Firenze Exh. Cat.,* 2008b, 176-177; *La Croce*, 2011.

[140] The classification of the two fragments in the photographic archive of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence (Ist. Neg. 13622, 13623) probably repeated the attribution given to the third fragment on the art market at the time.

A small group of paintings attributable to our Master, and conforming to the prevailing tendency of Florentine painting of the time, can be placed in date around the mid 1370s. In these paintings the slender proportions of the figures, though solid in structure, show traces of the trend we have already noted in the Locko Park *Coronation of the Virgin*, and the other version of the same subject in Münster; the minute physiognomic features invest the faces with an aristocratic character, while their expressions retain a tranquil and reassuring air. The group of paintings in question comprises two fragments of the shutters of a dismembered and in part dispersed tabernacle representing the *Risen Christ* (pls. XXXII[2]; XXXII[3]) and the *Crucifixion* (pls. XXXII[4]; XXXII[5]) respectively in the Vatican Museums and formerly in a private English collection; the central compartment of a tabernacle, it too fragmentary, with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* now in the Musée Marmottan in Paris (pl. XXXII[1]); another panel, also representing the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints*, now in Rennes (pl. XXXI); and the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels* at the centre of the tabernacle in the Puškin Museum in Moscow (pl. XXXIII). On the other hand, the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* formerly in a collection at Frankfurt am Main (pl. XXXIV), though in many respects close in manner to the version in Moscow, already seems to reveal signs of the formal and expressive austerity that the figurative style of the Master of the Misericordia would assume in the final phase of his career.

That the two laterals with the *Crucifixion* and the *Risen Christ* (formerly London, Manassei collection; Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana) originate from the same tabernacle, as already recognized by Federico Zeri,[141] seems clear. It is corroborated by the correspondence between their measurements, the coincidence between the punched decoration of their gold ground, and, even more tellingly, by the presence on the rear of both panels of an identical painted decoration in grisaille with two busts of Angels within quatrefoils enclosed in a lozenge. In the London *Crucifixion* the delicate modulation of the contours of the body of Christ, accompanied by a chiaroscuro that accentuates the variations of the modelling, finds a close correspondence in the figurative style of the Master of the Misericordia, as confirmed by a comparison with another version of the *Crucifixion* also in an English private collection (pl. XXV) or with that formerly in the Galleria Moretti in Florence (pl. XXVII). The affinities are such as to suggest also chronological proximity between the abovementioned paintings. However, in the *Crucifixion* formerly in the Manassei collection the delicate elegance of Christ's face, emphasized by the locks of hair softly spread on his shoulders, and a tendency to attenuate the chiaroscuro contrasts perhaps indicate a slightly later date and a phase in the Master's development in which the influence of the late-gothic sensibility of the young Agnolo Gaddi is not wholly absent. The charged colour with which the modelling is constructed with rapid and confident brushstrokes also characterises the painting of the bust of an Angel on the back of the panel, where comparisons with the face of the Madonna in the panel in the museum in Rennes, or with that of the same figure at the centre of the Puškin Museum (pl. XXXIII), confirm that the Master of the Misericordia was also responsible for painting this part of the work.

The other fragment of the same tabernacle depicting the *Risen Christ*, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pls. XXXII[2]; XXXII[3]), attributed in the past to Agnolo Gaddi, can also be confidently given to our Master. Christ stands commandingly at the centre, over the overthrown door of the tomb hewn into the rock behind his back. The painting is cut along its lower margin, but it is probable that it would have been completed by the figures of three sleeping soldiers guarding the tomb as in the painting of the same subject by Taddeo Gaddi (Firenze, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 1890.8591).[142]

[141] Zeri, in *Gaz. B.-Arts*, LXXI, 1968, 74-75.

[142] In the art of Western Europe the most frequent iconography of the Resurrection is that with the figure of the Saviour rising from his sarcophagus, in front of which the sleeping centurions are placed, cf. Schiller, III, 1971, 68-80. The iconographic variant presented here corresponds, instead, to a model of Byzantine origin rarely attested in Florentine Trecento art, cf. Sandberg Vavalà, 1929, 341, 345 n. 21. For the painting of Taddeo Gaddi, belonging to the series of small panels with *Scenes from the Life of Christ and Stories of St. Francis*, preserved in the sacristy of Santa Croce in Florence until the early nineteenth century, see Chiodo, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 251-284, fig. 134.

Both the precipitous rock with its stepped formation and sharp angles and the lush vegetation – palm tree to the left – recall the panels of the *Conversion of St. Paul* or *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* in the Accademia (pls. XX[1-2]) in which the painter's susceptibility to the Florentine late-gothic manner is already apparent. This is even more palpable in the slender and elongated figure of the Risen Christ in our panel. Its tension and movement are accentuated by the slight torsion of pose, the confident *contrapposto* stance, left leg advanced, and by the soft locks of hair that fall in curls over his shoulders. The regular oval of the face, on the other hand, has a firm plastic consistency, smoothed by a light that the painter skilfully modulates, and gradually increases in intensity, over the surfaces, culminating in strong highlights, of a kind that had distinguished the manner of the Master of Misericordia ever since the period to which his namepiece belongs.

In this phase of his career can also most suitably be placed the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* in the Musée Marmottan in Paris (pl. XXXII[1]), fragmentary central compartment of a dismembered tabernacle. The proportions and physical appearance of the figures, the faces with their minutely rendered features and absorbed meditative expressions, find their closest corollaries in the two fragments in the Pinacoteca Vaticana and in London. This circumstance, combined with the compatibility of their measurements and the similar punched decoration of their halos, leads me to conjecture, at least as a working hypothesis, that the three fragments originally belonged to the same tabernacle.[143]

Two further paintings testify to the productive activity of the Master of the Misericordia in the later 1370s: namely, the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Rennes (pl. XXXI) and the painting of the same subject formerly in the Ullman collection at Frankfurt (pl. XXXIV). In these two panels the emphasis given to the elaborate architectural structure of the throne reveals a renewed interest in this device in the illusionistic rendering of the space around the figures, in a way not dissimilar from that proposed in the mid-1370s by Agnolo Gaddi in his large altarpiece now in the Galleria Nazionale di Parma and by Niccolò Gerini and Pietro Nelli in their monumental polyptych in the *pieve* of Santa Maria dell'Impruneta.[144]

One feature of these paintings, which was already recognizable in works datable to the early 1370s and which distinguishes the Master's ornamental repertoire, is worth commenting on in further detail. It consists of the dense, almost swarming, decoration of the fabrics of the garments worn by some of his protagonists, of the pavement on which they stand, or of the backdrop of his paintings. Closer examination of the works attributed to the master has revealed in these passages the recurrence of a rather simple decorative motif but one that is rarely used by other artists. Repeated by the artist in close-packed sequences that completely cover the surface to be decorated, the motif consists of a rhomb with concave sides that presents at the centre a little four-petalled flower and on the outside four volutes, also concave. This motif is a kind of trademark of our Master: it is recognizable in his works from the 1360s on. We find it, for example, in the lining of the mantle of the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Accademia, where it appears in alternation with a lozenge in a pattern that had

[143] The two fragments of the shutters have a punched decoration along their edges that is slightly different from that visible along the upper margin of the panel in the Musée Marmottan. In this panel, however, the same punch can be recognized as that used by the Master of the Misericordia in the halo of Christ on the Cross in the panel formerly in London (Skaug, 1994, II, 8.1, n. 370; Frinta, 1998, 399, Jc10). Moreover, a similar variation between the decoration of the borders of the centrepiece and that of the shutters can be ascertained in the tabernacle now in the Puškin Museum in Moscow (pl. XXXIII).

[144] See in this volume on 46 n. 118.

already been adopted in works of Bernardo Daddi.[145] We find it in the decoration of the pavement of the *Madonna of Humility* formerly in the van Marle collection in Perugia (pl.VII), and in the two versions of the *Coronation of the Virgin* we have already discussed, the one formerly at Locko Park and the other at Münster (pls. XXIV[1-2]-XXIII). Later it is found even more frequently: for instance in the *Madonna and Child with Saints* in Rennes (pl. XXXI), whose date, as I have suggested, ought to be close to that of the panel in the Musée Marmottan in Paris (pl. XXXII[1]); here the motif is incised on the cloth of honour. It recurs in the tabernacle in the Puškin Museum (pl. XXXIII), in the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge (MA) (pl. XXXV), undoubtedly painted – as we will see below – after April 1376,[146] in the painting of the same subject now in Winterthur (pl. XXXVI), and in several others.

No use of this motif in a Florentine context prior to the works of the Master of the Misericordia cited above is known to me; it is, on the other hand, clearly recognizable in some miniatures painted by Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci for the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 2) during the 1370s[147] and also in some works of Tommaso del Mazza, they too datable, on the basis of stylistic analysis, to the seventh and eighth decade.[148] Well before these dates, however, and as early as the mid-century, the motif frequently recurs in Sienese painting, in particular in the paintings of Bartolomeo Bulgarini and later in others of Luca di Tommè, Niccolò di Ser Sozzo and Bartolo di Fredi.[149] If its frequency in the works of Sienese painters helps to explain the use of this motif by Don Silvestro, trained as he was in Siena, the reasons for its limited diffusion in Florentine painting are more difficult to grasp. It could, in my view, be a further testimony of the exchanges between painters' shops in the two cities during this period. Such exchanges have been amply documented by the studies of Erling Skaug on the use in Florence in the years following 1363 of a set of punches previously used by the Sienese Bartolomeo Bulgarini.[150] In any case, given that the motif was used by the two Florentine artists – by our Master and by Tommaso del Mazza – with particular

[145] Klesse, 1967, 219, No. 100. I refer in particular to Bernardo Daddi's half-length *Madonna and Child*, now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston; cf. Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, pl. XIII.

[146] See in this volume 57-58.

[147] Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997, pls. XLI[7], XLI[16], XLI[41].

[148] The motif is present in the following works attributed to Tommaso del Mazza: tabernacle with the *Madonna and Child with Saints*, *Annunciation*, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, and *Crucifixion*, formerly in the Kartschmaroff collection in Budapest (Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 170-173, pl. XXIII; the motif is recognizable in the cloth of honour); *Madonna of Humility and Saints*, formerly Milan, Galleria In.Arte (Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 232-234, pl. XXXVIII); *Madonna of Humility and Saints*, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Inv. No. 4207 (Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 235-237, pl. XXXIX); *Madonna of Humility and Saints*, formerly Florence, Museo Stibbert, Inv. No. 10294 (Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 241-243, pl. XLI); and tabernacle with the *Madonna and Child with Saints*, *Annunciation*, and *Crucifixion*, Rome, Galleria Corsini, Inv. No. 562 (Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 248-250, pl. XLIII).

[149] Klesse, 1967, 405-407, Nos. 393, 394. The motif is clearly recognizable in the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* and in the *Assumption of the Virgin* painted by Bartolomeo Bulgarini for the Spedale di Santa Maria della Scala around the mid century (Torriti, 1977, 138-140). Cesare Brandi (in *L'Arte*, III, 1932, 233) had already compared the brocade decoration used by Luca di Tommè with that recognizable in Bulgarini's paintings; later this circumstance was further analysed by Steinhoff - Morrison (1991, I, 256) who considered it concomitant with the collaboration between the two artists around 1362, the year in which the two painters are recorded together in relation to the temporary removal of Duccio's *Maestà* from the high altar in Siena Cathedral. The motif is also recognizable in later Sienese paintings, for example, the *Betrothal of the Virgin* in the triptych with the *Coronation of the Virgin* painted by Bartolo di Fredi for the church of San Francesco at Montalcino in 1388 (Torriti, 1977, 174).

[150] In this connection it is worth recalling the case of Giovanni da Milano's purchase of a set of punches from Bartolomeo Bulgarini, and the later diffusion of these punches in Florence from c. 1363 onwards. Cf. Skaug, in *Atti C.I.H.A.*, III, 1983, 253-282; *Idem*, in *Florence Exh. Cat.,* 2008a, 103-113.

intensity in works datable between the seventh and eighth decade of the century, I wonder whether this circumstance might not be indicative of their common activity within the same workshop. Partnerships of this kind, so called *compagnie*, which generally had a limited duration in time and were regulated by a contract drawn up in the presence of a notary, were very frequent and I would not therefore exclude the possibility of a temporary association of the younger Tommaso del Mazza with the *bottega* of the Master of the Misericordia.[151]

1375-1385: two chronological references and collaboration with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini

Reconstruction of the Master of the Misericordia's final period, roughly between the end of the 1370s and 1385, is facilitated by the chronological link that can be established, I believe, between the precise dates of historical events and two paintings attributed to our Master: the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge (MA) (pl. XXXV) and the triptych in the church of Sant'Andrea at Montespertoli (pl. XXXIX). These two paintings thus provide a key to define the stages in the development of the painter's figurative style in this period of his activity.

The *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge (MA), unfortunately not well preserved, presents features very close to those of the works discussed in our previous chapter. The figures are slender in proportion, solemn in manner. The Virgin and her Son are placed under an elegant baldaquin of precious materials and communicate with each other with meditative and sorrowful glances, recalling the *Risen Christ* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pls. XXXII[2-3]), the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* in the Musée Marmottan (pl. XXXII[1]), or the painting of the same subject in the Musée de Rennes (pl. XXXI). As in these paintings, the soft volumetric modelling of the forms and the naturalistic interest observable in the master's earlier paintings tend now to give way to a more summary formula. His interest in spatial exploration is reduced to a minimum, almost wiped out by a compulsion to fill the surfaces with minute patterned decorations and impassive rows of meditative saints, stacked in pairs one on top of another. On the other hand, an innovative feature can be recognized in the more rigid and spare character of the drawing in the Fogg *Coronation*: the contours are simplified; brusque interruptions of line are eschewed; the serpentine hems of the draperies that we noted, for example, in the *Crucifixion* now in Milan (pl. XXVII) or in the St. Peter in the panel in Rennes (pl. XXXI), and that had already been simplified in the tabernacle in Moscow and in the little altarpiece in Frankfurt (pls. XXXIII, XXXIV), now tend to disappear.

This phase of the figurative style of the Master of the Misericordia can be tied to a secure chronological term of reference. A link can be established, I believe, between the coats of arms on the original base of the panel in Cambridge and an episode in Florentine history in the second half of the 1370s. According to the iconographical conventions of paintings of this period, we find in

[151] The scarcity of documentary evidence for the earliest activity of Tommaso del Mazza unfortunately offers us little or no help in this regard. The surviving paintings permit us to place the earliest phase of his activity around the mid-1360s; the painter enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali in 1377 (Colnaghi, 1928, 261; Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 145), while on 15 November 1382 he rented a shop close to the Badia fiorentina (Bernacchioni, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XLVI, 2002, 262), probably after the conclusion of a period of collaboration with Pietro Nelli (who on 28 April of the same year had in turn enrolled in the same guild; Colnaghi, 1928, 214). In actual fact the terms of the professional relationship between Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza are not precisely known. A document citing the association between the two: "Piero di Nello dipintore e Tommaso del Mazza fanno saldo" is reported by Gaetano Milanesi (1872, 7) but he fails to divulge the archival source (Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 145). It is not clear therefore whether it refers to an occasional partnership or to the balance of account (*saldo*) of the activity of a "compagnia".

this lower part of the altarpiece a representation of the *Vir dolorum between the grieving Virgin and St. John the Evangelist*. The figures are shown in half-length. At the two ends of the base are two coats of arms, unfortunately much ruined and integrated during a modern restoration, with the exception of the upper part of the coat of arms to the left, where a fragment of the original painting with the inscription "Liberta" is preserved.[152] This, though insufficient to identify the patron's family, furnishes us with a clue no less useful, since the inscription can be linked with a privilege granted on 19 April 1376, by Provision of the Florentine Republic, to the members of the council of the Otto della Guerra, the council of leading magistrates to which the government of the city had been entrusted at a time of crisis: for Florence was then involved in a difficult conflict with the Papal State.[153] The Fogg *Coronation* must therefore have been painted at the request of one of the eight members of the council after this date. On the other hand, an analysis of the style of the panel, which indicates close affinities with the panels in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes and in the Musée Marmottan in Paris (pls. XXXI, XXXII), suggests that it cannot date significantly later in the eighth decade and not long after the granting of the privilege in 1376.

To this phase of the activity of the Master of the Misericordia, in which he continued to propose austere and rigorously balanced compositions, it seems to me convenient also to date the tabernacle now in the Puskin Museum in Moscow. In this case its main panels are preserved complete: the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* at the centre, flanked by panels of the *Annunciation, Nativity* and *Crucifixion* in the shutters (pl. XXXIII). Though subjected to a modern restoration during which the original frame was replaced, the tabernacle is otherwise fairly well preserved and still retains its original base decorated with two painted coats of arms, though these provide no precise clues about its chronology.[154] In the centrepiece of the *Madonna and Child* the hand of the Master of the Misericordia is clearly revealed by the perfect correspondence of the figures to his physiognomic types and by the pictorial technique, minute in detail, meticulous in the subtle definition of contours and in its technique of applying colour by the superimposition of delicate and transparent brushstrokes. Some details of form, such as the slight ruffling of the hem of the Virgin's mantle, the large multicoloured wings of the two angels to the sides of the throne, or the decoration of the carpet on the floor or of the cloth of honour behind the Madonna (where the 'signature' motif most frequently used by the painter can be recognized),[155] recall, on the other hand, paintings we have already discussed, such as the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints* formerly in Frankfurt (pl. XXXIV), while the symmetrical placement of the paired figures to the sides of the throne, on various superimposed levels though without any attempt to create any effective illusion of depth, and emphasizing instead the decorative effect of the ensemble, finds close affinities in the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Fogg Museum (pl. XXXV).

[152] The original character of this fragment was ascertained by technical analyses conducted in the laboratories of the Fogg Museum. See in this volume 25.

[153] On Florentine history during these years see Gherardi, 1868; Becker, in *Speculum*, XXXVII, 1962, 509-527; Brucker, 1962. The eight-man Council of the Otto della Guerra was composed of Alessandro de' Bardi, Giovanni Dini, Giovanni Magalotti, Andrea Salviati, Tommaso Strozzi, Guccio Gucci, Matteo Soldi and Giovanni di Mone. See Orsini de Marzo, 2009, 292, 498. In 1376 Simone Peruzzi took the place of Giovanni Magalotti who had died. On the ceremony in honour of the Otto see Ammirato, II, 1846, 698 e III, 1846, 241, 261 and Gherardi, 1868, 49.

[154] The coat of arms to the right has not yet been identified; that to the left was recognized by Viktoria Markova (2002, 46-48) as that of Giovanni di Vita, a leading Florentine citizen of the period, member of the Arte dei Corazzai, who was repeatedly elected to prominent public positions in Florence between 1355 and 1373. He was elected as one of the 12 *Buonomini* (a collegiate body that advised the Signoria on policy) in 1355 (ASF, Tratte, 749, fol. 49) and in 1372 (ASF, Tratte, 763, fol. 70), as Prior in 1356 (ASF, Tratte, 750, fol. 31) and again in 1373 (ASF, Tratte, 764, fol. 57), and as *gonfaloniere* of Justice in 1368 (ASF, Tratte, 759, fol. 76). See also Ciabani, I, 1992, 203.

[155] See in this volume 55-56.

The minute pictorial technique and the delicately rounded forms of the Master of the Misericordia now give way to a different pictorial manner in the lateral panels: the contours are now more incisive, as especially shown in the voluminous draperies of the Angel of the Annunciation in the upper part of the left shutter or in the sharp profile of the grieving Madonna at the foot of the Cross in the right shutter. The harsher manner that can be perceived in such details has been attributed by the present writer to the intervention of another artist, identifiable with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini on the basis of comparison between the Angel of the Annunciation and the musician angels kneeling at the foot of the enthroned St. Anthony Abbot in the panel now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, or between the Madonna and infant Jesus in swaddling clothes portrayed in the left shutter and the similar detail of the Adoration of the Magi painted by Niccolò Gerini, and now inserted in the predella of the polyptych otherwise painted by Jacopo di Cione in 1383, now in the Florentine church of SS. Apostoli.[156] A close kinship with the manner of Niccolò Gerini is also shown, in my view, by the figure of the grieving Virgin in the *Crucifixion*, whereas the soft and rounded contours of the Virgin Annunciate in the gable panel, and the full volumes of her face, can more readily be ascribed to the hand of the Master of the Misericordia. The hypothesis that Niccolò Gerini might have completed an altarpiece begun by the older master might seem a sterile exercise in connoisseurship, were it not for the fact that a more detailed investigation of the relations between the two artists reveals all the hallmarks of a period of close collaboration, even partnership, between them, perhaps in the form of a *compagnia* or at any rate common participation in the same shop.

The tabernacle in Moscow is not in fact the only work in which Niccolò Gerini's intervention can be recognized. A far more significant participation than the one we have just mentioned was identified by Miklós Boskovits many years ago in the triptych of the *Madonna and Child flanked by Saints Peter, Michael, Benedict and Andrew* now in the church of Sant'Andrea at Montespertoli (pl. XXXIX).[157] The Montespertoli triptych, though much damaged, even ruined in parts, by neglect and the wear and tear of time, represents one of the most interesting enterprises of the final period of the Master of the Misericordia, not least because it is a rare testimony of a public commission in the painter's corpus, and also because it gives us a chance to connect its execution with a precise *terminus post quem*.

A tendency towards a greater formal austerity, and towards a revival of more archaic models and formats, already noticed in our previous chapter, here becomes more clearly perceptible, beginning with the profile of the wooden support and the carving of its frame. The four figures to the sides of the main group (two on either side) are inserted in a tripartite structure which, in the simple gabled termination of the three compartments (paired saints, each placed under a pointed arch, with a roundel of the Annunciation in the upper tympanum), is reminiscent of a formula recurrent in the first half of the century. On the other hand, the fact that a polyptych painted by Jacopo di Cione and the Master of the Ashmolean Museum predella in 1379 (formerly Vienna, Fischel collection)[158] has a very similar structure suggests that this backward-looking trend was not exclusive to our Master but was shared by other Florentine artists in the years between the late eighth and early ninth decade. The peculiar architectural structure of the throne in our triptych is another indication of it. The forms of the throne are broadly classicizing in the flat termination of the low back-rest and the marble

[156] Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 48-49, figs. 11-13. On the panel in Boston see Hendy, 1974, 98-100. On the polyptych in the church of Santi Apostoli see Marcucci, 1965, 122-123 and Boskovits, 1975, 323, fig. 119.

[157] For a summary of the biographical and art-historical discussion of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini see Boskovits, 1975, 98-101, 402-415; Tartuferi, in *Enc. Arte Med.*, VI, 1995, 551-553; Pierguidi, in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, 53, 1999, 427-429; Pierguidi, in *Allg. Künstlerlex.*, 52, 2006, 146-148.

[158] Boskovits, 1975, pl. 53. The polyptych has lost its original frame; here we refer to the inferences that can be drawn about it from the arrangement of the figures and the contours of the various compartments.

incrustations that decorate it, identical to those painted by Giovanni del Biondo for the altar of the Rinuccini chapel in Santa Croce in 1379.[159]

A dating for the Montespertoli triptych to these same years, suggested by an analysis of these "extrinsic" features, is further confirmed by a study of the historical events surrounding its provenance and the identification of its probable donors. These latter are represented kneeling at the foot of the throne in the central compartment, accompanied by the figure of a pope who is placing his right hand on the head of the male figure with a gesture of protection, while with his other hand he presents the two donors to the Virgin.

According to what is reported by the Pastoral Visits and other documents, the triptych was situated in the small oratory of San Paolo at Menzano, annexed to the parish of Montespertoli (near Florence) from roughly 1589 to the end of the nineteenth century.[160] However, the absence of St. Paul from the saints portrayed in it would seem to imply that this was not its original destination. The data gathered on the churches of the parish of San Pietro in Mercato, in which the oratory was situated, and on the parish church itself, suggest, instead, that a more probable provenance for the triptych was the old church of Sant'Andrea at Montespertoli. Annexed to the castle of the same name and a dependency of the parish church of San Pietro in Mercato, this church (destroyed by bombardment in 1944 and then rebuilt) was already described as in a ruinous condition ("*nunc diruta*") in 1636;[161] it had among its dependencies the oratory of San Paolo itself where the triptych was preserved in modern times. Consistent with this hypothesis is the inclusion, at either end of the triptych, of St. Peter and St. Andrew. In conformity with the conventions of the period, the inclusion of St. Michael should probably be construed in relation to the baptismal name of the donor, kneeling at the foot of the Saint; research on the patronage of the church of Sant'Andrea during this period would seem to confirm this conclusion. In the second half of the fourteenth century this patronage was divided between the Parte Guelfa (a third) and the da Montespertoli family (the remaining two thirds). The family was destined to die out towards the end of the century.[162] According to a *memoria* in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, Angelo di Arrigo de' Caetani da Montespertoli, one of its last surviving members, had made his testament on 5 October 1363, declaring his wish to be buried in the church of Sant'Andrea. Almost thirty years later, in 1393, his son Ciango, last scion of the family, did likewise; he appointed as his heirs Lorenzo and Boninsegna di Filippo Machiavelli, influential members of one of the most important Florentine families of the period and the owners of many estates in its vicinity.[163] The possible link between the presence of St. Michael the Archangel to the right of the Virgin and the baptismal name of Angelo di Arrigo offers, in my view, good grounds for assuming that the triptych of the Master of the Misericordia comes from the altar before which Angelo's tomb was situated, probably commissioned by his heirs. Unfortunately the date when Agnolo di Arrigo

[159] Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/V, 1969, pl. XX[1].

[160] See the catalogue entry in this volume 262-266.

[161] AAF, *Visite Pastorali*, 26, fol. 81. Subsequently the church became the property of the Galli Tassi family of Florence (AAF, *Visite Pastorali*, 45, Morigia Alessandro, 1689, fol. 577: "visitavit antiquam ecclesiam S. Andreae de Montespertulo dicto, quae hodie est iuxta villa domini Iohannis Baptistae et Fratrum de Gallis Nobilis Florentinis, visitavit altarem quod se bene habere invenit..."); in the nineteenth century the property was purchased by the barone Isacco Sonnino, who built the still existing neo-gothic building (Nardi-Dei, 1873, 13).

[162] Nardi Dei, 1873, 20-25. The da Montespertoli family, of Ghibelline allegiance, was repeatedly victimized by the Guelf party. The branch of Filippo da Montespertoli was banished from the city in 1306; its properties – including a third of the patronage of Sant'Andrea at Montespertoli – were confiscated and acquired by the Parte Guelfa in 1311.

[163] ASF, *Carte Strozziane,* I, 118. Ciango's testamentary provisions gave rise to a legal dispute between the Machiavelli and the Parte Guelfa, reluctant to recognize the new patronage. The dispute was settled in 1430 with the recognition of the Machiavelli family's claims.

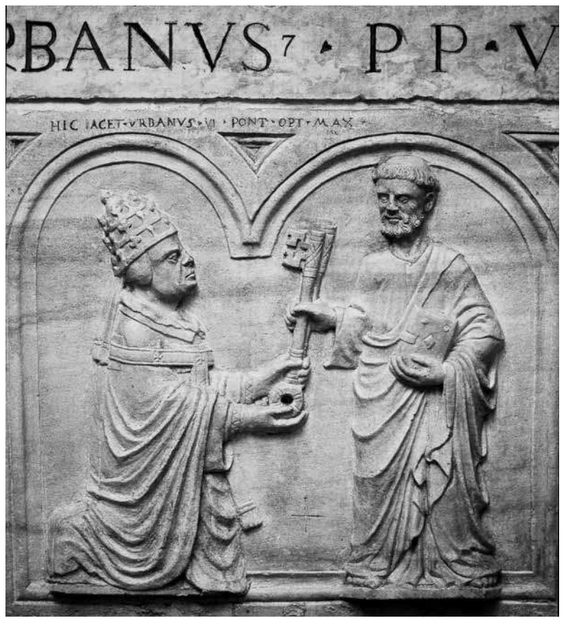

Fig. 3 Roman Sculptor, Tomb of Urban VI, Vatican City, Grotte Vaticane.

died remains uncertain; it might have provided a useful *terminus post quem* for the execution of the triptych in question.[164] Another reference useful for defining its chronology can be derived, however, from the figure of the pope in the triptych, to whose intercession the two kneeling devotees entrust themselves. Dating the triptych to the 1380s on the basis of an analysis of its style, Offner argued that the pope represented in it must be Urban VI, who occupied the pontifical throne from 1378 to 1389.[165] Offner's hypothesis still seems to me the most plausible; and additional iconographical confirmation is provided by comparison with the portrait of Urban VI sculpted on the front of the ancient sarcophagus adopted as his tomb (Grotte Vaticane) (fig. 3);[166] the resemblance between this portrait, with its marked profile and broad square jaw, and the Pope in our triptych seems clear.

So, the date of the election of Urban VI, 8 April 1378, can, with some plausibility, I believe, be considered a useful *terminus post quem* for the painting of the triptych for the church of Sant'Andrea. Other circumstances, such as the peace concluded by Urban VI with the city of Florence on 28 July of the same year, putting an end to the interdict on the city and marking the revival of the Guelf (pro-papal) party,[167] and, *per contra*, the now politically inconvenient Ghibelline past of the da Montespertoli family, which had caused the loss of a third of its patrimony and its confiscation by the Parte Guelfa, help to clarify the reasons for so public an avowal of papal authority, by which the family perhaps sought to rehabilitate and protect

[164] Less probable seems to me the hypothesis of a commission by the Parte Guelfa, which had acquired the right [to the chapel's patronage] following the confiscation of the property of an "admonished" branch of the family, and which presumably did not intervene in questions linked to the embellishment of the chapel, but rather in the administration of the expropriated properties and the income derived from them.

[165] Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus,* IV/V, 1969, 189-191. The Neapolitan Bartolomeo Prignano was elected Pope as Urban VI on 8 April 1378. In the same year the College of Cardinals opposed him by electing an anti-pope, Clement VII, thus precipitating the Great Schism. On returning to Rome backed by military force, Urban deposed Giovanna Queen of Naples, who had thrown in her lot with Clement VII and crowned in her stead Charles of Durazzo. After entering into conflict with the latter in 1385, he found refuge in Genoa, from whence, after a brief stay in Lucca, he travelled through Perugia and arrived in Rome towards the end of 1386; he died in Rome on 15 October 1389. See Pastor, I, 1910, 105-150, Paschini, *Enc. Catt.*, XII, 1954, 909-910 and Maillard - Luypaert, in *Dict. Hist. Papeuté*, 1994, 1681-1683.

[166] Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana,* XCIII, 2005, 48.

[167] On political developments in Florence after the end of the conflict see Rado, 1926; Brucker, 1962e Ricciardelli, 2007, 157-217 with previous bibliography.

itself from a new and dangerous "admonition" from the powerful Florentine oligarchy.[168] These clues, which coincide with those suggested by the analysis of the triptych's "extrinsic" characteristics, such as its format or the shape of its throne, thus turn the Montespertoli triptych into an important point of reference for the definition of the figurative style of the Master of the Misericordia during the final phase of his career.

Like the Fogg *Coronation of the Virgin*, the poor condition of the pictorial surface of the Montespertoli triptych unfortunately does not facilitate an analysis of its figurative style. In the better-preserved central compartment, however, the peculiar characteristics of the Master of the Misericordia's style are recognizable in the ample and elegantly rounded contours, and in the smoky chiaroscuro that models the faces, characterized by high cheek bones, elongated eyes and small and delicate noses. The exquisite quality of the Master's technique can also be grasped from the serpentine contour of the hem of the Virgin's mantle and the skilful portrayal of the peculiar facial features of the two kneeling donors and the Pope standing behind them.

The hand of the Master of the Misericordia seems to me unmistakeable not only in the central compartment, but also in the left shutter with *Saints Peter and Michael the Archangel*; here it is especially the *sfumato* chiaroscuro of the better preserved archangel's face that reveals the hand of our master. The painter's love of detail, meticulously studied and rendered in an unconventional way, is exemplified by the soft curls that frame the angel's face. By contrast the figures of *Saints Benedict and Andrew* in the right lateral seem by a different hand: the style seems harsher; the figures have massive profiles; the faces have frowning expressions, emphasized by strongly marked contours and pronouncedly contrasting chiaroscuro; the locks of St. Andrew are arranged to the sides of his face in stiff and symmetrical curls. Comparison with the compartments of the polyptych with *St. Anthony Abbot, a Bishop Saint, another Bishop Saint and St. Benedict* now in the Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca in Cortona, and unanimously attributed to Niccolò Gerini, confirms that the right lateral of the Montespertoli triptych should also be attributed to Gerini, as long ago proposed by Boskovits.[169]

Another significant example of the proximity between the activity of the Master of the Misericordia and Niccolò Gerini between the late eighth and early ninth decade is represented by the panel of *St. Zenobius, a kneeling female donor and the Annunciation*, in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Florence (pl. XXXVIII). This painting, attributed by Offner to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini[170] and by Luciano Bellosi to Jacopo di Cione,[171] an attribution under which the painting is still presented in the museum,[172] was included by Boskovits in the corpus of the Master of the Misericordia and dated to the years 1375-1380.[173] Examination of the back of the support reveals that the painting must originally have been gabled and that only at a later stage were the two panels to the sides with the figures of the Angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin Annunciate inserted. These figures however, are perfectly adapted to the earlier support and hence must have been specially made to renovate the format of the altarpiece or, perhaps, better adapt it to a new location; a similar case is represented by the *Annunciation* formerly on the altar of the Legnaioli in Orsanmichele, painted shortly after the mid-century and integrated by Mariotto di Nardo to the sides of the gable and with the addition of a narrative predella a few decades later.[174] In the painting in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, unfortunately, retouches and old and yellowing varnishes obfuscate the paint surface and hamper an analysis of its figurative style. The figure of the Bishop Saint in the main compartment is characterised by the rich drapery of his orange-red pluvial, while the deep tubular folds of his white tunic suggest a slight torsion of the body, accompanied by the slight advancement of the left leg. Such characteristics we have already noted in other works of the Master of the Misericordia, as in the little altarpiece from which he derives his name, or in the two fragments of a *Pentecost* now in Poznań. The *St. Zenobius* panel also resembles these in the slightly undulating profile of the contours, in the attention to facial details, such as the crow's-feet to the sides of the eyes or the furrowed forehead, and in the way that the liquid brushstrokes seek to reproduce the natural variations in the hue and texture of the skin. In this regard, the figure of the kneeling female donor is particularly significant in terms of the soft modelling of her face and the strikingly naturalistic description of her hands joined in prayer; they are modelled with small and delicate brushstrokes of light colour as in those of some of the *Apostles* in Poznań or, yet earlier, in the *St. Luke* in Brera. With the Poznań fragments, moreover, the *St. Zenobius* panel also shares the same kind of ornamental repertoire: the punched decoration that runs along the margins of the three panels in fact follows the same scheme, while the foliated decoration in the Saint's halo, executed freehand with the use of a punch, presents motifs very similar to those used by the Master of the Misericordia in the third Apostle from the right in the *Pentecost* in Poznań (pl. XXI[2]).

The Master of the Misericordia, however, was not the only artist involved in the execution of this painting: the characteristics of its figurative style, and also those of its punched decoration,[175] imply the intervention of another artist in the two compartments of the *Annunciation*. Here, in fact, the excessively elongated proportions of the figures contrast with the figural models usually used by this painter; the contours, moreover, especially in the Angel, have a mainly rectilinear format and tend to bend at right angles. The conditions of the pictorial surface do not permit any more detailed analysis of the figurative style, but in this case too we may note some correspondence with the features mentioned above and with the figurative repertoire of Niccolò Gerini; this is shown, for instance, by comparison with the tuba-playing angels kneeling at the far sides of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the tabernacle of the Arte della Lana, or those at the foot of the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in a panel in the Lindenau-Museum in Altenburg.[176]

On the basis of the stylistic characteristics of the paintings discussed above, we can assume that at least a generation must have separated the Master of the Misericordia from the younger Niccolò Gerini. The point of departure for a reconstruction of Gerini's activity are works of his maturity such

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168 This hypothesis would also seem to be confirmed by the fact that the heirs appointed by Ciango in his testament of 1393 seem to have played a leading role in the activities of the Parte Guelfa already since the 1370s. Boninsegna di Filippo Machiavelli is in fact recorded among the leaders of the Guelf party in 1377; Lorenzo di Filippo Machiavelli was one of the members of the *balìa* of 1382 in support of the oligarchic government of Maso degli Albizzi and later held other posts on behalf of the same political party. See further Zervas, 1987, 231, 238, 247, 255.

169 Comparison with the two compartments in the museum at Cortona (see Speranza, in *Il Museo*, 1992, 142-143) was already suggested by Boskovits (1975, 103).

170 In Kaftal, 1952, fig. 1167.

171 Bellosi, in Becherucci - Brunetti, 1970, II, 285, fig. 257.

172 Montrésor, 2000, 55.

173 Boskovits, 1975, 368.

174 The painting is now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (Inv. No. 455). Mariotto di Nardo integrated the earlier panel with a predella representing three *Stories of the Childhood of Christ* and two panels with figures of *Prophets* to the sides of the gable. See Feraci, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 217-221.

175 Skaug (1994, II, 8.1) has identified in the compartment with the figure of St. Zenobius the same punch used in various other works of the Master of the Misericordia, including the *Descent of the Holy Spirit* in Poznań, the tabernacle in Moscow and the Montespertoli triptych, in which, as I hope to show below, the intervention of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini is also recognizable. The identification of the punch used for the decoration of the borders in the panels of the *Annunciation*, unrecognized in other works of the Master, on the other hand, is more problematic; Skaug conjecturally proposes comparison with the punches used in some works of Puccio di Simone and Andrea Orcagna (Nos. 308-311). The punch indicated by Skaug (1994) with No. 312 would also require further analysis, in the view of the present writer; Skaug has identified this punch in paintings of Pietro Nelli and Niccolò Gerini, as well as in artists active in the last quarter of the century.

176 For the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Arte della Lana tabernacle see Boskovits, 1975, 408; for the painting in Altenburg see Parenti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.,* 2005a, 88-89.

as the dated frescoes in the sacristy of Santa Felicita at Florence of 1388 and the slightly later cycles of frescoes in Pisa and Prato.[177] Gerini, however, had been enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali as early as 1368. His initial phase is difficult to reconstruct. But, on the basis of stylistic analysis, we can trace his activity retrogressively from the dated works of the 1380s and 1390s at least until the early 1370s. In particular we can include among his earlier works such important commissions as the panels he painted for the polyptych of Santa Maria dell'Impruneta, inscribed with the date 1375,[178] while the monumental painted *Crucifix* for the church of the monastery of San Salvi, now in the Castellani chapel in the Florentine church of Santa Croce, dated 1380, seems entirely painted by Pietro Nelli.[179] Another datable work in Gerini's career is the triptych with the *Baptism of Christ* painted for the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence (now in the National Gallery in London); destined for the monastery's chapter house, it flanked the works of the protagonists of Florentine painting in the third quarter of the Trecento, and once contained an inscription with a date that is no longer visible but that was formerly transcribed as 1387.[180]

In the first phase of this development, documented by the polyptych in Impruneta or that to which belonged the *Madonna and Child* in the church of San Lorenzo at Borgo San Lorenzo (Florence) and a panel of *St. Philip* now in Oxford (Christ Church Gallery),[181] Niccolò made an effort to express the three-dimensionality of his figures. This is something he shared with painters more strict in their obedience to the tradition of Orcagna. But he differed from them in his tendency to ignore the aspects of the minuter rendering of details. He aspired, instead, to the formal elegance and harmony of his compositions as a whole and revealed thereby a closer affinity with the late activity of Taddeo Gaddi, whom art historians have often claimed or conjectured as his master. In a later phase, anticipating the triptych of the *Baptism of Christ* in London, Gerini's compositions acquire new dramatic and expressive intensity; the contours become more fluent; and the chiaroscuro, hitherto strongly contrasted, is now more subtly nuanced, altering from light to shade in a more graduated way. Examples of this new phase in his art are a large number of devotional tabernacles of small and medium dimensions, such as the *Coronation of the Virgin* formerly in the Mayer collection in London or the version of the same subject in Montreal, the *Trinity with the kneeling St. Francis and Mary Magdalen* in Florence (Galleria dell'Accademia), and the polyptych with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child, St. Anthony Abbot, two Bishop Saints and St. Benedict* now divided between the Fogg Museum in Cambridge (MA) and the Museo Etrusco in Cortona.[182] It is in this phase that Niccolò's affinities with the Master of the Misericordia are especially close, so close that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish their hands. This is the case of the two fragments of a Crucifixion that recently appeared on the art market, depicting the grieving *Virgin and St. John the Evangelist* (pls. XLVIII[4-5]); their half-figure format and the characteristics of the support suggest that they belonged to the predella of an altarpiece of middling size or a small polyptych. The Virgin and St. John are inserted in a punch-decorated lozenge motif incised in the gold ground; the figures, enveloped in ample draperies, are monumental in stature; the heads are imposing in volume and modelled, almost sculpted, by a chiaroscuro that thickens below the chin, while a pronounced dark contour emphasizes the sharp profile of the faces and the curving eyebrows. The affinities with Niccolò Gerini's language of form are here very strong. On the other hand, it is just comparison with iconographically and stylistically similar figures painted

[177] These fresco cycles are securely attributed to Niccolò Gerini on the basis of the inscriptions they bear, comprising not only the name of the artist but also the dates 1388 (Florence, Santa Felicita, sacresty), 1392 (Prato, San Francesco, chapter house), and 1394 (Prato, San Francesco, chapter house).

[178] See in this volume 46 n. 118.

[179] Tartuferi, in *Oratorio*, 2009, 91 and Chiodo, in *Prato Exh. Cat.*, 2010, 13 n. 19.

[180] Davies, ed. by Gordon, 1988, 88-93.

[181] Boskovits, 1975, 403, 412, pls. 60a-b.

[182] Boskovits, 1975, pls. 62a-b; Speranza, in *Il Museo* 1992, 142-143.

by Niccolò, namely, the Virgin and St. John in a *Crucifixion* formerly in the Massimo collection in Rome and the Virgin in another version of the same subject formerly in Lucerne,[183] that leads me to confirm the attribution to the Master of the Misericordia of the two fragments recently appeared on the art market. In spite of the strong resemblance of the physiognomies, no correspondence can be found in Gerini's paintings for the tendency to round out the volumes, smooth the surfaces and avoid any brusque chiaroscuro contrasts of the kind that distinguishes the two fragments being discussed here. These characteristics seem to me to be more directly matched in works of the Master of the Misericordia, as would seem to be demonstrated by comparison with the mourners to the sides of the *Vir dolorum* in a predella panel formerly in New York (pls. XLIX[4-5]) or with those flanking the *Crucifixion* in the little altarpiece now in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge (MA) (pl. XLV).

Compatibility of measurements and recurrence of the same punched decoration enable another two panels of the same polyptych to be identified. They represent respectively the *Vir dolorum* (Nantes, Musée des Beaux Arts) (pl. XLVIII[6]) and the *Virgin Annunciate* (formerly Florence, Pandolfini sale) (pl. XLVIII[7]). A fifth fragment apparently belonging to the same polyptych, the *Angel of the Annunciation*, is currently untraced. The panels in Nantes and that formerly in Florence still preserve geometric decoration along the margins of the lozenge, though this has been lost in the paintings that recently appeared on the art market, even though a slight imprint can still be detected in the gold ground (in part renewed). The close correspondence of the measurements and the motifs of the punched decoration suggest that these fragments belonged to the same predella, even though the representation of the *Annunciation* to the sides of the Vir *dolorum* is, as far as I am aware, unusual, if not unprecedented, in Florentine painting of the Trecento.[184] The provenance of the four compartments from the predella of a small polyptych can be assumed, at least as a working hypothesis. A further two compartments apparently belong to the same polyptych are known: the *Madonna and Child* (Ponce, Museo de Arte) (pl. XLVIII[2]) and the *Saints Anthony Abbot and James the Apostle* (formerly Woluwe, Brussels, van Gelder collection) (pl. XLVIII[3]): stylistic analysis suggests they date to the same period and their measurements are compatible with those of the four fragments discussed here (pl. XLVIII[4-7]).

So it seems that the Master of the Misericordia and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini entered into a formal partnership at some point between the 1370s and 1380s; it probably took the form of a (notarially registered) *compagnia*.[185] Niccolò Gerini, as we have seen with regard to the works he painted in collaboration with Pietro Nelli,[186] was not new to partnerships of this kind which, whether occasional or formalized in *compagnie*, permitted Florentine artists to gain an added advantage in the face of stiff competition and a market undoubtedly depressed by the serious financial crisis that had struck the city since the mid-1360s. So, in this context, there are added reasons for assuming a temporary joint venture, towards the end of the eighth decade, between the anonymous Master of the Misericordia and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. We may go a step further. The fact that the decorative motif most frequently used by the Master of the Misericordia recurs in the decoration of the fabrics painted in some works of Tommaso del Mazza and the documented report of the *compagnia* formed by this art-

[183] Offner, 1981, 76, fig. 144 (as School of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini), 84, fig. 160 (as Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, unworked material).

[184] The twofold presence of the Madonna in such a predella is extremely unusual. A similar case can however be found in the polyptych painted by Niccolò Gerini and now in the church of Secciano near Prato, where we find a representation of the Virgin dictating the Gospel to St. Luke to the right of the central compartment with the *Vir dolorum* between mourners (Mary and St. John) (Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 48, fig. 7).

[185] Boskovits, 1975, 102-103.

[186] On Pietro Nelli see 46 n. 118 in this volume.

ist with Niccolò Gerini in the early 1380s[187] suggest – at least as a cautious working hypothesis – the possibility that Tommaso, too, may have formed part of the same *compagnia* as that of Niccolò Gerini and our Master. In this regard, given that Tommaso del Mazza is known to have rented a workshop owned by the Badia fiorentina in 1382, shortly after he had completed his enrolment in the artist's guild, this date could represent, in my view, a *terminus ante quem* for his activity alongside Niccolò Gerini and the Master of the Misericordia.[188]

In the light of the above observations, the report, long familiar to scholars of the period, that Gerini purchased, in 1383, some paintings left incomplete by the painter Doffo di Baldino, his "compagno" who had recently died, acquires added significance.[189] Doffo is an artist of whom no paintings are known, but whom documents record ever since his enrolment in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali in 1370 to his death shortly before 31 August 1383 when his mother sold his unfinished paintings.[190] The hypothesis that the key to the actual identity of the Master of the Misericordia might lurk in the activity of a documented but *desoeuvré* painter such as Doffo di Baldino is certainly alluring. However, the evidence is at yet too flimsy to substantiate, or even to conjecture, that the two are one and the same. Indeed, there are strong reasons to doubt it. On the basis of what has so far been said about the life of our Master, the lack of any documentary evidence on Doffo's life before 1370 strengthens the supposition that he was a younger artist than the Master of the Misericordia. According to the chronological evidence deduced from his surviving works, our Master had already been active in the 1350s, a good two decades before Doffo di Baldino even became enrolled in the artists' guild.

The Baltimore Choir-Book (Walters Art Gallery, W 153).

The involvement of the Master of the Misericordia in the decoration of illuminated choir-books is an aspect of his artistic activity still little known. Hitherto the only testimony of this aspect of his career was identified some thirty years ago in one of the eight miniatures that illustrate a choir-book in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (W 153) containing the antiphonary and gradual relating to the feast-days of Saints Peter and Paul, Nicholas, Ambrose, Andrew, Simon and Judas Thaddeus (pl. XXX).[191] The attribution, however, is not unanimously accepted. In more recent years, the choir-book has twice been exhibited to the public (first in New York in 1994, then at the Uffizi in Florence in 2008), but in both cases the participation of the Master of the Misericordia in its pictorial decoration was denied.[192] Both exhibitions, however, provided an opportunity to make some interesting observations about the peculiarities of the choir-book's liturgical content and iconography, and more especially to underline the exemplary status of the codex in the framework – still imperfectly understood – of Florentine miniatures in the third quarter of the century.

The antiphonary consists of 56 folios and contains eight large historiated initials, painted in tempera and gold on parchment, and a considerable number of smaller penwork-decorated initials. The book, in its first part, consists of texts relating to the liturgy of the hours for the feast-days of Saints Peter and Paul Apostles and St. Nicholas of Bari. It then continues with antiphons and introits for the masses in honour of Saints Peter and Paul, St. Nicholas of Bari, St. Ambrose, St. Andrew, and Saints Simon and Judas Thaddeus.[193]

The chants begin on fol. 2r with the first, second and fourth strophe of the hymn that opened the liturgy of vespers on the feast-day of Saints Peter and Paul; the third quatrain, perhaps omitted by an oversight, is found instead on the verso of the first folio, transcribed (it would seem) by the same copyist.[194] The choir-book ends on fol. 56v with indications relating to the antiphons for the masses of Saints Simon and Judas Thaddeus. Despite the doubts raised by Laurence Kanter, who considered the Baltimore Antiphonary fragmentary,[195] I think the codex can be considered complete. The gradual relating to the various Saints begins on fol. 52r with the chants relating to the mass in honour of Saints Peter and Paul on 4 July,[196] followed by those for St. Andrew (November 30), in part common to the liturgy in honour of St. Peter and St. Nicholas already present in the codex, and hence indicated only by a cross-reference. Following the same principle, only a shorthand rubric on fol. 56v indicates the antiphons in honour of Saints Simon and Judas Thaddeus, since these are already present in the MS corresponding to other feast-days and so there was no need to transcribe them again.

St. Peter's leading role in the antiphonary is shown by the larger number of miniatures in which he is the protagonist. The pre-eminence given to the celebration of his feast-days also lies at the origin of the purported link with the church of San Pier Maggiore that has accompanied the MS ever since the earliest literature on it.[197] This provenance was also accepted and further discussed by Richard Offner, in his manuscript notes; he was the first, as far as I am aware, who suggested a possible link with the chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas of Bari in this church, patronage of which was held by the Albizzi family.[198] Subsequently a similar hypothesis was also formulated by Mirella Levi D'Ancona, who not only maintained that codex formed part of the liturgical furnishings of the chapel of St. Nicholas founded by the Albizzi in the church of San Pier Maggiore, but went further and presumed a connection with specific events and protagonists of Florentine history in the later 1370s, circumscribing the probable execution of the manuscript to the years between 1378 and 1381.[199] More particularly she argued that the scene of the *Liberation of St. Peter from Prison* (fol. 35v; pl. XXX) alludes to the return of the Pope Gregory XI to Rome in 1377 after the long exile in Avignon. On the other hand, since in that year Florence was still subject to the interdict issued against it by the Pope, and hence its inhabitants allegedly could not participate in religious services, Levi D'Ancona thought it improbable that the precious manuscript could have been produced prior to the following year, when the settlement of the conflict between the city and the papacy led to the lifting of the interdict.[200] A valid *terminus ante quem*, she argued, could be the date of the death of

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[187] See Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 147; Romagnoli, in *Arte Cristiana,* XCVII, 2009, 20-21, 24-25.

[188] Bernacchioni, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XLVI, 2002, 262-263. See in this volume 46 n. 18.

[189] Corti, in *Commentari*, XXII, 1971, 84-91; Boskovits, 1975, 227 n. 72

[190] Doffo di Baldino, resident in the *popolo* of San Pier Maggiore in Via del Giardino, was enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali on 5 December 1370 (Haines, in *Riv. Arte*, XLI, 1989, 190) and in the Compagnia di San Luca in 1381 (Frey, 1885, 340 n. 2). His name appears in the registers of the Prestanze in 1379 (ASF, *Prestanze*, 369, fol. 101v) in the list of inhabitants on the Via del Giardino, but not in those of the previous years.

[191] Boskovits, 1975, 78, 220 n. 128, 285, 367, pl. 88/b, fig. 215.

[192] Kanter, in *New York Exh. Cat.,* 1994, 178-183; Bagnoli, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 232-233.

[193] We are indebted to Hoover (2004) for a detailed study of the liturgical and musical content of the manuscript.

[194] Cf. *Breviarium Romanum, In Festo SS. Petri et Pauli, In I Vesperis, Hymnus*. The verses ("O Roma felix que duorum principuorum es consecrata glorioso sanguine horum cruore purpurata ceteras excellis orbis una pulcritudines") are taken from the hymn attributed to St. Paulinus of Aquileia "Decora lux aeternitatis auream" (PL, vol. 63, col. 0537A). A cross-reference ("III") in the upper left on fol. 1v indicates the correct position of the quadruplet in the text, after that marked "II" on fol. 2v. I was unable to examine the manuscript in person, but the cross-references on folios 9v, 17v, 25v, 33v, 41v and 49v clearly indicate that the codex consists of eight-folio fascicules; the first folio is added separately.

[195] Kanter, in *New York Exh. Cat.,* 1994, 183 n. 2.

[196] *Missale Romanum, De VI infra Octavam Sancti Petri et Pauli, Introitus.* The antiphon "Mihi autem" is decorated with a large penwork initial ("M") which Levi D'Ancona thought was the work of Paolo Soldini. See Levi D'Ancona, in *Miniatura italiana*, 1979, 464.

[197] *Baltimore Exh. Cat.*, 1949, 60.

[198] Corpus, archive. For the history and description of the church of San Pier Maggiore see Richa, I, 1754, 124-148 and Paatz, IV, 1952, 629-657.

[199] Levi D'Ancona, in *Miniatura Italiana*, 1979, 461-487.

[200] On the history of Florence in the 1370s see 58 n. 153 and 61 n. 167 in this volume.

Bartolomeo degli Albizzi in 1381. Bartolomeo, leading member of the family that held the patronage of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the church of San Pier Maggiore, was, in her view, the probable patron who commissioned the antiphonary. Levi D'Ancona's observations also extended to a further connection with some documentary evidence contained in the archive of San Pier Maggiore, relating to payments for miniatures painted by Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni and others between the eighth and ninth decade of the century.[201] Levi D'Ancona's study, entirely dedicated to the codex being discussed here in the attempt to reconstruct the historical circumstances but also the artistic context in which it was produced, is the first sign of the growing interest shown by art historians in this choir-book, though subsequent contributions have tended to privilege problems of a stylistic and attributional, rather than historical character in their analysis.

Ever since the Baltimore exhibition in 1949 the decoration of the manuscript was recognized to be the work of three different hands.[202] Richard Offner was the first to identify one of them with the Master of the Misericordia.[203] Subsequently a detailed analysis of the figurative style of the illuminations was conducted by Miklós Boskovits, who distinguished the intervention of four different artists: Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, responsible for the miniatures on folios 4v (*Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter*; fig. 4) and 27v (*Miracle of St. Nicholas of Bari*); the Master of the Misericordia on fol. 35v (*St. Peter Enthroned, Liberation of St. Peter from Prison*; pl. XXX); and two other miniaturists of the circle of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci respectively on folios 3r and 19v, 13v and 16v (figs. 5, 6). It is uncertain, according to Boskovits, whether Cenni di Francesco or the Master of the Misericordia was responsible for the minature on fol. 39 v. (*St. Nicholas Enthroned, Blessing Redeemer*; fig. 7).[204]

This division of hands has only in part been shared by the other scholars who have subsequently discussed the MS. According to Laurence Kanter, only two artists were involved in its decoration. The first, "a relatively coarse painter with a limited command of the representation of space" and trained in the school of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, was, he argued, responsible for the illustrations on folios 3r, 13v, 16v and 19v (figs. 5-6). The other, "who may be ranked among the most accomplished Florentine miniaturists of the second half of the fourteenth century", is to be identified with Cenni di Francesco.[205] Cenni, according to Kanter, seems to have intervened in the decoration at a later stage, given that reflections of the style and designs of the Camaldolese miniaturist can be noted in the initials historiated by him; moreover, the punch tools used in the decoration of the gold leaf in all four of the initials attributed to Cenni belonged to Don Silvestro's repertoire. This reconstruction of the phases in the decoration of the MS, reducing the number of masters engaged on it to two and excluding any intervention of the Master of the Misericordia, was also re-proposed more recently.[206]

The analysis offered by Gaudenz Freuler in 1997 was particularly focused on the peculiar characteristics of the style of the masters involved in the decorative programme. He confirmed in essence the division of hands proposed by Boskovits. He therefore recognised the intervention of the Master

[201] Levi D'Ancona, in *Miniatura Italiana*, 1979, 465. The documents relating to Cenni di Francesco had previously been published by Levi D'Ancona herself (1962, 76-77). She further attributed the miniature on fol. 16v (fig. 6) to the Master of the Misericordia whom she proposed to identify with the miniaturist Maso, cited on several occasions in documents relating to San Pier Maggiore. Maso in turn was, in her reconstruction, identifiable with the painter Tommaso del Mazza. The stylistic characteristics of the miniature in question however do not correspond to those of the Master of the Misericordia. Barbara Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VII, 2000, 136-143, identified Tommaso del Mazza instead with the painter known under the conventional name of Master of Santa Verdiana.

[202] *Baltimore Exh. Cat.*, 1949, 60.

[203] *Corpus,* archive.

[204] Boskovits, in *Paragone*, XXIII, 1972, No. 265, 52; *Idem*, 1975, 220 No. 128.

[205] Kanter, in *New York Exh. Cat.*, 1994, 178-183.

[206] Bagnoli, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 232-233.

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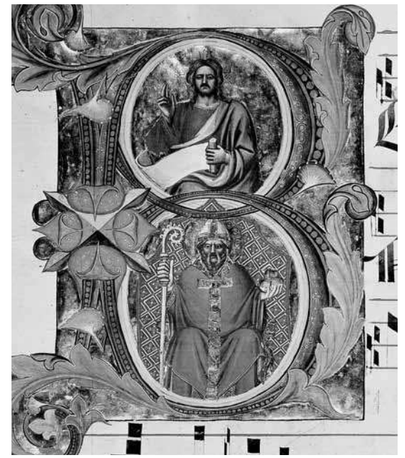

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Fig. 4 Cenni di Francesco, initial S with *Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inv. W 153, fol. 4v.

Fig. 5 Florentine illuminator close to the Master of the Maestro del Bargello, initial P with *St. Peter accompanied by St. John the Evangelist healing a cripple*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inv. W 153, fol. 13v.

Fig. 6 Florentine illuminator close to the Master of the Bargello, initial I with *St. Peter standing with the eucharistic chalice and the keys, Christ in half figure in the upper left*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inv. No. W 153, fol. 16v.

Fig. 7 Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, initial B with *the blessing Redeemer (above) and St. Nicholas of Bari enthroned*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inv. W 153, fol. 39v.

of the Misericordia alongside Cenni di Francesco and a further two miniaturists, one of whom was responsible for the initials on folios 3r and 19v. This latter is also recognisable, according to Freuler, in some cut-out miniatures with a provenance from the dispersed series of choir-books illuminated by Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci for the Camaldolese monastery of San Michele di Murano, characterised by the same "lack of proportion in the faces, a more summary treatment of forms, harsher modelling of the flesh tones and the somewhat carelessly drawn nimbuses, heavily outlined in black ink". Elaborating on Levi D'Ancona's observations on the provenance of the Baltimore codex from the Benedictine monastery of San Pier Maggiore and the documents relating to the involvement of Cenni di Francesco in the decoration of the now dispersed choir-books for this monastery, Freuler recognized the exemplary value of the MS being discussed here as indicative of the style of the lost choir-books, which he thought were probably decorated by the same team of miniaturists.[207]

It is clear, therefore, that, while there is general recognition of the leading role attributed to the Baltimore choir-book in the still imperfectly understood context of Florentine miniatures in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, uncertainties persist about the artists who took part in its decoration. No less diverging are views about the dating, sequence and modes of their involvement. A re-examination of the choir-book, and a comparative analysis of its iconographic repertoire and the figurative language of its miniatures, can perhaps help clarify this complex enterprise.

The eight illuminated initials have different measurements. The size of the initials seems to be hierarchically determined. At the head of this hierarchy is the prince of the apostles himself, protagonist of no less than six miniatures in the choir-book. He is followed in order by St. Nicholas of Bari (two illustrations), while no miniature is devoted to the other Saints recorded in the liturgical text. The largest miniature, portraying *St. Peter Enthroned* (in the upper part) and *St. Peter Liberated from Prison* (lower part) (fol. 35v) (pl. XXX), occupies the space of four tetragrams (both in height and in width). It corresponds to the Introit of the Mass for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, the celebration to which the greatest emphasis is given in the antiphonary. Next in size, occupying partially the space of three tetragrams, are the initials on folios 13v, 16v and 39v (two antiphons for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul; introit of the mass for St. Nicholas of Bari) (figs. 5-7). They are followed, in turn, by the illuminated initials covering two tetragrams on folios 4v, 19v and 27v (responsory and antiphon for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul; antiphon for the vigil of St. Nicholas) (fig. 4). Still smaller is the initial covering a single line on fol. 3v (antiphon of the vigil of Saints Peter and Paul).

A detail that has apparently escaped the attention of those who have examined the Baltimore Antiphonary further enhances the emphasis given in it to the celebration in honour of St. Peter. Apart from the office for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, the text also contains that relating to the celebration of two other feasts in honour of the prince of the apostles: that of St. Peter in chains (San Pietro in vincoli) (August 1st) and that of St. Peter enthroned (San Pietro in cattedra) (18 January). Both feast-days are included in the Roman calendar. However, their inclusion within a single liturgical codex, a combined gradual and antiphonary, clearly indicates a connection with a religious community particularly devoted to celebrating the cult of St. Peter, such as the Benedictine monastery of San Pier Maggiore, as presumed by Offner and Levi D'Ancona. On the other hand, the link, however interesting, indicated by the latter scholar between the preparation of the codex and the end of the Pope's exile in Avignon, which the references to the feasts of St. Peter *in vincoli* and St. Peter *in cattedra* would seem in some way to support, unfortunately remains without any firm corroborative evidence. Even more difficult to establish seems to me the identification of any relation of cause and effect with the end of the interdict imposed by the Pope during the conflict that opposed him to the Florentine Republic between 1376 and 1378. This is due not so much to the doubts that

[207] Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII, 1997, 499 n. 26, pls. LIII[53], LIII[7], LIII[6], LIII[5], LIII[30].

have been expressed by some scholars about whether it is possible – as Levi d'Ancona claimed – to establish precise relations with events in Florentine history in the second half of the 1370s,[208] but to the actual content of the papal provisions. For the interdict, though it prevented the faithful from having access to the sacraments, did not prevent them from participating in the divine office, which continued to be regularly celebrated in the churches of Florence throughout the period in which the interdict remained in force. During the mass, at the moment of the eucharistic celebration, the lay members of the congregation were asked to leave the church, while the rite continued in the presence of ordained priests and religious alone.[209]

Even the hypothesis of the commission of the Baltimore Antiphonary by the Albizzi family, patrons of the chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas in the church of San Pier Maggiore, though strongly supported by the liturgical content and iconographic decoration of the codex, remains for the time being without any further corroboration. Indeed, reasonable grounds for doubt might be identified in the absence of the family coat of arms anywhere in the manuscript. In the absence of secure evidence, I would not exclude the possibility of a link instead with the little known *Società di San Pietro* which met at the altar dedicated to the Saint in the same Benedictine church. That this confraternity commissioned works of art is documented by the contract given in 1307 to an artist, probably identifiable with Gaddo Gaddi, for the realization of the monumental panel with *St. Peter Enthroned with two angels* now in the church of San Simone.[210]

[208] Kanter, in *New York Exh. Cat.*, 1994, 180. He also reports the opinion of Carl Strehlke, expressed *in litteris*, who "correctly rejects any topical interpretation of these illuminations as a basis for establishing the period of their execution".

[209] See in this volume 47 n 120.

[210] On the painting attributed to Gaddo Gaddi see Offner, Corpus, III/I, 2nd ed., 1989, 114-121, pl.VI, where it is classified as a work of the Master of St. Cecilia. The latter's identification with Gaddo Gaddi is based on a documentary reference published by Bietti (in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXI, 1983, 49-52). The artist's activity has also been re-examined in the light of new documentary evidence by Boskovits (in *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte*, 27, 2003, 57-70). According to the inscription along the lower margin of the panel, legible prior to the flood in 1966, the panel was painted for the Compagnia di San Pietro Apostolo in 1307 ("ISTAM TABULAM FECIT FIERI SOCIETAS BEATI PETRI APOSTOLI DE MENSE IUNII SUB ANNIS DOMINI MCCCVII"). Where the painting was originally placed in the church of San Pier Maggiore is unknown. Descriptions predating the destruction of the church in 1785 cite old panel paintings in the second and fourth chapel (Richa, I, 1754, 142) or in the ninth and tenth chapel (Cambiagi, 1765, 79), but none of these paintings can be certainly identified with that of Gaddo Gaddi. That it was placed on the high altar as maintained by Bietti (in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXI, 1983, 49-50) and Offner (*Corpus*, III/I, 1986, 114) can, I think, be excluded, since the above-cited inscription clearly attests that it was placed on the altar of the Compagnia (or Società) di San Pietro, a confraternity that probably met in one of the side chapels of the church. Besides, as is well known, Jacopo di Cione's monumental polyptych of the *Coronation of the Virgin* now in London (National Gallery, Inv. Nos. 569-578; Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 31-74, pls. III-III[33]) was placed on the high altar of the church between 1370 and 1371. The known documents attest that payments for the new polyptych were made by the Benedictine nuns, who probably retained the patronage of the high altar. Prior to this date, if we exclude the hypothesis that Gaddo Gaddi's altarpiece stood on it, it is possible that this was the original site of the polyptych of Lippo di Benivieni which is reported in the chapel of the Alessandri in the same church of San Pier Maggiore at the end of the eighteenth century (Offner, *Corpus*, III/VI, 1956, 44-45; Boskovits, Corpus, III/IX, 1984, 31, 180, pls. LII-LV). The Alessandri are a cadet branch of the Albizzi family that distinguished from the parent branch by assuming a new surname in c. 1370 (Colombo, I, 1754, 20-21). Walter and Elisabeth Paatz (IV, 1952, 634-641) mention three chapels under Albizzi patronage and the "Cappellone" at the head of the left transept under Alessandri patronage. To these we must also add the chapel that, according to the documents, the family had against the rood-screen demolished in 1569 (Bietti, in *Studi di Storia dell'Arte*, 1, 1990, 243-252). The contribution made by the Albizzi to the construction and decoration of the new church of the Benedictine monastery where women of the family were often entered as novices, was thus considerable. Nor can it be excluded that the transfer of the Lippo di Benivieni polyptych to the Alessandri branch of the family took place in the early 1370s when the Benedictine nuns decided to replace it with a more imposing and modern altarpiece, and to commission it from Jacopo di Cione.

The problems posed by an analysis of the figurative style of the miniatures that decorate the choir-book are no less intricate than those aroused by its iconographic repertoire and liturgical content. The eight miniatures, with the exception of that on fol. 13v, present a homogeneous ornamental scheme. The body of the letter is generally contoured on the inside with white fillets and with a row of beading of increasing size on the outside, with the exception of the initial "N" on fol. 35v which shows instead a row of diamond-pointed rhombs. Broad leaves, their veins marked in a darker colour, curl round the initials and are prolonged along the margin of the pages in long undulating tendrils, according to a convention common in Florentine miniatures in the third quarter of the century, as in the decoration of choir-books C, D and P at Santa Croce.[211] On folios 16v, 19v, 27v (fig. 6) and, to a lesser degree, 4v (fig. 4), fragments of an underdrawing that was later altered and then covered by the tempera, but is now re-emerging from below it, can be distinguished; on fol. 13v (fig. 5) a previous preparatory drawing has clearly been scraped away in the area of the curling leaf and flower-head in the upper left of the letter. These *pentimenti* betray the complexity, and separate stages, of the process of decorating the manuscript. This is also reflected in the stylistic characteristics of the decoration: more sober and linked to the Florentine ornamental tradition in the mid-Trecento in the initials on folios 4v, 16v, 19v, 27v, 35v and 39v (figs. 4, 6-7; pl. XXX); decidedly modernised in conformity with the new decorative types introduced into Florence by Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci and Don Simone Camaldolese between the eighth and ninth decade in the initial "P" on fol. 13v (*St. Peter Healing a Cripple;* fig. 5).

In the first group a further distinction can be made between the letters on folios 35v and 39v (pl. XXX; fig. 8) and the remaining five. In the first two the foliated ornament is more conspicuous and luxuriant; it encloses the body of the initial with large curling terminations, emphasizing its dimension, but without any tendril-like extension along the margin of the page. A novel feature, it too intended to further emphasise the volumetric consistency of the initial, is represented by the diamond-pointed decoration that runs along the whole body of the letter on fol. 35v, while on fol. 39v a large square diamond-pointed motif is superimposed over the centre of the letter's vertical shaft. This is a motif rarely encountered in Florentine miniatures prior to this period, but of which it is possible to identify some precedents in panel paintings, for example in two works of Giovanni Bonsi: namely, in the polyptych now in the Vatican Museums which bears an inscription with the date 1371 and the probably contemporary panel in the San Diego Museum, where it appears as an ornament of the step of the throne on which the Virgin sits.[212] In the field of miniatures, on the other hand, the motif is found more widely no earlier than the 1380s, when it may be seen in some initials of Choir-Books 6 and 9 of the Biblioteca Laurenziana, decorated by Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci for the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli.[213] Previously, however, it seems to have enjoyed some diffusion in Siena where, albeit in a more simplified form that reduces its three-dimensional effect, it can be recognized in Lippo Vanni's miniatures for the decoration of a gradual for Siena Cathedral around the middle of the fifth decade.[214]

[211] See in this volume oo, in particular pls. ooo.

[212] Pasquinucci, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 73-77, pls. XII[1-3], 85-91, pl. XIII. The originality of this motif in the decorative repertoire of Giovanni Bonsi was already recognized by Federico Zeri (in *Boll. Arte*, XLIX, 1964, 226.

[213] Levi D'Ancona (in *Miniatura italiana*, 1979, 476) was the first to recognize that the diamond-pointed motif that decorates the body of the letter on fol. 35v is the same as that in the miniature of St. Nicholas on fol. 151r of Choir-Book 9 of the Biblioteca Laurenziana, copied in c. 1385 from an Antiphonary for San Pier Maggiore (Levi D'Ancona, 1995, 50, pl. 16) . See also Kanter, in *New York Exh. Cat.*, 1994, 182.

[214] De Benedictis, 2002, 132-133, pls. LXXX-LXXXII. Until now we haven't any documentary evidence of a Lippo Vanni activity in Florence, also if a coral miniated by him, perhaps for the Florentine Cathedral, now is with the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (Wainwright, in *Pantheon*, XLVI, 1988, 26-36). On the other hand, I wonder if it possible to identify the painter and miniaturist with a certain "Lippo di Vanni maestro" who is paid 25 soldi from the Compagnia di San Zanobi in 1369 (Orioli, 1984, 96).

That the same artist decorated the initials on folios 35v and 39v of the Baltimore Antiphonary is also shown by the liquid application of the colour that marks the veining of the leaves, the confident drawing of the light-coloured profile, and such motifs as their little foliated terminations that the miniaturist painted in the same light colour. Though adopting at least in part the motifs present in these two initials, the other letters of the group are characterised by simpler decoration and less meticulous execution.

The influence of the two Camaldolese miniaturists who renewed the style of Florentine miniatures from the 1370s on characterises, instead, the initial decorated on fol. 13v where long fleshy leaves as in the miniatures of Don Simone and Don Silvestro surround the initial with complex serpentine volutes, while the margins of the page are invaded by flowering plant tendrils. The contrast with the style of the initials described above is very sharp. On the other hand, the clear signs of the deletion of the previous underdrawing along the right margin of the shaft of the letter, adjacent to the beginning of the line with the musical notation, and along the margin of the folio, close to the decorated tendril, show that the miniature initially designed was later altered.

The various phases that punctuated the decoration of the initials are a useful point of departure for an elucidation of the equally complex problems posed by the analysis of the figural part of the miniatures. The decoration on folios 4v, 27v and 39v presents homogeneous stylistic features. The figures have rather heavily marked contours and facial features; the modelling of the faces is rendered with dense brushstrokes of darker hue, while the garments tend to envelop the bodies stiffly, articulated with a few acute-angled folds, devoid of depth and substance. That the three miniatures in question were executed by Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni is confirmed by comparison with the massive physiognomic types that populate his compositions. We may compare them for instance with the *Apostles* to the sides of the Virgin in the lateral of a polyptych with the *Pentecost* at its centre in the church of San Martino at Sesto Fiorentino.[215] The figure of the Redeemer handing down the keys to St. Peter (fig. 4) can be compared with the third Apostle from below, to the left of the Virgin, in the same altarpiece, while the bearded faces of St. Peter and St. Nicholas in our miniatures are closely matched by that of the Apostle (Andrew?) on the other side of the San Martino polyptych, especially in terms of the dense chiaroscuro of the modelling and the composed hairstyles with their voluminous locks.

Unfortunately, few secure chronological clues punctuate the extensive list of works that document the lengthy career of Cenni di Francesco,[216] nor can any precise date be established for the *Pentecost* in Sesto Fiorentino. The magniloquence and monumentality of the polyptych, combined with the tendency to elongate the proportions of the figures, would seem however to indicate an already mature phase in the painter's activity. Useful clues for establishing the chronology of the three miniatures attributed to Cenni di Francesco in the Baltimore Antiphonary can also be deduced, I believe, from comparison with other testimonies of the painter's involvement in this genre of art: more particularly with two cut-out initials, respectively a "D" illuminated with scene of Pentecost (Venice, Fondazione Cini) and an "I" with the Blessing Redeemer (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Marlay Cutting I/13) and with some miniatures of Choir-Books D and P in the church of Santa Croce (fig. oooo).[217] The Cambridge initial, due to the more elongated proportions of the figure, the

[215] Fremantle, 1975, 407, fig. 832.

[216] See in this volume 28 n. 50.

[217] The miniature in Venice was attributed by Offner (1981, fig. 116) to the so-called Rohoncz Master, a conventional name under which he classified works that Boskovits (in *Zeitschr. Kunstgesch.* XXXI, 1968, 273, 278, fig. 6) subsequently re-assigned to Cenni di Francesco. Hitherto the miniature now in Venice was in

lucid and compact character of the surfaces, and the deep drapery folds, bending at an acute angle to suggest the three-dimensionality of the figure, seems to me to belong to an advanced phase in the painter's activity, matched in style with the paintings in the church of San Donato in Polverosa dated 1383.[218] The miniatures of the Franciscan choir-books at Santa Croce and the cut-out initial in Venice, by contrast, would seem to belong to an earlier phase: for here the preference for more stunted forms, simplified contours and schematic draperies are matched in such works as the polyptych to which the predella panels with Stories of the Magdalene now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana belonged, probably close in date to the polyptych of San Cristoforo at Perticaia (Rignano sull'Arno) and hence datable to the early 1370s.[219] The three miniatures painted by Cenni in the Baltimore codex ought to date to a slightly later phase than this, though antedating the more gothic scenes with their rich narrative vein of the frescoes of San Donato in Polverosa and other works associated with them, including the cutting in the Fitzwilliam Museum. This chronology seems to me also confirmed by comparison between the decorative part of the letters: those of the earlier group characterised by a broad encircling leaf, and that of the Cambridge cutting by more delicate leaves modelled with white buds.

Contrary to what others have argued, also more recently, the miniature of St. Peter on fol. 35v cannot have been painted by Cenni di Francesco. The space within the letter is divided into two distinct zones: the upper part, occupying two-thirds of the entire surface of the initial, contains a large and imposing image of St. Peter enthroned: he is sitting on a lion-headed faldstool, flanked by two angels who support the cloth of honour behind his back. The lower zone is devoted to a smaller representation of the Angel leading the Saint out of prison. The composition recalls, in miniature, monumental prototypes, such as the altarpieces commissioned by the guilds of Florence for the decorations of the pillars of Orsanmichele, depicting the enthroned patron saint of the individual guilds and an episode of his life in the predella below.[220] That the miniaturist was familiar with the techniques and compositions of monumental painting is also evident in the figures: they evince a predilection for massive forms, emphasized by the complex draping of the garments, while the modelling of the faces is accentuated by the sharply contrasting chiaroscuro.

The identification of this artist with the Master of the Misericordia, already proposed by art historians, is confirmed by comparison with such works as the *Betrothal of the Virgin* in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge (MA) (pl. XXVIII), the *Crucifixion* in Milan (pl. XXVII) and the *Madonna and Child with Saints* at Rennes (pl. XXXI). The stern and imposing figure of St. Peter in our miniature closely resembles the Priest at the centre of the Fogg *Betrothal* with whom he shares the hieratic frontality of pose, and especially the minute description – painted with the tip of the brush – of the modelling and of the features of the face: we may compare such details as the furrows above the bridge of the nose and the lower lip round which the beard curls. In the figures of St. Peter and the angel who leads him by the hand out of prison the long sweeping folds of the mantles lends a jagged rhythm to the contours, underlining the forward advance of the figures and the restless atmosphere of the narrative, in a way that seems to me to be very similar in substance to that we can note in the grieving St. John at the side of the cross in the *Crucifixion* in Milan (pl. XXVII). The same sensibility for the psychological aspects of the narrative is also shown by the subtlety with which the artist grasps Peter's hesitancy and timorousness and contrasts it with the impetuous movement with which the angel indicates, with uplifted arm, the road they have to take: a motif alien to the more placid, less psychologically penetrating narrative character of the stories recounted by Cenni di Francesco.

The stylistic affinities with the above-cited works, presumably to be construed as the sign of proximity also in date, enable us to date the Master of the Misericordia's involvement in the Baltimore Antiphonary to the second half of the 1370s. Given that the only miniature attributable to our Master (namely fol. 35v) is also the most important in the entire MS, filling as it does two-thirds of the written page, it cannot be too far-fetched to conjecture that the commission to decorate the precious codex was first assigned just to this artist. Presumably he too was responsible for the involvement in the enterprise of the younger Cenni, who had been in contact with the elder Master already at the time of the San Cristoforo polyptych at Perticaia.[221]

To a third artist can, in my view, be assigned the initials on folios 3r (*St. Peter Enthroned*), 13v (*St. Peter Healing a Cripple*; fig. 5), 16v (*St. Peter as Priest*; fig. 6) and 19v (*Crucifixion of St Peter*). As we pointed out above, these miniatures have in the past been attributed to two different artists. Comparisons between the face of St. Peter on fol. 3r and that of the same Saint on fol. 16v, or between the angels that accompany the Saint's *animula* towards the Redeemer, whose arms are outstretched to receive him, in the upper part of fol. 19v and the Prophet (?) in the tendril *rinceau* in the upper right of fol. 16v, show very close affinities, only in part attenuated by the evidently more perfunctory execution of folios 3r and 19v; and these affinities are sufficiently close to encourage attribution to the same hand. Throughout the four miniatures the colour is applied in liquid form to the surfaces, modelling the flesh parts with delicate and fluent transparencies, as if the artist in question were more familiar with the large surfaces of monumental paintings than the minutiae of book illuminations. The hair styles, the locks of hair, are painted with miniscule brushstrokes; they have a soft and vaporous consistency, while the contours are formed by a sequence of brief hatches of darker colour. On folios 3r and 19v the minute physiognomic features and placid expressions tend to confer on the faces rather conventional appearances, but in folios 13v and 16v the pictorial execution becomes decidedly more accomplished, revealing the presence of a skilful hand and an artist in possession of original expressive means. On fol. 16v the gaze of St. Peter, holding chalice and paten in his right and keys in his left hand, captures the observer's attention with its vivid intensity, betraying the artist's pursuit of effects of naturalism and emotional involvement. Despite the fact that Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci has been repeatedly cited to explain the figurative culture of this artist, it does not seem to me easy to identify any close and persuasive link with his figurative language. The link proposed by Gaudenz Freuler between the two miniatures on folios 3r and 19v and some cut-out initials from one of the choir-books decorated by the Camaldolese monk for the monastery of Santa Maria di Murano is not entirely convincing.[222] There are traits that do disclose affinities with Don Silvestro, such as the minute hatching that builds up the hair locks and beard of the figures; on the other hand,

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the Ulrico Hoepli collection in Milan and was published by Toesca (1930, 82, LXXX, pl. LXXII) as a work of the Umbrian school of the second half of the fourteenth century. Toesca noted, however, that the miniature's figurative style "in qualche testa rammenta i pittori orcagneschi fiorentini" but also shows "riflessi della maniera di Allegretto Nuzi"; this induced him to propose an "attribuzione, non certa" to one of the Umbrian miniaturists that most felt the influence of Florentine art such as, for example, that of the register of the Collegio dei Fabbri (Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, ms. 3063) (Subbioni, 2003, 269, figs. 300-305, pls. CXXI-CXXII). The other cut-out initial, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (England), was also recognized as a work of Cenni di Francesco by Boskovits (in *Paragone,* XXIII, 1972, No. 265, 51-52; 1975, 285, fig. 315); he dated it to c. 1380-1385.

[218] Boskovits, 1975, 127, pl. 137.

[219] Volbach, 1987, 17-18, 33. Federico Zeri (in *Boll. Arte*, XLVIII, 1963, 255) identified what he thought were other compartments of the same polyptych: namely, a *Madonna and Child* (Lawrence, Kansas University Museum, No. 6046 (Kress 268) and a panel of *St. Agnes* (Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. 195). Subsequently Miklós Boskovits (1975, 220 n. 125) on the basis of a comparison of their measurements, distinguished the polyptych to which the panels in Nantes and Lawrence belonged from that of the Vatican predella compartments, which he thought earlier in date. See also 28 n. 50 in this volume.

[220] On these works see Zervas, 1996, 147-152.

[221] See in this volume 28 n. 50.

[222] See supra 70 n. 207.

many of the stylistic features of the miniatures cut out from the Murano choir-books, such as their harsh physiognomies, drapery folds minutely hewn in depth, and also a meticulous pursuit of naturalistic effects – especially evident in the initial with the *Entry into Jerusalem* (Paris, Musée Marmottan, George Wildestein collection)[223] – find no match in the more summary style of the artist who completed the decoration of the Baltimore Antiphonary. A temperament at variance with the more ceremonious tone and spacious compositions of the Camaldolese choir-books is in fact revealed in his miniatures. On fol. 13v, one of the most developed scenes from a narrative viewpoint (*St. Peter Healing a Cripple;* fig. 5), the artist places his figures in the foreground, leaving in the background the massive architecture of the temple with its dark-apertured portal, and trying instead to sum up in an effective way the essential elements of the narrative scene: the wretched condition of the cripple, poorly dressed and abandoned on the temple steps, the affectionate gesture of St. Peter, who stretches forward, holding out his right arm to heal the cripple by grasping his wrist, while behind his back the youthful St. John the Evangelist is shown in a pose of timid and devout admiration as he bears witness to the event. These figures, characterised by almost stunted proportions but clearly defined in their three-dimensional volumes, recall the types of the Orcagnesque and Gaddesque tradition and suggest the Florentine origin of the artist who painted them. Though this artist still evades a precise classification, it seems to me possible to indicate some of the key elements in trying to define the peculiarities of his figurative style: a tendency on the one hand to draw the contours with brief and delicate hatches, conferring on them an uncertain and quivering consistency, and, on the other, to construct the faces and limbs of the figures by accompanying the rotundities of the modelling with a regular series of delicate brushstrokes of pink colour alternated with others of lighter hue. These techniques seem to me to find a clear precedent in the works attributed to the so-called "Ser Monte", especially in the more advanced phase of his activity, namely that in choir-books C, D and P of Santa Croce.[224] Some comparisons, for example between the figure of St. Peter in the scene of Pentecost on fol. 29r of Antiphonary C and that of the same Saint on fol. 13v of the Baltimore Antiphonary (fig. 5), but also between the Apostle to the left of the Virgin in the same folio of Santa Croce and the angel supporting the *animula* of the Saint on fol. 19v, seem to me to corroborate the affinities in the two above-cited masters. On the other hand, at least a decade must divide the two enterprises and so I cannot go so far as to affirm that "Ser Monte" was personally responsible for painting the miniatures in the Baltimore choir-book. It seems more probable, instead, that these miniatures are the work of a younger artist whose formative experiences were based on the example of the older master and who, towards the end of the eighth decade, also assimilated late-gothic figurative ideas from the works of Don Simone Camaldolese and Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci.

In conclusion, if the miniatures attributed to an anonymous hand are effectively the work of the same artist, the evaluation of the Baltimore Antiphonary in relation to the history of Florentine book illumination in the third quarter of the fourteenth century would have to be, at least in part, revised. The link of this anonymous master with the circle of "Ser Monte" would in fact restore the precious MS to a cultural sphere whose roots can be traced back to the final decades of the activity of Taddeo Gaddi's workshop. His relations with the Master of the Misericordia are thus placed on a more proximate footing and his participation in an enterprise begun, but never completed, by the Master together with the younger Cenni di Francesco was probably not therefore the result of a more or less casual choice on the part of the patron, but could reflect the patron's awareness of a continuity in figurative style.

[223] Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997, 513-514, pl. LIII[53].
[224] See in this volume 00.

The last phase of the artist's activity

In the final period of his career, the Master of the Misericordia continued to paint a large number of private devotional paintings, as well as works of greater commitment, such as a few polyptychs, though these have unfortunately survived only in fragmentary state. His devotional paintings, deriving (both in iconography and composition) from a well-defined repertoire of models, clearly suggest the almost serial character that this type of production had assumed in his activity. On the other hand, the presentation of motifs hitherto little used is also significant, testifying to the innovative urge that continued to accompany and renovate his art.

Close to the painting in Cambridge (pl. XXXV), and also to the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in Frankfurt (pl. XXXIV) is, it seems to me, the *Coronation of the Virgin, Saints and Angels* in the Oskar Reinhart collection in Winterthur (pl. XXXVI). The panel has been cropped along the sides and upper edge but what remains of the painted surface is fairly well preserved and presents many features that help to evaluate the characteristics of the Master's figurative language. The composition follows a scheme very similar to that of the Fogg *Coronation*: as in this, the protagonists are placed below a sumptuous baldachin supported by two angels and decorated by a dense pattern of motifs incised into the ground; a drape, it too minutely decorated, covers the floor, laid out on a plane parallel to that of the observer and excluding any attempt to express spatial depth.[225] The figures are caught in attitudes of statuesque immobility; the contemplative expressions of their faces betray no emotion of any kind. In contrast to the works discussed so far, however, the figures are now more robust, the contours more animated; the draperies are channelled by deep folds, while the enamelled colour and fashionable details such as the short and pointed *manicottoli* of Christ's dress reveal a quest for elegant effects.

Similar characteristics are revealed by another version of the same subject, the *Coronation of the Virgin* now at Longleat House in Wiltshire, England (pl. XXXVII), and two small versions of the *Annunciation* of which one was last seen on the art market in New York (pl. XL[1-2]), while the other – formerly in the Gambier-Parry collection at Highnam Court (Gloucester) – is now in London (Courtauld Institute Art Gallery) (pl. XLI).[226] In the first two cases over-drastic cleaning has gravely impoverished their paint surface; in the Courtauld panel similar damage has been concealed below extensive retouches. In all three works, however, the distinctive figurative language of the Master of the Misericordia is clearly recognizable in the elegant design, which minutely describes the complex drapery of the fabrics, and in the quiet and solemn dimension of the narrative. The tendency to cover the pavement and the back-rests of the thrones with precious brocades and the sinuously undulating curves of some of the contours suggest chronological proximity to the works we have just been discussing.

[225] The motif that may be noted in the decoration of the floor is repeatedly used by the Master of the Misericordia, beginning with the name-piece itself (see in this volume on 55-57); on the other hand, the motif that decorates the cloth of honour behind and at the foot of the main group cannot be securely identified in the classification of Brigitte Klesse, even if similar to that recognized in works of Lorenzo Monaco (1967, 428), but it is identical to that in Niccolò di Tommaso's *Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels* formerly on the art market (Tartuferi, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXI, 1993, 337-346) bearing an inscription with the date 1359.
[226] Both paintings were inspired in their composition by Taddeo Gaddi's prototype version of the Annunciation now in the Museo Bandini at Fiesole, painted for the church of Santa Maria della Croce al Tempio in Florence (Scudieri, 1993, 82; Tartuferi, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 120-123). The same model, or another very similar by the same artist, was also drawn on more than once by Tommaso del Mazza in a panel now in the Getty Museum at Malibu and in the central compartment of a triptych in a private collection. See Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 124, 134, pls. LVII, LIX.

The same solemn atmosphere, though veined by the pursuit of delicate elegance, is shared by an unusual tabernacle divided into various compartments: the *Pietà* in the base; the *Annunciation* and *Nativity* in the middle register; and the *Crucifixion* within a tondo in the gable, now in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge (MA) (pl. XLV). The particularly high quality of the technique makes the painting in Cambridge one of the most significant examples of this late phase of the Master of the Misericordia. A delicately *sfumato* chiaroscuro models the faces and the body of Christ, enhancing the softness and fleshiness of complexion and skin. The drawing seems particularly fine: with a subtly inquisitive eye the painter convincingly re-creates the forms of the ox and the ass in the scene of the *Nativity*. The rendering of the natural appearance of the surfaces struck by the light that characterises the modelling of the figures recalls the panel of *St. Luke* in the Brera. On the other hand, the figures here are more elongated and graceful in proportion; they are enveloped by heavy and sumptuous draperies that create long and stiff-looking folds, bunched together, and that confer "pyramid-shaped" profiles on the figures, introducing a new note into the figurative language of the Master of the Misericordia.

Two other now-homeless paintings ought, in my view, to belong to this phase in the Master's development: namely another version of the *Coronation of the Virgin* that was in the Robert Benson collection in London in the early years of the last century (pl. XLIV) and an *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels* that appeared on the art market in New York some years ago (pl. XLIII).

In the Benson *Coronation* the profusion of fabrics embellished with sumptuous decorative motifs recalls the other versions of the same subject in Cambridge and Winterthur, but here the *mise-en-scène* is more spacious and the physical substance of the figures is accentuated by an arrangement of the draperies that emphasizes the geometric regularity of volumes and by the subtle chiaroscuro that models the faces. The figure of the Virgin has close affinities with the Virgin Annunciate in Cambridge, whom she resembles both in the monumentality of her solemn and immobile body and in her peculiar facial features: elongated almond eyes, high cheek bones, little pointed chin. Further confirmation of the dating of this painting to the years between the eighth and ninth decade is provided by the particular format of the cloth of honour that completely covers the monumental throne, concealing it from view: the motif in this case is quite similar to the cloth of honour we may note in a painting attributed to Jacopo di Cione, representing the *Enthroned St. Andrew*, in the church of San Bartolomeo at Faltugnano; it bears an inscription with the date 1380.[227]

That the above-cited *Madonna and Child, with Saints and Angels* (pl. XLIII) belongs to the corpus of the Master of the Misericordia is indicated by its close correspondence with various aspects of his figurative language. The panel's contracted spatiality is also indicative of the Master's mature activity: spatial exploration is here curtailed, or even eliminated, by the unforeshortened decoration of the floor. The Saints are arranged in parallel rows, with no suggestion of depth, as in the tabernacles of Cambridge and Winterthur (pls. XXXV, XXXVI). In the elegant fluency of contours and the solemn reservation of poses we can further recognize the same features we noted in the Virgin of the Benson *Coronation* and the Cambridge *Virgin Annunciate*.

The painter's last works, datable to the early 1380s, are characterised in the main by the sculptural effect of the slender figures and the more spacious compositions. The still archaizing character of a small half-length *Madonna and Child* in the City Art Gallery of Manchester (pl. XLVI) and the central compartment of a polyptych with the *Madonna and Child*, it too half-length (whereabouts unknown; pl. XLVII), and unfortunately much ruined, seem to me to conform to this late manner. In these two paintings the Master of the Misericordia presents an updated version of a Daddesque composition

[227] Boskovits, 1975, 322, pl. 90/b.

already cited in the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in the Galleria Stuard in Parma (pl. II), of which the original three-quarter-length composition of the Madonna is also retained.[228] The revival of a model deriving from one of the most prominent Florentine masters of the first half of the century could also have depended on the patron's request, but more probably reflects the artist's preferences, already noted in some structural aspects of the Montespertoli triptych (pl. XXXIX[1-2]). The fine condition of the painting in Manchester (pl. XLVI) also enables us to appreciate a significant innovation. For now the artist accompanies the smooth and polished modelling of the figures with a more flexible and dynamic (and sharply incised) contour line, capable of investing the figure of the Virgin with a slight torsion of the left hip; greater naturalism is thus conferred on the pose, and a more convincing relation suggested between the figures and the space that surrounds them.

This also seems to me the most convincing key to grasp the peculiarities of figurative style of two now dismembered and dispersed polyptychs, which can be comprised among the artist's most important surviving commissions. The centrepiece of the first of these polyptychs can be identified in the half-length *Madonna and Child* in the Museo di Ponce (Puerto Rico) (pl. XLVIII[2]) and one of its laterals in the panel of *Saints Anthony Abbot and James* formerly in the van Gelder collection in Brussels (pls. XLVIII[3]), already cited in relation to our attempted reconstruction of the predella. Of the second, all that has so far been identified are the lateral panels with *Saints Lawrence and Catherine* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie), and *Paul and Bartholomew* (formerly Königsberg, Stadt-Museum) and a predella fragment with the *Vir dolorum, the grieving Madonna and St. John, and St. Michael the Archangel* (whereabouts unknown) (pls. XLIX[1-5]).

In the Museo di Ponce panel, the Child, almost reclining in his Mother's arms, is reminiscent of similar motifs in the works of Taddeo Gaddi's maturity, for example the central compartment of the triptych in the church of San Martino a Mensola (near Florence) or the lunette for the Palazzo dell'Arte dei Giudici e Notai.[229] The Master of the Misericordia, however, departs from his model by creating a contrast between the herculean Child and the slender body of the Mother who supports him. Other aspects of the panel also diverge from the Gaddesque model, such as the winning expression of the Madonna and the minute and delicate features that reflect, as has been noted, the example of Giottino, a painter of whom our Master had shown himself fully aware at the time of the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in Kreuzlingen, between the seventh and the eighth decade (pl. XVII[2]).[230] On the other hand, the ivory complexion and the sharply incised facial features contribute greatly to the predominantly algid tone of the composition, as if frozen in time. The redundant flourishes we see in the draperies of some paintings datable to the preceding decade are no longer in evidence, but what remains is a taste for elegance, for the uninterrupted fluency of softly undulating lines, as in the exposure of the vair lining over the Virgin's left arm or in the virtuoso effects of transparency of the veil that covers the Child.

The recovery of most of the compartments that originally formed part of this polyptych furnishes us with the necessary elements to define and evaluate the originality of the Master's figurative style during this late phase of his career. This can best be defined in terms of the fusion achieved between the solemn monumentality of his figures (at times, as in this case, modest in size), elegance of pose, and tender humanity of facial expression, in some cases accompanied by details of exquisite naturalism, as in the delicate rendering of the beard that slightly darkens the cheeks of St. James. In this sense our Master offers an alternative both to the imposing forms, composure verging on rigidity

[228] Offner, *Corpus*, III/III, 2nd ed., 1989, pl. XIII; Boskovits, in Offner, *Corpus,* III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 17 n. 40. Another version of the same composition, though in this case a modern imitation, was until recently to be found in an Italian private collection with an attribution to Puccio di Simone (.65 x.35m) .

[229] Ladis, 1982, 223, 231.

[230] Boskovits, 1975, 63, 220 n. 124.

and frowning attitudes of Andrea Orcagna and his followers, and to the gentler, more persuasive, and at times almost affected, manner of Nardo di Cione. He proposes instead a new reflection on the heritage left by Giotto and a revival of Giottesque values in their wider connotation, comprising a clear definition of spaces and volumes no less than an attention to the appearance of things, and the strong expression of human emotions. It is presumably this innovative recreation of the heritage of Giotto that aroused the interest of this artist's work among the painters of the younger generations: first of all Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni and the young Agnolo Gaddi, then, as we have seen, also Niccolò Gerini.

What drew Gerini's attention, in the late 1370s, were, it seems, especially such works as the polyptych to which belonged the compartments with *Saints Lawrence and Catherine* in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (pl. XLIX[3]), *Saints Paul and Bartholomew* formerly at Königsberg (pl. XLIX[2]) and the little predella panel with the *Vir dolorum between the grieving Madonna and St. John the Evanglist and St. Michael the Archangel* formerly in the Berlin Museums and sold on the art market in 1924 (pl. XLIX[4-5]) or that to which belonged the panel of *Saints Gregory and Batholomew* in the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona (pl. LIIV). In this phase the Master of the Misericordia tends to insist especially on the dispassionate refinement and almost superhuman calm of his protagonists. Self-absorbed and remote in attitude, they make no attempt to communicate with each other. They are elongated in physique, and stand at their ease in the space allotted to them; their bodies are enveloped in heavy draperies falling in perpendicular, sharp-edged, deeply undercut folds. The chiaroscuro, consummately modulated between light and shade, models the anatomical parts with quite particular effects of naturalism. That these or other similar works proved exemplary for an artist like Niccolò Gerini clearly transpires from his half-length *Madonna and Child with Saints* in the Museo della Collegiata at Empoli[231] or in the Museo Diocesano in Pienza.[232] In such works Gerini also shares features of archaizing taste such as the tripartite structure of the frame and the three-quarter-length figures; features peculiar to Niccolò, on the other hand, are the heavily accentuated contours and more summary and heavily contrasted chiaroscuro.

One of the most significant and controversial testimonies of the final phase of the Master of the Misericordia is the compartment of the polyptych with *Saints Gregory and Bartholomew* in the Museo di Castelvecchio at Verona (pl. LIV). No other components are known of the polyptych to which the Verona panel belonged; on the basis of the conventions of the time, we may assume an imposing structure consisting or two or four compartments on either side of the centrepiece, a predella along the base and various gable elements. The repeated occasions for partnership between these two artists between the late eighth and early ninth decade of the century suggest the possibility that other panels from the same dismantled polyptych may be concealed among Niccolò's works, even if a search conducted to this end by the present writer has for the time being produced no tangible result.

In the past the Castelvecchio panel, to which in truth little attention has been paid in the previous literature, was attributed to Gerini, whose figurative style is evoked by the imposing physique, repetitive pose and austere character of the figures; Richard Offner was the first to re-assign it to the Master of the Misericordia.[233] Comparison with Niccolò Gerini's polyptych with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* flanked by *Saints Anthony Abbot, two Bishop Saints and St. Benedict*, now divided between the Fogg Art Museum at Cambridge (MA) and the Museo Etrusco at Cortona,[234] reveal not only analogies but also unmistakeable differences that seem to me decisive in ruling out Gerini's hand: in Niccolò's figures the modelling has a hard consistency and the light shines on projecting surfaces with an almost metallic gleam, while the facial features are drawn with soft and regular lines.

[231] Paolucci, 1985, 44-45.
[232] Neri Lusanna, in *Istituzioni Ecclesiastiche*, 2002, 148-150, figs. 5, 7-8 and Fattorini, in Predella, 2011, 29 (on line edition http://predella.arte.unipi.it).
[233] Offner, 1981, 13.
[234] Boskovits, 1975, pls. 62a-b; Speranza, in *Il Museo*, 1992, 142-143.

In the *Saints* in Verona, by contrast, the Master of the Misericordia has eschewed regularity or uniformity of feature; he seeks to express the physiognomic peculiarities of his figures with soft modelling and well articulated design. In light of these observations, and the impossibility of identifying in the Verona panel any significant echoes of the tendencies that animated Florentine painting in the 1380s, from the fully-developed late-gothic style of Agnolo Gaddi to the enamelled volumetry of the works of the young Mariotto di Nardo,[235] it may be suggested that the polyptych to which the Veronese compartment belonged ought not to date any later than 1385.

With the Veronese panel we touch – in my view – the extreme limit of the Master's activity. To the same period we can probably also date some paintings belonging to what we have called the artist's more "serial" production: more particularly, two versions of the *Coronation of the Virgin* formerly with the Galleria Geri in Milan (pl. LV) and Galleria Moretti in Florence (pl. XLII), yet another version of the same subject now in the Kunsthaus in Zurich (pl. LVI), a *Madonna and Child with Saints* and *Crucifixion* in the Royal Collections at Hampton Court (pl. L), an *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints, Angels* and *Annunciation* formerly with Christie's in London (pl. LI), and a fragmentary panel with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* in Florence (Galleria dell'Accademia) (pl. LII).

The former Geri *Coronation of the Virgin*, familiar to me only from an old reproduction that shows its surface defaced by extensive retouching, is hard to evaluate. So too, for similar reasons, is the painting of the same subject in Zurich, which has survived in poor condition. By contrast, the well-preserved panel in Hampton Court (pl. L) and the fragmentary, but very similar panel in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (pl. LII), show the meticulous care with which the artist painted his pictures in this period. The protagonists of these paintings share with other figures painted by the Master of the Misericordia the austere and solemn tone of the expressions, the rigorously balanced poses. The light delicately caresses the surfaces, animating them with silken reflections.

One new aspect that plays a fundamental role in the placement of this group of paintings in the final phase of the Master of the Misericordia's activity regards the attention now paid to the clear representation of spatial setting. This new interest in perspective setting runs counter to the tendency that characterises the last works of Andrea and Nardo di Cione, or the artists associated with their workshop, or even the works so far discussed of the Master of the Misericordia himself, in which the spatial depth of the scenes was reduced to a minimum, the figures are placed in close juxtaposition on parallel planes, and the artist exploited the decorations of the pavement simply as surface ornament without any pretence of spatial illusion. In some cases, for example in the *Madonna and Child* formerly in Frankfurt (pl. XXXIV), the artist recurred to the old ideas of an architectural throne, though this remained semi-hidden behind the figures. In the paintings presumably dating to the penultimate decade of the century the Master of the Misericordia, by contrast, transformed the motif of the architectural throne into a key element of the composition, the fulcrum round which the arrangement of the protagonists revolves, while the surrounding space is precisely defined by a pavement decorated with geometric tiles in pseudo-perspective, with the design tending to diminish towards the backdrop and the lines of the floor pattern converging on an invisible vanishing point. This new interest in perspective is probably a phenomenon to be placed in the context of the incipient neo-giottism of the fin-de-siècle. Such an exploration of spatial depth, though it had in fact been at the centre of the interest of such painters as Taddeo Gaddi and Bernardo Daddi as early as the 1330s and 1340s, would be destined – through the example of the Master of the Misericordia – to re-appear in the works of Niccolò Gerini[236] and in other masters of the last quarter of the century. Other examples can be recognized in the fresco of the *Annunciation between Saints Cosmas, Damian, Nicholas and another Saint*

[235] On the first phase of Mariotto di Nardo see Boskovits, in *Ant. Viva*, VII, 1968, No. 5, 3-13 and Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXVII, 1999, 91-104 and in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, LXX, 2008, 585-592.
[236] For Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, apart from the fresco in the Palazzo dei Priori at Volterra cited above, see the *Coronation of the Virgin* of the tabernacle on the corner of the Palazzo dell'Arte della Lana at Florence, the *Madonna and*

painted by Jacopo di Cione, Niccolò Gerini and the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella in the Palazzo dei Priori in Volterra (1383),[237] in some surviving fragments of a fresco of the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* by Francesco di Michele, now in the Museo di Santa Croce, painted in 1387,[238] and also in some paintings of the young Mariotto di Nardo datable to the same years.[239]

Finally to these same years can also be dated, I believe, a most unusual composite work that poses various questions, some of them difficult to answer. It is a portable altarpiece of medium dimensions, which has at its centre a *Madonna and Child enthroned, flanked by Saints and Angels* (pls. LIII[1-3]). This latter panel, probably the centrepiece of a triptych, has been privately attributed to Bernardo Daddi by Lawrence Kanter, who also proposed a dating in the 1330s.[240] The panels painted by the Master of the Misericordia were added to this original panel sometime later, modifying its profile and arbitrarily enlarging its iconographic programme. A gothic arch was thus superimposed over the original trefoil-arched termination of Bernardo's *Madonna*, and within it was painted the bust of the Redeemer in a trefoil medallion, flanked by four angels in the spandrels below. Images of the four Evangelists, set in superimposed round-arched niches – two on either side – were placed in the two pedestal-shaped panels added to the sides of the Madonna, while two busts of Prophets were painted on the trapezoidal pinnacles placed over them. The two-tier pedestal is decorated with heads of Angels in quatrefoils in the upper band, and busts of Saints Julian, John the Baptist, a Martyr Saint and Francis flanked by other heads of angels in the lower one. The figurative style of the Master of the Misericordia is clearly recognisable in the better preserved passages of the added panels, in particular in the Evangelist in the upper right and in the faces of the angels in the upper band of quatrefoils; their particular facial types and the modelling of their complexions with the use of chiaroscuro are indicative of it. Figures very similar to those of the painting being discussed here can be recognized in the Saints that flank the Madonna and Child in the tabernacle in the English Royal Collections (pl. L), whose date – between the eighth and ninth decades of the Trecento – ought not to be far removed from that of the fragments being considered here.

The author's familiarity with this curious composite work, now in an English private collection, is based solely on photographic reproductions, and it is therefore difficult to establish when it was amalgamated in its present form and whether it is the result of a nineteenth-century collage. That the enlargement of Bernardo Daddi's panel was conceived and realized by the Master of the Misericordia himself seems improbable. Some small incongruities in the arrangement of the paintings attributable to him reinforce this conclusion. While it seems that the three quatrefoils with the heads of angels in the upper frieze of the pedestal were painted on older wood and more precisely in the zone originally covered by the base of the *Madonna*, it's not easy to explain why the angel at the centre should be looking not upwards at the Madonna and Child but downwards. Similarly it is difficult to explain why the two angels on the outer sides of the upper frieze should be looking outwards. It cannot be excluded that the Master of the Misericordia did paint directly on the older wood, later adding *ex novo* the other panels to integrate the earlier panel. However, any such assumption is rendered improbable by the discrepancy between the fine state of conservation of Daddi's panel, and the more damaged condition of the panels attributable to the Master of the Misericordia: a clear sign that the paintings in question had different histories.

* * *

With these works the career of the Master of the Misericordia would seem to have ended. One has the impression that his career came to an abrupt end, as if suddenly interrupted, at the very height of his activity, as attested by the quantity, variety, continuous renovation of cultural references and consistently high quality of these last works. That he died in the fresh outbreak of plague that struck the city in the early 1380s, peaking in 1383, cannot be excluded. The painter Doffo di Baldino, *compagno* of Niccolò Gerini, and hence another possible candidate for identification with the Master of the Misericordia (see above, 00), fell victim to this new epidemic, but apparently he was not the only artist to do so: Giovanni Gaddi, son of Taddeo and brother of Agnolo, another candidate for identification with the Master of the Misericordia, seems to have died – suddenly, Vasari implies – at roughly the same time. On the problems posed by this proposal, and on possible alternatives, it is now time to dwell with greater attention.

Giovanni Gaddi: biographical evidence of a forgotten artist[241]

The paintings that document the career of the Master of the Misericordia, as we are able to reconstruct it today, do not offer any clues that would support his identification with an historically defined painter in fourteenth-century Florence. The Master's catalogue, as we have seen, is largely composed of paintings of small format, destined for private devotion, and hence unaccompanied by the documentation (contracts or payments) that would have normally accompanied public commissions. The rare works of monumental character attributable to our Master, and with a provenance from places of public worship, are unfortunately fragments of dismembered and in part dispersed polyptychs whose original collocation is not precisely known. The few historical records that have

Child enthroned with Saints (formerly Milan, Chiesa collection; Offner, 1981, 77, fig. 146), the *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints* and *Crucifixion* in the gable (New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, No. 16; Offner, 1981, 76), the *Madonna and Child with Saints Agnes, Paul, Peter and a Martyr Saint* (formerly Paris, Bacri collection; Offner, 1981, 84); and a further two paintings of the *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints* (whereabouts unknown; Offner, 1981, 86, figs. 162, 165).

237 Boskovits, 1975, 330 376, 415. He thought the fresco was painted by Niccolò Gerini (*Annunciation*) and by the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella (the *Saints* to the sides), based on a design by Jacopo di Cione.

238 Boskovits, 1975, pl. 136, as Master of San Martino a Mensola, whom Luciano Bellosi identified with the documented painter Francesco di Michele (in *Paragone*, XXXVI, 1985, Nos. 419/423, 57-63).

239 For example, Mariotto's panels of the *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints* in Altenburg (Lindenau Museum), Lille (Musée) and Birmingham (Museum of Art) cf. Boskovits, 1975, figs. 365, 367, and Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXVII, 1999, 95, fig.4. For the tendency to elaborate architectural structures and construct spatial settings that developed in depth the space of the representation, see Chiodo, *ibid*., 91-104.

240 Research conducted by the present writer with the aim of identifying other components of the triptych to which this *Madonna and Child* originally belonged has yielded no firm result. Its laterals might have had an appearance not all that different from those that appeared at a Sotheby's sale (London, 24 June 1970, lot 108) with the Angel Gabriel, the Magdalen embracing the Cross, a Bishop Saint and St. Anthony Abbot (left shutter), the Annunciate Virgin, Christ on the Cross, the Virgin and St. John (right shutter). Despite the compatibility of their measurements (.40 x .115m each), these laterals cannot be considered part of the same triptych, given the different kind of punched decoration used in the margins (Offner, *Corpus*, III/IV, 2nd ed., 1991, pl.VI², 76-77). A similar panel, now combined with a *Crucifixion* to form a diptych, is in the Museo Horne in Florence (Inv. Nos. 42-43). The punch used by Bernardo Daddi in this work corresponds to No. 732 in the classification of Erling Skaug, and is found in many works of the master (Skaug, II, 1994, 5.3). A dating to the 1330s is supported by comparison with such works as the *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints* formerly in Cologne (von Weegmann collection; Offner, *Corpus* III/IV, 2nd ed., 1991, pl.VI², pl. XXXIXa, 302-304) dated 1339, and the tabernacle in the Pinacoteca Nazionale at Siena, (Offner, *Corpus*, III/IV, 2nd ed., 1991, pl.VI², pl. XLI, 316-321). The peculiar type of throne characterized by the cloth of honour foreshortened to the sides of the backrest is found in another panel painted by Bernardo Daddi, formerly with Duveen (New York) (Offner, *Corpus*, III/IV, 2nd ed., 1991, pl.VI², pl. XXXIX, 298-300), which also reveals stylistic analogies in terms of the monumental stature of the enthroned Madonna and the tall elongated proportions of the Saints to the sides.

241 The documents cited in the following pages are given in full, in chronological order, in the Documentary Appendix below.

been traced are only in a few rare instances earlier in date than the nineteenth century, more interesting for what they have to tell us about the history of taste and the collecting of 'primitives' between the eighteenth and nineteenth century than about the life and work of the artist himself. In view of these circumstances, research aimed at identifying the Master of the Misericordia with an historically defined artist has had to pursue a more tortuous route.

The identification of the master with Tommaso del Mazza, as suggested by Mirella Levi d'Ancona,[242] has enjoyed little support and can now be discarded. On the other hand, the identification proposed by Miklós Boskovits with Giovanni Gaddi, member of an illustrious family of Florentine Trecento painters, since he was the son of Taddeo and elder brother of Agnolo, has met with more favour.[243] Due to the difficulties I have mentioned in attempting to reconstruct the history of the paintings attributed to our painter, this hypothesis was based on the data derived from stylistic analysis – useful for reconstructing not only the chronology of the Master's career, but also his contacts with other artists – and the archival evidence of painters of the period with whom no surviving paintings have yet been associated. The results of Boskovits' analysis showed a close match between the stages in the development of the Master of the Misericordia – who "from a substratum in Taddeo Gaddi and Bernardo Daddi gradually drew closer to the art of Giottino and Giovanni da Milano" – and what we know of the biography of the painter Giovanni Gaddi, son of one of the artists who most left their mark on the artistic formation of the Master of the Misericordia (i.e. Taddeo).

Giovanni Gaddi is recorded in the documents, together with Giottino and Giovanni da Milano, among the painters who worked on the decoration of two chapels in the Vatican Apostolic Palace in 1369.[244] Albeit cautiously, Boskovits wondered whether the data apparently suggesting a correlation between our anonymous Master and Giovanni Gaddi might not be conflated to reconstruct a single artistic personality. Subsequently the name of Giovanni Gaddi has been repeatedly associated with that of the Master of the Misericordia, even if it cannot be excluded that this consensus has in some measure been due to the fascination aroused by the prestigious patronymic and the chance to add a further episode to the history of this important dynasty of Florentine painters.[245]

The research conducted by the present writer on the surviving works of the Master of the Misericordia has identified some close links with the historical personality of Giovanni Gaddi and, vice versa, has found no clear evidence to exclude any such identification. Indeed, the correlations between the biographical testimonies of Giovanni Gaddi and the artistic career of the Master of the Misericordia represent, I believe, a strong argument in support of the hypothesis advanced over thirty years ago by Boskovits, a hypothesis that has in the meantime been reinforced by a more circumstantial knowledge of both artists, thanks to archival research in the one case, and stylistic analysis in the other.

Useful ancillary evidence to support the identification can also, I believe, be derived from studies dedicated to Agnolo Gaddi (c. 1345-1396), the youngest of the dynasty, and in particular to his earliest activity. The reconstruction of the career of this artist still presents various unresolved questions, including that of his apprenticeship and of the youthful paintings that precede the polyptych of the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints*, painted in 1375 and with a provenance from the church of Santa Maria Novella (Parma, Galleria Nazionale).[246] An important contribution to this question was made, over a decade ago, by Angelo Tartuferi who recognized the fresco of the *Madonna and Child between Saints Peter and Augustine* in a lunette in the second cloister of Santo Spirito as a testimony of Agnolo's activity around 1370.[247] The comparison, suggested by Tartuferi between the *Madonna and Child* in the cloister of Santo Spirito and that at the centre of the polyptych now in Parma does not leave any doubt about the fresco's attribution to this artist. On the other hand, the regular, though slightly elongated oval of the face, the at once sorrowful and amiable expressions of the faces, and the softness of the flesh parts find an important precedent in works painted by the Master of the Misericordia towards the end of the seventh decade, for example the Madonna at the centre of the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in Kreuzlingen (pl. XVII[2]) or the *Madonna of Humility* now in St. Petersburg (pl. XVI), even if Agnolo did not blindly absorb the lessons learnt from the more elderly Master: he developed them with novel accents and a more clearly modern approach. Significant in this regard is the difference between the subdued, only slightly undulating hems of the garments of the figures in the Master of the Misericordia and the more fluid and sinuous profiles of the figures in the Santo Spirito lunette, which minutely explore and describe each detail, effectively contributing to their three-dimensional effect. The transition from one manner to the other reveals a growing interest in the expressive potential of contour lines, which has no precedent in Florentine painting of the third quarter of the century: it marks not only the generational divide between the Master of the Misericordia and Agnolo Gaddi, but the onset of the late-gothic phase in Florence.

The relations between the Master of the Misericordia and the young Gaddi, at a date very close to that in which, according to the documents, the latter was, as a disciple, assisting his brother in one of the most prestigious commissions of his career – the decoration of two chapels in the Vatican Apostolic Palace in Rome – do not permit us easily to dismiss the hypothesis of identifying our anonymous master with Giovanni Gaddi, in spite of the lack of confirmation in documents. For this reason, in the pages that follow, it might be useful to sum up the data currently in our possession relating to Giovanni's biography, with the hope that they may – sooner or later – be of some utility in reaching a definitive solution of this intriguing problem.

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[242] Levi D'Ancona, in *Miniatura italiana*, 1979, 461-487.

[243] Boskovits, 1975, 64-65.

[244] Boskovits, 1975, 366. The construction of the two chapels in the Apostolic Palace in the time of the pontificate of Urban V (1310-1370) – Pope from 1362 to 1370 – was already reported by Moroni (LXXXVI, 1857, 19). The documents relating to their decoration, partially published for the first time by Cavalcaselle - Crowe, II, 1883, 102-104 No. 2, 127; Müntz, 1880; Müntz, 1890, 6, were transcribed *in toto* by Monciatti, 2005, 317-329.

[245] The founder of the dynasty Gaddo di Zanobi Gaddi, father of Taddeo, was also a painter: he was enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali prior to 1320. His identification with the painter already known under the conventional name of the St. Cecilia Master seems plausible (Bietti, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXI, 1983, 49-52; Labriola, in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, 51, 1998, 154-156; Boskovits, in *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte,* 2003, Nos. 27, 55-70). On Taddeo and Agnolo Gaddi see Labriola, in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, 51, 1998, 144-148 and 168-173 with bibliography.

[246] The first attempt to reconstruct the formation and earliest activity of Agnolo Gaddi was made by Roberto Salvini (1936, 7-25). It is significant that, in Salvini's hypothetical reconstruction of Agnolo Gaddi's early career, works now unanimously attributed to the Master of the Misericordia, such as the namepiece in the Accademia, the panel of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, the *Nativity* and the Conversion *of St. Paul* in the same museum and the *Resurrection* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, were discussed in the context of an attempted reconstruction of the early phase in the career of the youngest of the Gaddi. Subsequently the problem of Agnolo's earliest activity was tackled by Miklós Boskovits (in *Burl. Mag.*, CX, 1968, 209-215; 1975, 65-67, 295-304). In contrast to the attributions proposed by Boskovits in these studies, the catalogue of Agnolo Gaddi's works proposed a few years later by Bruce Cole (1977) in his monographic study of the artist seems excessively restrictive. Beginning his reconstruction of Agnolo Gaddi's career with the frescoes in the Cappella Castellani, post-1383, Cole did not hesitate to affirm that "his earliest and presumably most revealing paintings are not known" (1977, 9-20, 44), and thus attributed to a follower of the painter earlier works such as the above mentioned *Madonna and Child with Saints*, painted in 1375 (Parma, Galleria Nazionale), which Roberto Longhi had already considered an autograph work of Agnolo together with other paintings previously referred to the "Maestro delle Madonne" (in Marcucci, 1965, 140; see in this regard the review of Boskovits, in *Art Bull.*, LX, 1978, 708-709). Later, the relations between the Master of the Misericordia and Agnolo Gaddi were reaffirmed by Tartuferi, in Boskovits, 1992, 74; Petrocchi, in *Enc. Arte Med.*, VI, 1995, 425-428; Tartuferi, in *Ant. Viva*, XXXV, 1996, 4, 3-7.

[247] Tartuferi, in *La Chiesa*, 1996, 49-51; *Idem*, in *Ant. Viva*, XXXV, 1996, 4, 3-7.

The sources are not generous with biographical information about the painter Giovanni Gaddi. He is not found mentioned before Vasari's *Vite*. There he is mentioned twice. The first reference is found in Vasari's biography of Giovanni's father Taddeo, who "passed from this life in the year 1350, leaving his sons Agnolo and Giovanni to apply themselves to painting, recommending them to Jacopo del Casentino for conduct in life, and to Giovanni da Milano for instruction in art").[248] The second reference is found in Vasari's biography of Giovanni's brother Agnolo, of whom Giovanni Gaddi, according to Vasari, was a disciple together with a certain Michele da Milano:[249] here the biographer tells us that Giovanni "painted, in the cloister of S. Spirito, where are the little arches of Gaddo and of Taddeo, the Disputation of Christ with the Doctors in the Temple, the Purification of the Virgin, the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness, and the Baptism of John, and finally, having given rise to great expectations, he died").[250]

In the following decades the memory of this artist seems to have gradually faded or been lost. In the later seventeenth century Filippo Baldinucci, drawing on Vasari, could only recall the frescoes in the cloister of Santo Spirito, though these had since been destroyed.[251] By the start of the nineteenth century the historical foundation of the artistic personality of Giovanni Gaddi had wholly been lost; an attempt to ascribe to him the *Crucifixion* frescoed on the soffit of the arch of the *cantoria* in the Lower Church of San Francesco in Assisi, below the *Miracle of St. Stanislaus*, is devoid of foundation.[252]

The vague information handed down by the earlier sources can be supplemented, however, from the late eighteenth century onwards, by the first documentary references to be yielded by archival research, thanks to which Giovanni Gaddi can be firmly included among the select group of painters known to have been active in Florence in the third quarter of the Trecento. His name, associated with the qualification "pictor", thus appears in a list of Florentine citizens eligible for public offices dated 1381 (*squittinio*), published in 1783.[253] But almost a century was to elapse before the name Giovanni

[248] Vasari, 1878, I, 583-584: "[Taddeo] passò di questa vita l'anno 1350, lasciando Agnolo suo figliuolo e Giovanni che attendessero alla pittura, raccomandandoli a Jacopo del Casentino per li costumi del vivere, e a Giovanni da Milano per gli ammaestramenti dell'arte". The same version of the passage is already found in the first edition of the *Vite* (ed. Bellosi - Rossi, Torino, 1986, I, 164).

[249] A painter of this name is also mentioned by Vasari among the pupils of Giottino (Vasari, I, 1878, 629). Milanesi (in Vasari, I, 1878, 629) conjectured this might have been Michele di Maso di Michelozzo, enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali in 1358 and in the Compagnia di San Luca in 1373 and later buried in the church of Santa Maria Novella. The proposal is not shared by Colnaghi (1928, ed. 1986, 176, 228) who reconstructs the Florentine origins of the painter and identifies traces of his activity as early as 1338, when he concluded an apprenticeship with the painter Bartolo di Ricco di Lapo. This report, albeit indirectly, confirms the link between Michele di Maso and Giottino reported by Vasari and represents a further proof of the great effort of historical reconstruction, and the sifting of archival documents, that provided the basis for Vasari's *Vite*. Bartolo di Ricco in fact exercised the profession of painter together with his brother Stefano, father of Giottino. So relations undoubtedly subsisted between Giottino and Michele di Maso, probably already during the 1330s, even if not between master and pupil but more probably as disciples in the *bottega* of Bartolo and Stefano. For a documentary update on Bartolo and Stefano di Ricco see Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCVI, 2008, 469-473.

[250] Vasari, 1878, I, 642-643: "[…] nel chiostro di Santo Spirito, dove sono gli archetti di Gaddo e di Taddeo, fece la disputa di Cristo nel Tempio con i Dottori, la Purificazione della Vergine, la Tentazione di Cristo nel Deserto ed il Battesimo di Giovanni; e finalmente, essendo in espettazione grandissima, si morì".

[251] Baldinucci, ed. Manni, II, 1767, 214.

[252] Ranghiasci, in Fea, 1820, 11. The possibility of identifying any intervention of Giovanni Gaddi in the frescoes of the Lower Church in Assisi was excluded by Cavalcaselle - Crowe (II, 1883, 201) due to the impossibility of making any comparisons with authenticated works of the artist. The fresco mentioned by Ranghiasci (reproduced in Poeschke, 1985, 120, fig. 304) is generally considered to be by an assistant of Puccio Capanna, identified by some with the local Assisi painter Cecce di Saraceno; cf. Scarpellini, in Ludovico da Pietralunga, 1982, 256. On Cecce di Saraceno see Chiodo, in *Allg. Künstlerlex*, 17, 1997, 432-433.

[253] Manni, in *Delizie*, XVI, 1783, 233.

Gaddi was to emerge once again from the rich deposits of Florentine archives, this time in the registers of those enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali published by Carl Frey in 1885.[254] The most significant discovery, however, was the identification of his name in a register of accounts (*introitus et exitus*) of the Camera Apostolica in Rome, containing a schedule of the payments made to various artists for the decoration of two chapels (respectively described as *parva sive secreta* and *magna*) within the Vatican Apostolic Palace, completed between 20 July and 2 October 1369, during the pontificate of Urban V.[255] These payments, only partially known for over a century and only recently published in full, still remain our main source for any information on the artistic activity of Giovanni Gaddi; they therefore require some further discussion.

The enterprise of decorating the two chapels in the papal palace was conducted with the involvement of an unusually large contingent of painters, in which an important supervisory role seems to have been played by a certain *Johannes arcypresbyter de Capralica*, who is mentioned in the documents for the last time on 4 June 1369; it is presumed the functions he performed in the papal court were at least in part similar to those previously performed by Matteo Giovannetti in Avignon.[256] Apart from the archpresbyter Giovanni, the documents attest the presence of Giottino and Giovanni Gaddi, flanked by three disciples (Giovanni dell'oro, Vanni da Montepulciano and Agnolo Gaddi) and by a further twenty-four *magistri pictores* and *operarii*, coming from various parts of Italy and even from north of the Alps. The *magistri pictores* also include Giovanni da Milano, who is always cited as *magister*: a title that attests to the recognized authority and experience amassed by the Lombard painter in the course of his long career, already covering several decades, even if, as Mina Gregori has already pointed out, his role was decidedly subordinate to that of other Florentine masters involved in the enterprise.[257] This subordinate role can also be deduced from the amount he was paid. A calculation of the payments made to each artist enables us in fact to reconstruct with some precision the role they each played, and the importance they each assumed, in this collective enterprise. The Vatican documents register the payments made to the presbyter Giovanni, to Giottino and to Giovanni Gaddi – also on behalf of their disciples (Giovanni dell'oro, Vanni da Montepulciano and Agnolo Gaddi) – separately from those made to the many *magistri* and *operarii*.[258] Since the sums of money paid to them are expressed partly in the system lire/soldi/denari and partly in florins, an exact assessment of the sum received by each requires some calculation.[259] The largest sum is that received by the archpresbyter Giovanni who, as recorded on fol. 5r, received two payments of 15 florins each, for a total of 35 lire. Giottino and Giovanni Gaddi, for the period between 28 August and 27 September, received 12 florins each, equivalent to 19 lire and 6 soldi each. In contrast to these latter, Giovanni da Milano was not paid on a monthly basis, but at a daily rate (10 soldi later increased to 12 from the first week of September). For eleven days work in July, however, he received 5 lire and 10 soldi; for the whole of August his total remuneration was 10 lire and 10 soldi. As for September, his daily fee increased by 2 soldi, but since he worked only for three weeks out of four he only received a total of 9 lire.[260] So the overall figure received by the *mag-*

[254] Frey, 1885, 319.

[255] See above n. 244.

[256] Enrico Castelnuovo (1991, 151 n. 28) has proposed the identification of the arch-priest Giovanni with Matteo Giovannetti, on the basis of a presumed error in the transcription of his name. But this was convincingly rebutted by Monciatti, 2005, 240-241.

[257] Gregori, in *Enc. Art. Med.*, VI, 1995, 738; Gregori, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, 53.

[258] See below 103 for the list reported on fol. 8r.

[259] On fol. 2r the archpresbyter Giovanni declares he had received *florenos auri camere LXXIII*, i.e. 73 papal florins, the currency then used in the papal state. The counter-value of a papal florin in the system lire/soldi/denari was 1 lira and 6 soldi (or 26 soldi). On the papal currency and its counter-value see Muntoni, 1972, pl. XXXVII.

[260] For an introduction to the monetary system in the Italian peninsula in the medieval period see also, apart from the fundamental study of Carlo Cipolla (1958), Goldthwaite, in Goldthwaite - Mandich, 1994, 9-13.

ister Giovanni da Milano corresponds to approximately half that paid to his Florentine colleagues,[261] but is very similar to the sum received in the same period by the young Agnolo Gaddi, who in fact, from the third week of September on, appears in the same list as Giovanni da Milano, and is accorded the same daily remuneration.[262]

In conclusion, it seems to me clear that Giottino and Giovanni Gaddi, both heirs of an illustrious family tradition, which no doubt eased, if it did not determine, the assignment to them of so prestigious a commission, were in charge of the whole decorative project, alongside a man who still remains mysterious, the archpresbyter Giovanni, though he is known to have been involved in other decorative programmes in the papal palace and hence apparently responsible for wider organizational tasks. Alongside them worked not only their various disciples, who would have performed the usual subsidiary functions typical of a medieval decorative programme and whose remuneration would have been drawn by their respective masters on their behalf, but also already established artists coming from all over Italy and from even further afield, willing to work in a subordinate capacity for the privilege of participating in one of the most prestigious commissions of the period. In this large group only Giovanni da Milano and the young Agnolo Gaddi can be identified with certainty. The others still remain mere names without any authenticated works to their name.[263] More recently attempts have been made to identify some of these names with documented painters of the period. Thus, at least as a working hypothesis, the proposal to identify Bartolomeo da Siena (Bartolomeus de Senis), also accorded the qualification of *magister*, with Bartolomeo Bulgarini deserves to be taken into consideration,[264] also in the light of what has in the past been observed, first by Erling Skaug, on the contacts between Giovanni da Milano and Bartolomeo's Sienese *bottega* since the 1350s.[265]

[261] This is an observation to which fleeting mention was already made by Gregori, in *Enc. Art. Med.*, VI, 1996, 738. The different types of payment – by the month for the two Florentines, by the day for Giovanni da Milano – was also underlined by Monciatti (2005, 242), though he does not go into the problem of the considerable differences between the sums received.

[262] On 3 August his brother Giovanni had already received 7 lire and 1 soldo on his behalf.

[263] Monciatti, 2005, 239-241. The identification of the painter "Guarnerius de vinetiis" with the Paduan Guariento di Arpo (already dead on 22 September 1370; cf. Richards, in *Dict. of Art*, 13, 1996, 746-748) proposed by Subbioni (2003, 208) must for the time being remain conjectural, and uncorroborated by any evidence. In the same study Subbioni excluded, at least for the time being, the possibility of linking some works with the name of painter from Perugia, Stefano perugino (Stephanus de Perusio), also mentioned in the payments of the Camera Apostolica. Annamaria Bernacchioni (in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, 97, 100), on the other hand, deserves credit for plausibly identifying the painter "Jannuctius de Florentia", also cited in the Vatican accounts, with Giannuzzo di Monte, documented in Pisa in 1358 and in 1365, and later active in Florence, where he was reported a member of the Compagnia di San Luca in 1366.

[264] The identification of the painter mentioned in the Vatican documents with Bartolomeo Bulgarini was first suggested by Cavalcaselle - Crowe (III, 1886, 296; II, 1908, 188) and later accepted in the literature (De Nicola, in Thieme - Becker, II, 1908, 567 and Marle, II, 513-514. Millard Meiss (in *Riv. Arte*, XV, 1936, 113-136) makes no mention of the question, while in more recent years the proposal has been supported by Gregori (in Enc. Art. Med., VI, 1996, 738) and Monciatti (2005, 241). Judith Steinhoff - Morrison, 1990, I, 30- has observed, however, that the triptych with the *Enthroned Madonna and Child*, flanked by Saints Francis and Louis of Toulouse, preserved in the church of San Francesco at Tivoli, bearing an inscription with the signature "Bartolomeus de Senis", and yet painted in a style that clearly indicates a different and much more poorly gifted person than the authenticated Bulgarini (as Meiss already pointed out, in *Riv. Arte*, XV, 1936, 124-125, fig. 1), testifies to the presence in Lazio of another Sienese painter of the same name. The circumstance would seem to exclude the identification of the painter active in the Vatican with Bartolomeo Bulgarini.

[265] The proofs of the contacts between Bartolomeo Bulgarini and Giovanni da Milano on the basis of the study of the punches they used were presented by Erling Skaug, 1981, 333-339 and subsequently elaborated in greater detail by the same scholar on the occasion of the international conference on artistic techniques (*Idem*, in *Atti C.I.H.A.*, 1983, 253-282) and as part of his wider attempt to produce a systematic catalogue of the Florentine and Sienese punches of the Trecento (*Idem*, 1994, 180-189, 214-215, 249-257, 317-319). More recently, Erling Skaug has contributed a further systematic analysis of the punches used by Giovanni da Milano to the catalogue of the exhibition held on that artist in the Accademia (*Idem*, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008a, 103-113). In this regard, it is perhaps worthwhile pointing out tangentially what has emerged on the Master of the Misericordia's use of a motif frequently used by the Sienese painter in the decoration of painted fabrics: a circumstance which – in my view – provides a significant supplement to the body of evidence supporting the identification of the mysterious Florentine painter with Giovanni Gaddi. See in this volume 55-57.

From the minute documentation relating to the supply of the materials and the large number of artists involved in the Vatican project we can infer the effort to complete the work with some haste, even though it is not clear whether the documents regard the entire period necessary for the decoration of the two chapels or only a part of it. Some closer examination of what is reported by the Vatican documents can, however, be of some help in elucidating this intricate and complex episode.

Two receipts provide a clue, albeit slender, to help us reconstruct the division of responsibilities between the two artists. The first relates to a reimbursement received by *Johannes magistri Taddei* (i.e. Giovanni Gaddi), together with a certain Francesco,[266] for linen cloths for the large chapel: "*pro V paria linteaminum cum dimidio* […] *causa ponendi in celo cappelle magne*".[267] The second relates to a reimbursement received by Giottino for the purchase of an *aquilglolo* (*sic*, perhaps from *aquilegus*, a water stoup) for the *cappella secreta*.[268] With regard to the *cappella secreta*, the expenditures relating to the purchase of *trementina* (turpentine) to prepare the glue necessary for fixing the gold leaf (fol. 10v), the reference to glue *pro radiis tondi* (fol. 11v) and payments for the purchase of gold (fol. 10v), all imply the precious character of the decoration, while the large-scale purchase of eggs for both chapels is likely to indicate the considerable use of tempera colours.

The records of payment that refer exclusively to the *cappella magna* include the above-cited linen cloths purchased by Giovanni Gaddi. These could have been used to decorate the chapel, concealing, at least in part, the wooden beams that, according to Alessio Monciatti, formed the ceiling of the *cappella magna* during this period. But this interpretation would seem to be contradicted by another payment in the accounts relating to the purchase of a quire of royal paper (*caterno carte realis*) for the representation of the Evangelists in this chapel: "*pro figuratione Evangelistarum pro cappella maioris*", since it was the custom generally to represent the Four Evangelists on the cross-vault of chapels. In this case, however, a different placement of the Four Evangelists cannot be excluded: either on the walls, since no reference is made to narrative murals in the accounts, or more probably in stained glass, as might be indicated by the purchase of paper that would have been needed for the preparatory drawings.[269]

[266] This is probably the *Franciscus Bruni* mentioned on fol. 2r (Monciatti, 2005, 318) as the person charged with the supplying of pigments and all the necessary materials for the decoration of the chapels, and also of the Sala del Concistoro and other rooms in the papal palace.

[267] Forcellini, II, 1827, *ad vocem*, suggests the equivalence of the word *linteamen* with *linteum* (piece of linen). The extensive use of the word *cielo* to denote the ceiling of a room is recognized by Battaglia, III, 1964, 131 and is found, inter alia, in various passages of Vasari's *Vite*, also with regard to Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican: *ma finita ormai la volta, cioè il cielo di quella stanza* (ed. Milanesi, 1879, IV, 334). Another use of linen is attested by Cennino Cennini (CLXI, ed. Frezzato, 2003, 181, 305) and refers to the practice of impregnating small pieces of fabric with colour and then laying them out to dry. At a later stage, when the need for a particular pigment arose, the pieces of fabric were immersed in a solution of water and gum and so released their colour ready for use. This was a technique mainly used, according to Cennino, by miniaturists and seems ill-adapted to the characteristics of a fresco large-scale programme like that of the decoration of the two chapels in the Vatican.

[268] See 103-104 in this volume (Monciatti, 2005, 326)

[269] According to Briquet (1907), the following types of paper were in use in Central Italy in the later Trecento: *imperialle* (70 x 54 cm), *realle* (61.5 x 44.5 cm), *meçane* (51.5 x 34.5 cm), and *reçute* (45 x 31.5 cm). In this case, however, the interpretation of the adjective *reale* as a reference to the correspondence in size between the drawing and the subject represented, as has been proposed in other cases (Zanardi, 1996, 55 No. 26), can, I think, be excluded.

The main finding yielded by analysis of the Vatican register consists, however, in the considerable quantity of detailed information on the costs of a monumental painted decoration, even if the loss of the monument to which this information refers prevents its immediate understanding. Some useful help in interpreting the payments can, I believe, be obtaining by comparing them with what is reported by comparable documents relating to some decorative enterprises realized in Florence in much the same period.

In 1363 the Capitani of the Compagnia della Misericordia had authorized the payment of 40 florins, corresponding to c. 130 lire, to the painter Nardo di Cione "*per il lavorio che si dee fare del dipignere la volta e le altre cose si de a fare*" (for the work of painting the ceiling and other things) in the oratory in Piazza San Giovanni in Florence. Though the document does not specify what the *altre cose* that Nardo was commissioned to paint were, the unanimously shared opinion is that they referred to the fresco of the *Blessing Redeemer and angels* rediscovered on the wall of the oratory against which was also placed the *Madonna and Child and two angels* sculpted by Alberto Arnoldi in the same years.[270] The document does not specify the timetable laid down for the completion of the work, or, more importantly, whether the necessary materials were also included in the figure. Fortunately, however, the documents relating to the continuation of the decorative enterprise, entrusted to the painter's brother Jacopo di Cione in 1368 following Nardo's death in 1365, are very detailed and provide a clear idea of the scale of the decoration, its costs and the time stipulated for its completion, so that, altogether, the decoration of the oratory of the Misericordia offers a significant comparison for evaluating the data cited in the Vatican documents. The commission given to Jacopo was divided into two phases. In the first the painter undertook to paint, within three months, a figure within a medallion in each of the groins of the vault and the azure ground spangled with golden stars in the two vaults preceding those already painted by Nardo. The payment of 39 florins was agreed on for this work; it also included the cost of the colours, but not that of the gold leaf and the azure, or the timber necessary for the construction of the scaffolds. The work lasted for a month longer than stipulated, but, despite that, the painter received the contracted figure, which is almost equal to that obtained by Nardo for painting the ceiling and one wall of the oratory. Before the end of the work, the Capitani negotiated a new contract with Jacopo, assigning to him the commission to paint a cycle of ten episodes of the life of the Virgin on the walls below the ceiling, this time stipulating a period of eight months for the completion of the work and a sum of 95 florins in payment. In this case too the cycle was completed (though unfortunately lost) and Jacopo received the figure contracted.[271] So work on the decoration of the chapel required altogether over a year in time, while – calculated on a monthly basis – the fee consecutively received by Nardo and Jacopo fluctuated between 13 and 12 florins, equivalent respectively to 42.9 and 39.6 lire. This is a figure considerably higher than the 19 lire and 6 soldi received by Giovanni Gaddi and by Giottino for a month's work in the Vatican. But to be able to define the exact remuneration of the two brothers and hence assess their fees in relation to the two Florentine painters active in Rome, we would have to deduct the cost of their materials, principally their pigments.

To this end it is useful to introduce into our discussion some reflections on the documented costs relating to the decoration of the *Sala Capitolare* of the Dominican convent at Santa Maria Novella. In December 1365 the Prior, Fra Zanobi de' Guasconi, ceded to Andrea Bonaiuti a house of the value of 65 gold florins (c. 216 lire) in payment for the frescoes that the painter had undertaken to complete in the Chapter House of the Dominican convent within 18 months.[272] The document specifies that the Dominicans would also be contractually bound to cover Bonaiuti's basic living costs during his work. Comparison with the overall cost of the paintings executed by Nardo and Jacopo for the Compagnia della Misericordia (174 florins, equivalent to c. 574 lire) demonstrates beyond doubt that in this case the remuneration exclusively regarded the work of the painter, who therefore received c. 12 lire per month (plus a small sum for the maintenance of the painter and his family). The considerable dimensions of the Vatican *capella magna*, larger than the seat of the Misericordia, probably raised the overall cost of the enterprise above the 574 lire spent on the Florentine oratory.

In conclusion, the average remuneration of a painter engaged in painting a cycle of frescoes in the second half of the 1360s was of the order of 12-15 lire in Florence: intermediate, that is, between the fees received by Giovanni da Milano (10 lire) on the one hand, and Giottino and Giovanni Gaddi (over 19 lire) on the other. The fees in question should evidently be related to the respective roles of these painters in the organization of the Vatican project, but the times of execution of these Florentine fresco cycles well exceeded the three-month period documented by the Vatican *Introitus et Exitus*.

With regard to this latter, even a summary analysis of the costs registered in it permits some peculiar features of the enterprise to be pointed out. The overall figure paid to the painters involved in the Vatican project amounts to 421 lire and 6 soldi, while the costs relating to pigments and other necessary materials amount to just under 150 lire: a situation quite the reverse of that of the two Florentine decorative projects taken into consideration, where the cost of the manpower was approximately a third of the total expenditure. A possible explanation of this anomaly can be deduced from a note contained on the first folio of the Vatican manuscript which refers to a *primo caterno* [quaderno] (not yet traced) for the moneys due to a certain Franciscus Bruni *pro coloribus et aliis rebus necessariis tam pro concistoro et aliorum tectorum quam pro cappellis*. From this report it can clearly be deduced that the decoration of the two Vatican chapels assigned to the Florentine painters and their numerous collaborators formed part of a far more extensive programme for the refurbishment of the papal palace. On the other hand, although the documentary data on the organization of a comparable medieval decorative project are too scant to draw definitive conclusions, the involvement of such a large number of artists, some – as in the case of Giovanni da Milano – with an important curriculum behind them, must represent a rather exceptional case. A rather similar case is documented at the Milanese court of Ludovico il Moro in the late fifteenth century: wishing to have a cycle of Stories of Francesco Sforza painted in the Sala della Balla of the Palazzo Ducale in time for the celebrations in honour of his marriage to Beatrice d'Este and that of Anna Sforza with Alfonso d'Este, Ludovico ordered a kind of general call-up of painters in Lombardy, commanding them to present themselves with their *garzoni* and place themselves at the disposal of Ambrogio Ferrari, superintendent of the work.[273] The list of those convened draws no distinction between well-known and lesser known painters; clearly the main objective was to mobilize and congregate as large a number of painters as possible so to be able to complete the enterprise in time.

Other data reported by the Vatican documents seem to confirm the hypothesis of team-work, and the completion of the project in a relatively restricted time frame. Another circumstance tallies with the inclusion in the team of a large number of artists of different cultural backgrounds and provenance: namely, the repeated purchase of paper for the preparation of *patrones*, i.e. full-scale models; these would have been useful for the identical repetition of the same motifs, thus ensuring the homogeneity of the ensemble. On the other hand, the complete absence of any reference to the subject matter of the painted representations, with the exception of that of the Evangelists, would

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[270] Offner, *Corpus*, IV/II, 1960, 4 and Levin, in *Burl. Mag.*, CXLI, 1999, 75-80. For the sculptural group cf. Kiel, 1977, 120; Kreytenberg, in *Prospettiva*, No. 11, 1977, 27-37; Albertazzi, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 148. It is not specified whether the cost of the necessary materials was included in the figure. For the calculation of the counter-value of the florin in lire in 1363, namely 1 florin = 3 lire and 5 soldi, cf. Goldthwaite, in Goldthwaite - Mandich, 1994, 90.

[271] The documents cited are transcribed *in toto* by Levin, in *Burl. Mag.*, CXLI, 1999, 75-80.

[272] Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/VI, 1979, 10.

[273] De Vecchi, in *Milano Atti,* 1983, 509-510.

seem to imply the choice of a decoration with purely ornamental and aniconic motifs, in this case too prompted no doubt by the need to complete the decoration with some rapidity. The daily character of the remuneration received by the *magistri* including Giovanni da Milano can also, I believe, be best interpreted in this light. This type of payment *a giornata* was in fact generally used for decorators or *pittori di camere*, with geometric or plant motifs, according to a usage that is still testified by the surviving murals in houses of the period, such as the Palazzo Davanzati in Florence or the palazzo of Francesco di Marco Datini at Prato. Datini, we recall, was the protagonist of a dispute with the *pittore di camere* Bartolomeo di Bertozzo who, because of the particular dedication he had lavished on his work, did not accept the calculation of his fee on a daily basis (*giornate*) proposed to him by the patron, but demanded an overall appraisal of the value of his work, as was usual for more complex and ambitious programmes.[274]

In the light of the above arguments, I am led to believe that the work on the decoration of the two chapels in the Apostolic Palace, perhaps begun some time before the 19 July (the date on which the payments reported in the Vatican register begin), rapidly progressed at a forced pace, and was completed not long after the final payments were made in early October. But what were the circumstances that might have justified such haste?

A plausible hypothesis could be the need to complete the decoration of the two chapels in time for the imminent arrival of the Pope in Rome; at the time the work was being carried out he was resident in Viterbo. However, reviewing the events of the period, it is possible to identify another perhaps even more pressing circumstance. In 1367 Urban V had accepted the request of the Palaeologan Emperor John V for military assistance against the Ottoman Turks who were threatening the Empire of the East, as a *quid pro quo* for the submission of the Oriental Church to that of Rome. The negotiations had continued during the following years and were about to be brought to a conclusion in the period of concern to us. On 10 August 1369 in fact John V landed in Naples and was received with great ceremony by Queen Giovanna, who commissioned work to be carried out on the royal seat at Castelnuovo in preparation for the emperor's reception. On 18 August the emperor left Naples bound for Rome, where the solemn event that would sanction the union of the two Churches was being prepared by a series of diplomatic mediations. On 18 October of the same year John V Palaeologus made a solemn profession of faith in the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, a church not chosen at random, given that the recognition of the procession of the Father and the Son from the Holy Spirit was the crux of the schismatic controversy, in the presence of numerous papal dignitaries but not of the Pope himself. Urban V had in fact arrived in Rome on 16 October, and received the emperor in the Vatican Apostolic Palace on 21 October with a complex ceremonial which also included the celebration of ww in the Vatican Basilica, in the course of which the Emperor repeated his profession of faith and knelt before the Pope, pledging him obedience.[275] From the point of view of the history of the church, the event did not have significant consequences, given that the emperor's submission was never accepted by the people and clergy of Byzantium; it remained a purely personal act of the emperor. Nonetheless, at the time it must have been seen, at least in the West, as an act of enormous significance and therefore it is probable, in my view, that the need rapidly to complete the decoration of the two chapels – especially that of the *cappella magna* since it was one of the most representative rooms of the papal palace – was dictated also by the desire to provide a suitably magnificent frame for so important an event within the Vatican Palace, which had been left derelict and uninhabited for various decades.

[274] Mazzei, I, 1880, 19: (from a letter of Ser Lapo Mazzei to Francesco di Marco Datini) "[…] *se vorrete stimare le giornate, vi rispondo che non vi sarebbe accettato, di simile maestro; però che mai si fa se non per quanto è il lavorio* […]".

[275] Talbot - Cutler, in *Oxford Dict. Byz.*, 2, 1991, 1050, with bibliography. A detailed account of the emperor's visit to Rome can be found in Vasilev, in *Studi bizantini e neoellenici,* 3, 1931, 151-193.

In any case, as more particularly regards the archival data, the only *terminus ante quem* at our disposal for the completion of the decoration would seem to be November 1371, when a notarial deed attested the presence of Giovanni Gaddi back in Florence.[276] This document, cited by Moreni but substantially unpublished, is published here in an integral edition for the first time. It represents a valuable supplement to the painter's meagre biography.[277] It is a deed drawn up in the presence of a notary on November 21, 1371 by which Giovanni Gaddi and the painter Neri di Mone nominated Giovanni d'Ambrogio "magistrum lapidarum" as arbiter of any disputes between them, and pledged on no account to have recourse to the arbitration of third parties.[278] The nomination of an arbiter was a procedure commonly used to settle disputes of a financial nature;[279] in this case, since reference is made not to a specific circumstance but to any disputes that might arise in the future, the need to appoint an arbiter might have been prompted by the prospect of the two painters working together or entering into a more formal and long-term collaboration, such as that of a *compagnia*.[280]

Giovanni Gaddi's wish further to consolidate his own activity can also be inferred from his enrolment in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali a few months later, on 5 April 1372. The date of his enrolment in the artists' guild may seem somewhat belated, given that Gaddi had already been sufficiently recognized and esteemed as an artist to be able to supervise such a prestigious decorative project as that in the Vatican in 1369. On the other hand, it is probable that, since he was statutorily exempted from payment of the tax for enrolment in the guild since he was the son of a member (i.e. Taddeo), he had been able to dispense with this obligation – at least for some time.[281]

[276] See 106 in this volume.

[277] Moreni, VI, 1794, 219. It is perhaps the deed registered at the Gabella dei Contratti in the same year.

[278] See 106-107 in this volume. On Neri di Mone, enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali between 1348 and 1352 and still alive in 1381, cf. Colnaghi, 1928, 185 and Pasquinucci (in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 31-35) who presumes a "compagnia" (partnership) with the painter Giovanni Bonsi. The archival evidence cited by Colnaghi also includes a payment in 1377, by the Otto di Balia, for a shield and banner to be hung in the Palazzo Vecchio. It seems to me worth mentioning at this point that the Master of the Misericordia, during these same years, was also active for one of the members of the Balia, for whom he painted the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge (MA) (pl. XXXV). This circumstance, in the light of the archival evidence of a "compagnia" between Neri and Giovanni Gaddi, published here for the first time, adds a further clue in support of a link between the Master of the Misericordia and the name of Giovanni Gaddi. The present writer (Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCVI, 2008, 42) has recently conjectured whether Neri, whose artistic personality is still unknown, might not be identified with the Master of Barberino, active in the church of Santi Jacopo e Lucia at San Miniato (Pisa) in years not far removed from 1371 when Giovanni Bonsi painted the polyptych of the *Enthroned Madonna and Child with Saints* formerly displayed in this church (Pinacoteca Vaticana) (cf. Pasquinucci, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 85-91, pl. XIII).
As regards Giovanni d'Ambrogio Lenzi, we could identify him perhaps with the sculptor of this name, known for having participated in the decoration of the Loggia dei Lanzi (1383) and subsequently of the Porta della Mandorla of Santa Maria del Fiore (1396), on whom see Kreytenberg, in *Jahrb. Berliner Mus.*, XIV, 1972, 5-32; *Idem*, in *Dict. of Art* , 12, 1996, 701-702. According to Kreytenberg, this sculptor should be distinguished from the other sculptor with the same name formerly involved in some works during the erection of the Cathedral in 1366. At the present time it is impossible to establish to which of the two the abovementioned document refers.

[279] In 1391 Ambrogio di Baldese is recorded as the arbiter of a dispute that had arisen between the painter Bartolomeo di Bertozzo and the wealthy merchant of Prato, Francesco di Marco Datini (Mazzei, 1880, I, 15-24) in connection with work on the decoration of Datini's palazzo. Two years later, in 1393, Agnolo Gaddi and the notary Giovanni di Gherardo acted as arbiters in a dispute between the *compagnia* formed by Niccolò Gerini and Lorenzo di Niccolò on the one hand and once again Francesco di Marco Datini on the other (Mazzei, 1880, II, 395-396). On the palazzo of Francesco Datini see also the recent observations of Margherita Romagnoli on its architecture (in *Arte Cristiana*, XCVI, 2008, 413-422) and on its pictorial decoration (in *Arte Cristiana*, XCVII, 2009, 19-30).

[280] On the organization of *compagnie* between painters see Procacci, in *Riv. Arte*, 1960, XXXV, 1960, 11-18.

[281] The Statuto dei Pittori of 1315 had already declared the exoneration of payment of the tax for the sons and brothers of members of the guild ("[…] Ad quam quidem solutionem faciendam non teneantur seu cogi possint fratres

The analysis of the documents conducted above show beyond any doubt that not only did Giovanni Gaddi exercise the profession of painter, but that he was sufficiently esteemed in his profession to assume a supervisory role and to coordinate the work not only of assistants but also of already recognized masters (e.g. Giovanni da Milano). This circumstance makes the problem of the identification of his artistic profile particularly cogent and justifies the effort to reconstruct a more detailed biographical profile on the basis of the surviving archival documents.

The earliest mention of Giovanni Gaddi so far found in the documents occurs, apparently, in the lists of creditors of the Monte Comune in 1362.[282] From May 1363 to December of the following year Giovanni Gaddi paid the *Prestanze* (tax) on behalf of his father Taddeo, in whose name the tax rate (*portata*) in question was registered.[283] The archival series for the *Prestanze* is lost for the period from December 1364 to 1369; in the latter year, however, Taddeo having been dead for three years, the registration of the tax was altered. It was assigned to Taddeo's heirs, the *Heredes Taddei Gaddi*, and was paid by Zanobi, eldest son of Taddeo. Between 1370 and 1375, however, the tax was paid not by Zanobi but by various procurators, perhaps commissioned to administer Taddeo's still undivided estate.[284] These were the years, as we have seen, in which Giovanni's professional autonomy as an artist was being defined. So it is not surprising that from 1375 he was the title-holder of a *prestanza* of his own, with the stipulation that he should pay tax for other members of his family, i.e. his brothers and *monna Nuccia eorum avia*. The tax was regularly paid by Giovanni himself, within the pre-established deadlines, down to 1380; only from this year does each of Taddeo's five sons have his own *portata*. These are registered one after the other, as if – though having divided their father's estate – they had continued to live in the same place or in adjacent properties. Giovanni's payments then continued regularly till 17 February 1383.[285] They then stopped. The source of the report cited by Gaetano Milanesi, according to which the painter died in the year 1383, is not known; however some inferences drawn from other documents would tend to confirm its reliability.[286] On 14 June 1383 Giovanni Gaddi is cited as heir in his mother's testament, so he was then still alive. In 1389 his name was drawn by lot from a list of citizens eligible to hold the post of *Priore*, but the nomination did not take place for the good reason that the painter was already dead.[287] This secure *terminus ante quem* can probably be further pushed back to 1384, since alongside his name in one of the registers of the *Prestanze* for that year we find the sign of a cross, used also in other cases to indicate that the person in question had died.[288] Perhaps he had been a victim of the new outbreak of plague that struck the city in the early 1380s.[289]

Other pieces of evidence on the active presence of Giovanni Gaddi in the economic and social life of Florence can be deduced from the registration of public deeds in the *Gabella dei Contratti*, but these survive not in their originals but only in the form of partial extracts made by Ferdinando Leopoldo Del Migliore in the eighteenth century; Del Migliore's transcripts include records of the purchase or sale of real estate in Florence in 1365, 1371 and 1376.[290] In these years, also thanks to the business activities and political involvement of his brother Zanobi, the social prestige and economic power of the family had considerable increased, while Agnolo increasingly assumed a leading role in Florentine art. By a singular coincidence, indeed, the death of Giovanni Gaddi, probably (as we have suggested) in 1383, occurred only shortly before Agnolo began work on the fresco cycle with Stories of Saints in the Castellani chapel in Santa Croce. These frescoes, with their innovative style, would win for the painter a fame that was long destined to eclipse that of his elder brother, so much so that his very historical existence was long forgotten.

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carnales vel filii alicuius magistri dicte artis; set possint dictam artem libere exercere […]; cf. *Statuti*, 1922, 81). The Statutes of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali of 1349 specify that the privilege regarded exemption from the tax and not the obligation of enrolling in the guild, which remained obligatory for anyone wishing to exercise the professions that came within its remit ("[…] Al quale pagamento fare non sieno tenuti, o possino essere constrecti, o debbino e figliuoli e discendenti per linea maschulina di ciascuno […] e quali figliuoli e discendenti per linea masculina al collegio di questa arte sieno, non pagando però niente all'arte predetta, e frategli carnali e nipoti de' fratelli o e fratelli d'alcuno della detta arte, scripti nella matricola della detta arte"; in *Statuti*, 1922, 147).

[282] Ladis, in *Dict. of Art*, XI, 1996, 890, without any reference to the archival source. The present writer has only been able to trace the name of Giovanni Gaddi from 1363 on.

[283] Taddeo however was present in Florence at least between September and October 1364 when he participated in the meetings for the design of the Cathedral of Florence (Ladis, 1982, 261).

[284] In this case too, as in the previous one, the fact that the payments were made by procurators does not imply the absence from the city of the title-holder of the tax rate in question: Zanobi Gaddi in fact was undoubtedly resident in the city at the time, given that in 1371 he was renting a house from Lapo di Stoldo di Lapo in the popolo di san Pier Maggiore on Via Santa Maria (the same street where Taddeo resided, according to the records of the Prestanze) (ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, Ser Lando di Fortino, 11381 fol. 70v).

[285] See 108-109 in this volume.

[286] Milanesi, in Vasari, I, 1878, 353.

[287] A cross appended to his name in one of the registers of the Prestanze for 1384 (ASF, Prestanze, 858, fol. 25r) is the first *terminus ante quem* for the painter's death.

[288] See 109 n. 10 in this volume.

[289] The painter Doffo di Baldino, several times cited above, was one of the other victims. See in this volume 66. The reconstruction proposed here, and the assumption that Giovanni had died by 1384, seems to be contradicted by the payment of Giovanni's *Prestanze* for the years 1387-1390 by some procurators on his behalf (Labriola, in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, 51, 1998, 172. See also 110 n. 13 in this volume. However, since no other document preserves traces of the painter, and since the payments were made by third persons, it is probable, in my view, that the payments in question were linked to the management's Giovanni's estate by his surviving brothers.

[290] On the archive of the Gabella dei Contratti, now preserved only in fragmentary form in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, and for further information of the excepts made from it in the eighteenth century before its partial dispersal, see Biscione, in *Archivi per la storia*, VI, 1993, 188.

DOCUMENTS AND AUTHENTICATED FACTS AND DATES OF GIOVANNI GADDI[1]

1363, April 21[2]

ASF, Monte Comune o delle Graticole, Parte II, 1015 (*Liber novi montis),* fol. 38r

Iohannes Taddei Gaddi pictor de vexillo clavium debet habere a Comune Florentino per florenos septem aurum quos mutuavit de suis propris denariis animo rehabendi pro dicto Taddeo de mense Mai

1363, May 9 - 1364, December

Giovanni Gaddi makes payment of the *Prestanza* of 7 florins owed by his father Taddeo Gaddi.[3]

LADIS, 1982, 263

1365

BNCF, Magl. Cod. 131, Classe XXVI, fol. 73 [F. L. DEL MIGLIORE, Zibaldone]
BNCF, Poligrafo Gargani, 885
Iohannes Taddei Gaddi, San Pier Maggiore, emit
Gabella B 17, fol. 135

1369, July 19 - October 2, Rome

ASV, Camera Apostolica. Introitus et exitus 334.
[fol. 2r]

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1 The dates cited have been adjusted to modern style. If a document is not followed by any bibliographic reference, it is to be considered unpublished; if the bibliographic reference is preceded by "Cited in", unless indicated to the contrary, the transcription can be assumed to be that of the author.

2 According to Andrew Ladis (*Dict. of Art*, XI, 1996, 890), the name of Giovanni Gaddi is already cited in the registers of the *Prestanze* for 1362. But the present writer has been unable to trace the document in question, which is cited by this scholar without any indication of its pressmark in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

3 See ASF, Prestanze, 40, fol. 76v (1363, May 9); A.S.F,. *ibid.*, 47, fol. 75 (May 1363); ASF, *ibid.*, 51, fol. 76 (May 1363); ASF, *ibid.*, 81, fol. 139 (January 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, 93, fol. 9 (February 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, 96, fol. 138 (April 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, 98, fol. 43 (April 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, 101, fol. 140 (June 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 104, fol. 138v (July 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 111, fol. 127v (July 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 114, fol. 9 (July 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 119, fol. 128v (August 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 126, fol. 131v (October 1364).
The registers of the *Prestanze* are lost from 1365 to 1369. From 1369 to 1375 the tax due is registered under the joint title of the heirs of Taddeo Gaddi, while payment was made by Zanobi di Taddeo Gaddi or by other proxies: ASF, *ibid.*, No. 135, fol. 143v (March 1369); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 140, fol. 126v (May 1369); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 146, fol. 159v (June 1368); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 150, fol. 148v (July 1369); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 162, fol. 107v (November 1369); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 175, fol. 133r (December 1369); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 180, fol. 150v (February 1370); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 185, fol. 179v (March 1370); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 190, fol. 59v (July 1370); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 193, fol. 191r (May 1370); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 195, fol. 130r (June 1370); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 200, fol. 169v (September 1370); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 207, fol. 20r (November 1370); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 213, fol. 155 (January 1371); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 231, fol. 147 (July 1373); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 233, fol. 83r (July 1374); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 237, fol. 261 (November 1374); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 247, fol. 159v (1375); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 250, fol. 71v (April 1375); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 254, fol. 77v (June 1375).

Ista est pecunia magistri johanni arcipresbytero de capralica tradita a domino gaullelmo pro operariis pictoribus pro coloribus et aliis rebus necessariis pro picturis anbarum cappellarum et soliorum a die penultima mensis julii.
Item in primis recepi a dicto domino gaullelmo die penultima mensis julii per manum jacobi philippi de florentia — flor. XL,
francisscus bruni pro coloribus et aliis rebus necessariis tam pro concistoro et aliorum tectorum quam pro cappellis sicut in primo caterno est declaratus et asignatus dicto domino gaullelmo
Item recepi ab eodem / die VII mensis augusti — flor. XIII
Item recepi ab eodem / die XVI mensis augusti — flor. III
Item recepi ab eodem / die XX mensis augusti — flor. IIII
Item recepi ab eodem / die XXV mensis augusti — flor. XL
Summa —[4] superius — flor. C
die VIII mensis septembris a domino gaullelmus recepì floreseeauri camere — LXXIII

[fol. 3r]

A die XIX mensis julii [1369] usque ad diem ultimum dicti mensis servierunt infrascripti magistri pictores in palatio.
Imprimis magister johannes de mediolano servivit diebus — XI pro pretio s. X per diem —Summa lib. v, s. x.
Guarnerius de vinetiis servivit diebus XI pro eodem pretio. Summa — lib. V, s. X.
Nicolaus de urbe, servivit diebus — XI pro eodem pretio. Summa — lib. V, s. X.
Stephanus de perusio servivit diebus — XI pro eodem pretio. Summa — lib. V, s. X.
Nicolaus theotonicus servivit diebus — XI pro eodem pretio. Summa — lib. V, s. X.
Antonius de monterano servivit diebus — XI pro pretio s. VIII per diem — Summa — lib. IIII, s. VIII.
Antonius ypoliti servivit diebus — XI pro eodem pretio — Summa — lib. IIII s. VIII.
Jacobellus jacchetti — diebus — XI pro eodem pretio — Summa — lib. IIII s. VIII.
Raynaldus de cesano — diebus — XI pro eodem pretio — Summa — lib. IIII s. VIII.
Johannes de cesano — diebus — XI pro eodem pretio — Summa — lib. IIII s. VIII.
Julianus magistri johannis — diebus — XI pro eodem pretio — Summa — lib. IIII s. VIII.
Dominicus de mirandie diebus VIII pro eodem pretio — Summa — lib. III s. IIII.
Magister laurentius diebus VIII pro eodem pretio — Summa — lib. III s. IIII.
Summa hujus marginis — LX s. VI

[fol. 3v]

Prima edomada mensis augusti servierunt infra scripti magistri sive operarii
Magister johannes de mediolano servivit
Guarnerius de vinetiis
Stephanus de perusio
Nicolaus theotonicus
diebus pro quolibet V pro pretio s. X per diem Summa eorum ascendit lib. X

Laurentius de urbe
Nicolaus de urbe
Servierunt diebus III pro quolibet pro pretio s. X per diem — Summa eorum — lib. III

Antonius de monterano
Antonius ypoliti
Jacobellus jacchecti
Raynaldus de cesano
johannes

[4] The specification "pro suprascripta" is added above the hyphen.

Julianus magistri johannis
Servierunt diebus pro quolibet pro pretio s. VIII pro quolibet eorum — Summa eorum — lib. XII

Ceccolus de platea Sancti petri servivit diebus II pro pretio — s. VI per diem — Summa s. XII

Summa huius marginis — lib. XXV s. XII

[fol. 4r]

Secunda edomada mensis augusti servierunt infra scripti magistri sive operarii
Magister johannes de mediolano
Magister laurentius de urbe
guarnerius de vinetiis
Stephanus de perusio
Nicolaus theotonicus
Nicolaus de urbe
Issi servierunt de dicta edomada diebus V pro pretio s. X per diem. Summa eorum — lib. X

Antonius de monterano
Antonius ypoliti
Jacobellus jacchecti
Raynaldus
Johannes de cesano
a Julianus magistri johannis
dominicus de miranda
Isti servierunt de dieta edomada diebus V pro pretio s. VIII per diem — Summa — lib. XIIII

Ceccolus de platea sancti petri servivit diebus V pro pretio s. VI per diem Summa — lib. I s. X

Summa huius marginis — lib. XXX s. X

[fol. 4v]

In tertia edomada mensis augusti servierunt infra scripti magistri et operarii
Magister johannes de mediolano
Magister laurentius de urbe
Guarnerius de vinetiis
Stephanus de perusio
Nicolaus theotonicus
Isti servierunt diebus VI pro pretio s. X per diem pro quolibet. Summa eorum — lib. XV.

Antonius de monterano
Antonius ypoliti
Jacobellus jacchecti
Raynaldus de cesano
Johannes de cesano
Julianus magistri johannis
Dominicus de miranda
Isti servierunt diebus VI pro pretio s. VIII per diem pro quolibet eorum
Summa eorum — lib. XVI s. XVI

Ceccolus de platea sancti petri servivit diebus IIII pro pretio s. VI per diem — Summa — lib. I s. IIII
porta mira cum uno operario servivit diebus V pro pretio s. XXIIII per diem inter ambos — Summa — lib. VI
Summa huius marginis — lib. XXXIX

[fol. 5r]
Quarta edomada mensis augusti servierunt infra scripti magistri et operarii
Magister johannes de mediolano
Magister laurentius de urbe
Guarnerius de vinetiis
Stephanus de perusio
Nicolaus teotonicus
Antonius ypoliti
Isti servierunt V diebus pro pretio s. X pro quolibet die.
Summa eorum — lib. XV

Antonius de monterano
Jacobellus jacchecti
Raynaldus
Johannes de cesano
Julianus magistri johannis
dominicus de miranda
Isti servierunt V diebus pro pretio s. VIII per diem pro quolibet.
Summa eorum — lib. XII

Item dedi iocto pro salario Vannis auri de florentia et johannis de montepulciano infra pluribus vicibus — lib. XIIII, s. II — die dominica III mensis Augusti.
Porta mirra cum suo operario servivit V diebus pro pretio — s. XXIIII per diem inter ambos — summa eorum — lib. VI.
Item dedi johanni magistri thadei de florentia pro parte salarii angeli fratris sui — lib. VII, s. I. dominica die III mensis augusti.
Item jannuctius de Florentia incepit servire die XXIII mensis julii pro pretio s. XVI per diem, et servivit a dicto die usque ad ultimum diem mensis augusti diebus quibus ipse laboravit infra dictum tempore sunt dies XXIIII — Summa — lib. XIX, s. IIII.

Item dedi magistri johanni arcipresbytero infra duobus vicibus flor. XV. Summa lib. XXXV s. V

Bartholomeus incipit servire prope et Jacobellus jacnetti die XXIII mensis augusti pro pretio VIII flor. per mensem pro quolibet eorum / dictus Jacobellus servivit diebus II. Servivit dictus bartholomeus diebus XV. Summa lib. IX s. VIII. Jacobellus pro duobus diebus
Summa bartholome et Jacobelli lib. XI s. II
Summa huius marginis sine salario arcipresbyteri LXXXIIII et IX s.
Summa huius marginis — C XIX lib. et XIIII s. sine salario arcipresbryteri

[fol. 5v]
Prima edomada mensis septembris servierunt infra scripti operarii et magistri
Magister johannes de mediolano diebus VI pro pretio s. XII per diem — Summa — lib. III s. XII
guarnerius de vinetiis

Nicolaus theotonicus
Isti duo servierunt tribus diebus in dicta edomada pro pretio s. X per diem pro quolibet — Summa eorum — lib. III
Stephanus de perusio
Antonius ypoliti
Isti servierunt totam edomadam pro pretio s. X per diem pro quolibet eorum — Summa eorum — lib. VI
Antonius de monterano
Magister laurentius de urbe
jacobellus jacchecti
Raynaldus
Johannes de cesano
julianus magistri johannis
Dominicus de miranna
Isti servierunt VI diebus pro pretio s. VIII per diem pro quolibet eorum — Summa — lib. XVI s. XVI
porta mirra servivit VI diebus et suo dixipulo sive operario V diebus pro pretio s. XXIIII per diem inter ambos — Summa — lib. VII et IIII s.
paulus de verona servivit diebus IIII pro pretio s. VI per diem — Summa lib. I s. IIII
Summa huius marginis — lib. XXXVII s. XVI
Suprascripta voce cum domino Gaullelmo a secunda edomada mensis augusti usque ad primam edomadam sive ad diem IIII mensis septembris
Iannuccius de Florentia incepit servire de prima mensis septembris pro pretio florenorum VIII in mense.

[fol. 6r]
Secunda edomada mensis septembris servierunt infra scripti magistri et operarii
In primis porta mirra laboravit V dietis pro XVI s. in dieta et sic sunt IIII lib.
Stephanus de perusio laboravit V dietis pro X s. in dieta et sic sunt II lib. X s.
Antonius ypoliti laboravit V dietis pro X s. in dieta et sic sunt II lib. X s.
Nicolaus theotonicus laboravit III dietis pro X s. in dieta. sunt lib. X s.
Summa — lib. X et s. X
Antonius de monterano laboravit v dietis pro VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt — II lib.
Raynaldus de cesano laboravit V dietis similiter pro eodem salario in dieta — sunt II lib.
Johannes de cesano laboravit V dietis similiter pro eodem salario in dieta. sunt II lib.
Julianus laboravit V dietis pro eodem salario in dieta — sunt II lib.
Dominicus de miranna laboravit V dietis pro eodem salario in dieta — sunt II lib.
Jacobellus jacchecti laboravit VI dietis similiter pro simili modo — sunt XVI s.
Summa hujus marginis lib. XXI s. VI

[fol. 6v]
In tertia edomada mensis septembris servierunt infrascripti magistri et operarii.
Porta mirra cum famulo suo laboravit V dietis pro pretio XXIIII s. in diem, et sic sunt inter anbos — lib. VI.
Magister johannes de mediolano laboravit IIII dietis pro pretio — XII s. in dieta et sic sunt —lib. II, s. VIII.
Angelus magistri thadei de florentia laboravit V dietis pro XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Johannes auri de florentia laboravit V dietis pro XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III.
Johannes de montepulciano laboravit V dietis pro XII s. similiter in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Antonius ypoliti laboravit V dietis pro XII s. similiter in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III.
Stephanus de perusio laboravit V dietis pro XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III.
Nicolaus theotonicus laboravit V dietis pro X s. in dieta — lib. II, s. X
Antonius de monterano laboravit V dietis pro VIII s. in dieta — lib. II.

Raynaldus de cesano laboravit V dietis pro VIII s. in dieta — lib. II.
Johannes de cesano laboravit V dietis pro eodem pretio in dieta — lib. II.
Julianus magistri johannis laboravit V dietis pro eodem pretio in dieta — lib. II.
Dominicus de miranda laboravit V dietis pro eodem pretio in dieta — lib. II.
Jacobellus jacchetti laboravit V dietis pro eodem pretio in dieta — lib. II.
Frater petrus theotonicus laboravit V dietis pro eodem pretio in dieta — lib. II.
Magister laurentius laboravit III dietis pro eodem pretio in dieta — lib. II., s. XXIIII.
Summa hujus marginis — lib. XVI s. II

[fol. 7r]
In quarta edomada mensis septembris servierunt infrascripti magistri et operarii
porta mirra cum famulo suo laboravit V diebus — pro pretio XXIIII s. in dieta et sic sunt inter ambos — lib. VI
Magister johannes de mediolano laboravit V dietis pro pretio s. XII in dieta et sic sunt lib. III
Angelus magistri thadei de florentia laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt —lib. III
jannes auri de florentia laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
johannes de montepulciano — laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt —lib. III
Antonius ypoliti de urbe — laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Stephanus de perusio — laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Nicolaus teotonicus — laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Antonius de monterano — laboravit V dietis pro pretio X s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. II s. X
Jacobellus jacchecti — laboravit V dietis pro pretio X` s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. II s. X
Raynaldus de cesano — laboravit V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt lib. II
Johannes de cesano — laboravit V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt lib. II
julianus magistri johannis — laboravit V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt lib. II
Dominicus de miranda — laboravit V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt lib. II
Magister laurentius — laboravit V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt lib. II
frater petrus theotonicus — laboravit V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt lib. II`
Summa hujus marginis — lib. XLIIII
Summa summarum a ista epdomada septembris citra CLVI lib. XVI s. — VIII flor.
Summa summarum a sexto die septembris inclusu usque ad XXV dicti mensis, est de eorum magistrum et operariorum — XXV lib. et IIII s.

[fol. 7v]
In quarta edomada mensis septembris servierunt infra scripti magistri et operarii
porta mirra cum suo operario laboravit V dietis pro pretio XXIIII s. in dieta sic sunt inter ambos — lib. VI
magister johannes de mediolano laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta sic sunt — lib. III
Angelus magistri thadei de florentia laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt —lib. III
Jannes auri de florentia — laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Johannes de monte pulciano — laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Antonius ypoliti de urbe — laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Stephanus de perusio — laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Nicolaus theotonicus — laboravit V dietis pro pretio XII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. III
Antonius de monterano — laboravit V dietis pro pretio X s. in dieta et sic sunt lib. II s. X
Jacobellus jacchecti — laboravit — V dietis pro pretio X s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. II s. X
Raynaldus de cesano — laboravit — V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. II
Johannes — de cesano — laboravit — V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. II
Julianus magistri johannis de urbe laboravit — V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. II

Dominicus de miranda — laboravit — V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. II
magister laurentius de urbe — laboravit V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. II
frater petrus theotonicus — laboravit V dietis pro pretio VIII s. in dieta et sic sunt — lib. II
Summa hujus marginis — lib. XLIIII

[fol. 8r]
Salarium johannis thadei et giocti magistri stephani de florentia pro uno mense incipiendo die XXVIIII mensis augusti et terminando die XXVII mensis septembris — flor. XXIIII inter ambos.
Salarium magistri Bartholomei de senis pro pretio s. XVI in die. laboravit a die XXII mensis septembris inclusive usque ad diem secundam octobris pro pretio dicto laboravit IX dietis
Summa sua — lib. VI, s. XVI
Jacobellus janneccie de roma laboravit a die XXIIII mensis septembris citra usque ad diem XXVIII dicti mensis septembris pro pretio s. XVI in dieta. laboravit IIII dietis — lib. III,
S. IIII.
Summa hujus marginis sine salario johannis et jocti — lib. IX et s. IX.
~~*Summa summarum a die X-IX incluso mensis julii usque ad diem. Secundam octobris lib. CIII-XXXVII et s. XI sine solario Jo*~~
Summa summarum operariorum supradictorum a die decimo nono julii incipiendo et terminando die secunda octobris eiusdem anni inclusive sine salario Arcipresbyteri, johannis thadei et jocti cum tribus eorum dixipulis, videlicet Angelo tadei, johanne auri et vannes de montepulciano — lib. CIIII et s. VII.

[fol. 10 r]
Iste sunt expense fatte a die XX mensis Julii citra.
Item imprimis die XX dicti mensis in ovis pro foleis et pro capella parva sive secreta — s. VIII d. IIII.
Item eodem die pro tribus libris cere causa ponendi aurum in cappella secreta et pro una libra termentine cum vascello — s. XXXVI
Item eodem die [pro] vernice — lib. II oleo semelino — lib. II bolo armenico
Summa — s. X.
Item eodem die in ovis pro foleis et cappella secreta — s. X
Item eodem die pro tribus libris auripigmenti pro pretio s. XXXVI pro qualibet libra Summa — lib. V s. XII
Item eodem die pro IIII decinis colle cervine pro pretio s. XXV pro qualibet decina. Summa — lib. V s. XII d. VI.
Item eodem die pro V libris biacche pro pretio s. II d. VI pro qualibet libra — Summa — s. XII d. VI.
Item eodem die pro mozzatura carte et cambusii causa faciendi collam pro cappella magna — lib. I s. XVIII.
Item dedi famulo qui portavit dictas res — II s.
Item dedi famulo qui portavit barile cum coloribus qui fuerunt portati a Florentia quos misit Franciscus a sancta Maria rotunda — s. II d. X.
Item pro CL libre gipsi grossi pro capella magna — lib. II s. I d. V.
Item pro duobus postis stangi pro auro ponendo pro cappella secreta — lib. I s. II.
Item pro passagio supradicti barilis cum coloribus qui fuerunt porta[ti] a Florentia — s. XX
Summa huius marginis — lib. XXII s. VII d. VII.

[fol. 10v]
Item die eodem pro V paria linteaminum cum dimidio qua emerunt Franciscus et Johannes
magistri Thadei — causa ponendi in celo cappelle magne — lib. VIII s. I.
Item die XXIII dicti mensis Julii in ovis pro foleis et pro cappella secreta — s. VII d. I Item die XXVI in ovis pro dicto opere — s. V.
Item eodem die pro tribus libris cere pro cappella secreta causa ponendi in istanpis de auro
s. XXIIII.

Item eodem die pro duabus libris termentine causa faciendi collam pro auro ponendo in dicta cappella — s. XII.
Item eodem die pro tribus anphoris pro cappellis — s. IX.
Item die XXVII in ovis [pro] dictis cappellis — s. III.
Item eodem die pro tribus scopis pro cappellis — d. XVII.
Item die XXVIII dedi Jacobello de turre campi pro uno centonario foliorum quod ipse fecit in principio operis — lib. II s. VII.
Item eodem die dedi dicto Jacobello pro uno centonario auri fini possitum super stangnum lib. IIII.
Item eodem die pro uno setaccio causa setacciandi gipsum pro cappella magna — s. VI.
Item eodem die pro supradicto opere in ovis — s. VIII.
Item eodem die pro II libris vernicis pro dictis cappellis — s. XV.
Summa hujus marginis — lib. XVIII s. XVIII d. VI.

[fol. 11r]
Item die ultima dicti mensis Julii pro tribus sciphis causa portandi calcem in cappellis — s. VI.
Item eodem die in ovis pro dicto opere — s. IIII.
Item eodem die pro rasura carte pro colla pro cappella magna — s. XI.
Item die secunda mensis augusti in ovis pro dictis cappellis — s. I d. VI.
Item eodem die pro duabus mensuris calcis pro cappella secreta — lib. I s. IIII. Item eodem die pro V decinis colle cervine pro cappella magna — lib. VI s. V.
~~[…] supradict[us] — lib. VIII s. XI d. VI~~
Item die III mensis augusti pro tribus decinis colle cervine pro cappella magna — lib. III s. XV.
Item eodem die pro una decina biacche pro cappellis — lib. I s. V.
Item eodem die in ovis — s. III d. III.
Item die IIII pro uno caterno carte realis a causa fiendi certos patrones pro cappella maiore s. X.
Item eodem die in ovis pro dicto opere — s. VI.
Item eodem die pro uno aquilglolo, quod erat necessarium Jocti pro capella secreta — s. I d. V.
Item eodem die pro vascellis colorum pro cappella mangna — s. XLII.
Item eodem die pro tribus libris cere pro patronibus pro cappella magna — lib. I s. IIII.
Item dedi famulo qui portavit dicta vascella — s. II.
Item die IIII et V in ovis pro cappellis — s. VII d. I.
Item die VI in ovis pro eodem — s. IIII.
Item eodem die pro albo sancti Johannis pro duabus decinis pro cappellis, pro pretio s. XXV pro decina — s. L.
Summa hujus marginis — lib. XXI s. I d. III

[fol. 11v]
In secunda edomada mensis augusti.
Item die VIII mensis augusti pro uno corbellone, causa corbellandi calcem pro cappellis — s. VI.
Item eodem die in ovis pro cappellis — s. VII d. I.
Item eodem die pro II libris cum dimidio casei pro colla pro radiis tondi cappelle secrete —s. III d. VI
Item die XI pro una decina biacche — s. XXV
Item pro una libra indici macchabei — lib. I s. XVI.
Item eodem die in ovis pro cappellis — s. VII d. I.
Item eodem die pro calamis et pro caudibus varium — pro pinnellis — s. XX d. VI.
Item die XII et XIII in ovis — s. VIII.
Item die XIIII pro tribus linteaminibus pro cappella magna — lib. III s. XV.
Item in tertia edomada mensis augusti pro uno pario bariliorum pro aqua cappelle maioris portanda — s. XX.
Item eodem die pro uno secchio causa tenendi aquam in ditta cappella — s. XX.
Item eodem die in ovis pro cappellis — s. VI.

Item die XVII pro una libra olei semelini — s. III.
Item eodem die pro una libra viridi dicti — s. XVI.
Item eodem die pro ovis — s. VIII.
Item die XVIII — in ovis — s. V.
Item eodem die pro XIII lib. magre et VIII lib. de ocrea — quod habui a Petro Mire — s. XXI.
Item eodem die pro XVI libris de terra verde a Francisco Bruni pro pretio s. VI pro libra — summa lib. IIII s. XVI.
Item eodem die pro tribus vasis causa tenendi aquam pro pinnellis lotandis — s. III.
Item die XIX in ovis pro supradictis cappellis — s. V.
Item die XX in ovis pro predictis cappellis —s. X.
Item pro duobus caternis cartis banbacinis — s. VIII.
Item pro uno caterno carte realis —pro figuratione evangelistarum pro cappella maioris — s. X.
Summa hujus marginis — lib. XX s. XIX d. II

[fol. 12r]
Item die XX dicti mensis augusti pro uno centonario gipsi — lib. I s. V.
Item eodem die pro XXIIII lib. albi sancti Johannis — lib. III.
Item eodem die pro duabus decinis colle cervine pro cappella magna — lib. II s. X.
Item die XXI dicti mensis augusti pro tribus libris vernicis, pro dictis cappellis — lib. I s. IIII.
Item eodem die in ovis pro dictis cappellis — s. VII d. I.
Item die XXIII in ovis [pro] eisdem — s. VIII.
Item eodem die pro uno centonario cum dimidio gipsi grossi — lib. II.
Item die XXVI, pro ovis pro eisdem capellis — s. X.

Item die XXVIII — in ovis pro eodem — s. V.
Item die penultima mensis augusti in ovis pro dictis cappellis — s. X.
Item eodem die pro uno caterno carte realis pro patronibus eguanlitarum — s. X.
Item eodem die pro III decinis colle cervine pro foleis domini aunioni — lib. III s. XV.
Item die IIII mensis septembris in ovis pro cappellis — s. XV.
Item eodem die Jacobello de turre canpi pro uno centonario stangi innaurato — lib. VII s. I d. VIII.
Summa hujus marginis — lib. XXIIII — d. IX.

[fol. 12v]
In secunda edomada mensis septembris pro tota edomada in ovis pro cappellis et foleis — s. XX.
Item in eodem edomada in aspungia — d. XII.
In tertia edomada mensis septenbris.
Pro una libra jallolini — s. XVI.
Pro verde terra fina XII lib. pro pretio s. VI pro qualibet libra— lib. III s. XII.
Pro II decinis colle cervine — lib. II s. X.
Pro II libris indici machabei pro pretio s. XXXVI pro qualibet libra — Summa — lib. III s. XII.
Pro XIIII libris biacche pro pretio XXX d. pro qualibet libra — Summa — lib. I s. XV.
Pro linteaminibus pro scabellis — lib. III s. X.
Pro III libris vernicis pro cappellis — lib. I s. I.
Pro ovis pro cappellis et foleis pro tota edomada — s. XVII d. IIII.
Pro setulis pro capellis vel pro pinnellis fiendis — s. VI.
Pro caudibus varium etiam pro pinnellis fiendis — s. II d. IIII.
In quarta edomada mensis septembris
In secunda feria dicte edomade in ovis pro cappellis et pro scabellis — s. III d. IIII.
Eodem die pro duabus libris indici machavei pro dictis cappellis et scabellis — lib. III s. XII.

Item IIII feria pro duabus decinis colle cervine pro dictis scabellis — lib. II s. X.
Item eodem die pro duobus pariis linteaminum pro dictis scabellis inpandandis — lib. III s. XVI.
Item eodem die pro banbace causa ponendi aurum in cappellis — d. IIII.
Item eodem die pro duabus salmis gipsi — lib. V.
Item eodem die in ovis pro cappellis et scabellis — s. VIII.
Item VI feria in ovis pro dictis cappellis et scabellis — s. VIII.
Summa hujus marginis — lib. XXXV d. IIII
[fol. 13r]
In quinta edomada mensis septembris.
In secunda feria dicte edomade in tribus libris vernicis pro scabellis — s. XXI.
Item eodem die in ovis pro capellis et scabellis — s. VII d. I
Item in tertia feria dicte edomade in ovis pro predictis cappellis et scabellis — s. VI.
In quinta feria dicte edomade in ovis pro predictis — s. V.
Item in sesta feria diete edomade in ovis pro predictis — s. VII d. VI.
Item eodem die pro una decina colle cervine pro scabellis — s. XX.
Summa quinte edomade suprascripte dicti mensis septenbris — lib. III s. VI d. VII
Summa omnium expensarum a die xx mensis Julii usque ad diem secundam octobris — CXLV lib. XIIII s. d. II.
Summa summarum tam operariorum quam colorum et aliarum rerum suprascriptarum est CVI II lib. I. s. et d. II

Cited in MÜNTZ, 1880; MÜNTZ, 1890, 6
CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, II, 1883, 102-104 n. 2, 127 (partial transcription)
MONCIATTI, 2005, 317-329 (full transcription)

1371
BNCF, Magl. Cod. 132, Classe XXVI, fol. 181 [F. L. DEL MIGLIORE, Zibaldone]
BNCF, Poligrafo Gargani, 885
Iohannes Taddei Gaddi, san Pier Maioris, emit
Gabella C 23, fol. 33

1371, November 21
ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 11381, Ser Lando di Fortino, fol. 80r-v[5]

[in the margin] *Compromissum Iohannis Taddei et Nerii Monis*

Item postea dictis anno [millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo primo], indictione [X] et loco [Florentie, in ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris, audientia Curie episcopalis florentine], die vigesimo primo mensis novembris, et presentibus testibus ser Manno Dominici notario florentino et Iacobo Tieri populi Sancti Michaelis Bertelde de Florentia.

Iohannes olim magistre Taddei Gaddi pictor populi Sancti Petri Maioris de Florentia, ex parte una, et Neri olim Monis Cambii pictor populi Sancti Laurentii de Florentia, ex parte alia, et uterque eorum compromiserunt, remiserunt et commiserunt omnes et singulas lites et cetera vertentes et seu que verti et esse, vel oriri possent, seu dicerentur vel apparerent, et tam ortas quam oriundas inter dictas partes quacumque ratione, modo, iure, re vel causa, usque in diem termini presentis compromissi, in discretum virum Iohannem olim Ambrosii Lenci magistrum lapidum populi Sancte Reparate de Florentia, presentem et acceptantem, tamquam in eorum et cuiusque ipsorum in solidum, arbitrum et arbitratorem, comunem amicum et bonum virum, duraturum in dicto arbitrio et arbitramento per tempus et terminum duorum mensium tunc proxime futurorum.

Dantes et concedentes dicte partes, et quelibet et quilibet eorum et earum in solidum, [fol. 80v] dicto Iohanni, eorum arbitro et arbitratori, presenti et recipienti, plenam licentiam, auctoritatem, mandatum et omnimodam potestatem de et super dictis eorum et earum litibus et cetera, cognoscendum, laudandum, stimandum et arbitrandum et cetera, de iure et de facto, de iure tantum, de facto tantum, et seu de iure et facto simul, semel et pluries, eundo, stando, quolibet loco et locis, die et diebus feriatis et non feriatis, presentibus dictis partibus et eis absentibus, et seu una parte presente et citata et alia absente et non citata, et quotiens, qualiter et quomodo et pro ut et sicut eidem arbitro et arbitratori videbit et placebit. Et cum hoc pacto et modo apposito inter dictas partes, solempni stipulatione interveniente, quod de et super omnibus et singulis de seu super quo vel quibus laudatum, stimatum vel arbitratum fuerit et cetera per dictum arbitrum et arbitratorem vigore presentis compromissi, de eo et eis et quolibet eorum intelligatur lis et causa et questio fuisse et cetera. Et insuper promiserunt et convenerunt dicte partes et compromictentes, et quilibet et quelibet eorum et earum in solidum, dictis nominibus inter se et sibi invicem et vicissim et hinc inde, presentes et pro se ipsis et quolibet eorum et cuiuslibet ipsorum heredibus recipientes et stipulantes, stare, parere et obedire omni et cuilibet laudo, stime et arbitramento et cetera, et ab eo et vel eis aut aliquo contentorum in eo vel eis [non] appellare vel querelare aut petere vel peti facere ipsum vel ea reduci debere vel posse ad arbitrium alicuius boni viri vel iudicis et cetera. Et presens compromissum et omne et quodlibet laudum, stimam et arbitramentum ferendum per dictum arbitrum et arbitratorem vigore presentis compromissi et contenta in eis perpetuo firma et rata habere, tenere et observare et contra non facere vel venire per se vel alium et cetera, sub pena librarum centum florinorum parvorum, solempni stipulatione inter eos et per eos ad invicem dictis nominibus et modis in singulis capitulis huius contractus et cuiuslibet laudi, stime et arbitramenti ferendi per dictum arbitrum et arbitratorem promissa; qua commissa solutione, vel non, ratis manentibus omnibus supradictis. Et cum refectione dampnorum, expensarum et interesse litis et extra, sub obligatione ipsorum et utriusque ipsorum in solidum et cuiuslibet eorum in solidum heredum et bonorum omnium presentium et futurorum. Recusantes et cetera. Quibus Iohanni et Neri, presentibus, volentibus et confitentibus, precepi ego Landus notarius infrascriptus guarentigiam et cetera.

Cited in BNCF, Magl. Cod. 139, Classe XXVI, c- 16 [F. L. DEL MIGLIORE, Zibaldone]
MORENI, 1794,VI, 219

1371
ASF, Ancisa (AA), fol. 667v
[1327 Gaddo di Zanobi 101/15
1327 Taddeo di Gaddo di Zanobi 309/63]
1371 Giovanni di Taddeo Gaddi 125/76
LADIS, 1982, 253

1372, April 5
ASF, Arte dei Medici e Speziali, 9, fol. 60[6]
Iohannes Taddeo Gaddi pictor populi Sancti Petri maioris descriptus fecit presenti matricula per me Bartolomeo notaio supradicto quia promisit et se supposit dicte arte die quinto mense aprile anni domini MCCCCLVII indictione decima
Cited in FREY, 1885, 319

[5] The transcription of the present document was made by Laura Regnicoli.

[6] The name of Giovanni Gaddi also appears in Libro V, "E" relating to the years 1353-1386 on fol. 189 (FREY, 1885, 319) and in Libro VII, fol. 77 which is a fifteenth-century copy of the books of the previous century.

COLNAGHI, 192
HAINES, in *Riv. Arte,* XLI, 1989, s. IV, vol. V, 191

1375, December 6 - 1380, July

The tax levy due for the *Prestanze* is registered under the name of Giovanni Gaddi (also on behalf of his brothers).[7]

1376
BNCF, Magliabechiano, Cod. 142, Classe XXVI, fol. 257 [F. L. DEL MIGLIORE, Zibaldone]
BNCF, Poligrafo Gargani 885
Giovanni and Niccolò di Taddeo Gaddi, popolo di San Pier Maggiore, enter into a sale contract
Gabella E, fol. 3

1376, January 21
ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9573 (Ser Giovanni di Gino da Prato)
Giovanni, Niccolò, Agnolo and Francesco sell, also on behalf of their brother Zanobi, then in Venice, a piece of farmland for 120 gold fiorins.

1376
ASF, Carte dell'Ancisa, AA, 667v
The names of Giovanni Gaddi and his brothers Niccolò, Agnolo and Francesco are transcribed from a register of the Gabella dei Contratti, now lost, with the following pressmark:
D. 209, fol. 24 D. 326/11
COLE, 1977, 60.[8]

1380, September - 1382, December

The tax levy due for the Prestanze is registered in the name of Giovanni Gaddi (his brothers have separate levies).[9]

7 ASF, Prestanze, No. 261, fol. 153r (December 1375); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 266, fol. 153r (November 1375); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 270, fol. 197r (January 1376); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 275, fol. 83r (February 1376); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 279, fol. 151v (March 1376); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 287, fol. 151v (June 1376); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 303, fol. 92v (September 1376); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 308, fol. 150v (March 1377); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 310, fol. 150v (April 1377); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 335, fol. 150v (April 1378); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 345, fol. 83v (September 1378); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 351, fol. 132v (January 1379); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 361, fol. 150v (1379); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 397, fol. 42v (February 1380); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 410, fol. 43v (March 1380); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 420, fol. 248v (May 1380); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 436, fol. 35v (May 1380); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 454, fol. 35r (July 1380).
ASF, *ibid.*, No. 467, fol. 117r (September 1380).

8 See also BNCF, Poligrafo Gargani 885.

9 ASF, Prestanze, No. 467, fol. 117r (September 1380); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 485, fol. 29v (December 1380); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 501, fol. 138r (February 1381); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 523, fol. 29v, 117r (May 1381); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 551, fol. 28v (October 1381); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 568, fol. 29v (November 1381); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 559, fol. 29v (April 1382); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 614, fol. 29v (May 1382); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 630, fol. nn (July 1382); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 645, fol. nn (September 1382); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 651, fol. 68v (November 1382); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 664, fol. 37v (December 1382, but paid in February 1383)

1381
The name of Giovanni Gaddi appears in the list of Florentine citizens eligible to hold public office.
Squittino dell'anno 1381 *cavato da copia autentica degli Squittini Tomo I a* 283 *delle Riformaggioni …[A] Iohannes Taddei Gaddi Pictor* 98
Delizie, XVI, 1783, 233

1383
Presumed year of Giovanni Gaddi's death
MILANESI, in VASARI, I, 1878, 353.

1383, February - 1387, August

The name of Giovanni Gaddi appears in the registers of the *Prestanze* but payment does not seem to have been made.[10]

1383, June 14
ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9575 (Ser Giovanni di Gino da Prato, 1381-1384)
fols. 137r-v
[in the margin] *Testamentum domine Francische olim Taddei Gaddi*

Item eodem anno [millesimo trecentesimo octuagesimo tertio], indictione [sexta] et die [quartadecima mensis iunii]. Actum Florentie in populo Sancte Marie in Campo, presentibus testibus ad hec vocatis et rogatis ab infrascripta testatrice Guido Ghetti, Laurentio Simonis, Arrigho Agnoli, Francischo Cresci, Iohanne Guccii, Iuliano Iacobi et Christofano Andree, omnibus populi Sancte Marie in Campo de Florentia, et aliis.

Domina Francischa vidua uxor olim Taddei Gaddi populi Sancti Petri Maioris de Florentia et filia olim Albiçi Ormanni, sana mente, corpore et intellectu per Dei gratiam, considerans quod nicchil (sic) certius morte et nichil incertius hora mortis, volens providere saluti anime sue, dispositionem suorum bonorum per presens nuncupativum testamentum sine scriptis in hunc modum facere procuravit et fecit.

In primis recommendavit animam suam Deo omnipotenti et beate et beate (sic) Marie virgini et omnibus sanctis curie Paradisi. Et sepulturam suam elegit ad ecclesiam Sancte Crucis de Florentia.

Item reliquid operi ecclesie Sancte Reparate de Florentia soldos decem florinorum parvorum.

Item muris civitatis Florentie soldos decem florinorum parvorum.

Item reliquid amore Dei hospitali Sancte Marie de Bigallo unum lectum valoris florenorum viginti auri.

Item reliquid hospitali Sancte Marie Nove de Florentia pro uno lecto emendo in dicto hospitali florenos viginti.

Item reliquid et legavit quod eius heredes teneantur decem annis post mortem dicte testatricis facere fieri in ecclesia Sancte Crucis de Florentia unum officium ubi spendantur libras quactuor.

10 See ASF, Prestanze, No. 684, fol. 30v (February 1383); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 704, fol. 25v (May 1383); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 724, fol. 25v (September 1383); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 745, fol. nn (September 1383); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 765, fol. nn (March 1384); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 797, fol. 25r (May, 1384); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 817, fol. 26r (June 1364); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 838, fol. 23v (August 1384); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 858, fol. 25r (September 1384); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 878, fol. 49v (January 1385); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 896, fol. 25v (February 1385); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 939, fol. 25r (October 1385); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 959, fol. 25r (1385); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 976, fol. 24r (1386); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 997, fol. 25r (1386); ASF, *ibid.*, No. 1019, fol. 25v (1386).

Item reliquid et legavit sorori Niccholose eius sorori, moniali monasterii Montis Domini, florenos viginti quinque auri dandos et distribuendos per eam illis personis ubi ponitur sibi in secretum et voluit quod ipsa non teneatur reddere rationem de predictis alicui superiori.

Item reliquid et legavit amore Dei Margherite eius servitiali quod ipsa possit stare et habitare cum Francischo filio dicte testatricis et habere alimenta sibi necessaria, et in casu quo non staret cum dicto Francischo et vellet se maritare, tunc et in eo casu reliquid eidem amore Dei florenos auri triginta duos pro ea maritanda, et quando nubet et non aliter.

Item reliquid domine Filippe eius filie florenos viginti quinque.

Item reliquid domine Caterine filie Sandri eius nepti, quod quando esset vidua et viveret honeste, redditam et habitationem in domu dicte testatricis de Roballa.

Item reliquid et legavit Francisco filio suo legiptimo et naturali unam domum cum curia et pergola positam in populo Sancti Quirici de Roballa loco dicto al Casato, que domus solet habitari pro domino et non pro laboratore, quibus: a I Angeli Taddei, a II domine Nastasie uxoris olim Bonannis, a III et IIII dicte testatricis; cum masseritiis que essent ibidem tempore mortis dicte testatricis.

Item dicta testatrix, considerans quod dictus Francischus eius filius donavit eidem testatrici florenos auri trecentos super poderi de Ruballa (sic), carta manu publici notarii, et quod ipsa non debet esse ingrata, ideoque dicta testatrix reliquid et perlegavit eidem florenos auri trecentos et, ultra dictos trecentos, reliquid eidem florenos centum auri.

Item reliquid et [fol. 137v] legavit Çenobio eius filio florenos sexaginta auri iure restitutionis et, ultra predicta, reliquid eidem florenos quinquaginta.

Item reliquid et legavit Lise filie Niccholai filii dicte testatrici eius nepti medietatem pro indiviso unius domus posite Florentie in populo Sancti Petri Maioris loco dicto in via Sancta Maria: a I via, a II Agnoli Taddei, a III Çenobii Taddei, a IIII heredum Stefani vocati Cinque; in qua domu habitat ad presens dicta testatrix.

Item in omnibus et singulis aliis suis bonis, mobilibus et immobilibus, iuribus et actionibus, presentis et futuris, suos heredes universales fecit et esse voluit Iohannem, Niccholaum, Çenobium, Agnolum et Francischum filios suos legiptimos et naturales et filios olim domini Taddei.

Et hanc asseruit esse velle suam ultimam voluntatem, quam valere voluit iure testamenti, etcetera. Cassans, etcetera.

Quoted in BALDINUCCI, 1681 (ed Ranalli, 1845), I, 220.[11]

1389, October 29

Giovanni Gaddi already reported dead[12]

ASF, Tratte, Tre Maggiori, 596, fol. 124 (see also *ibid*., 596, fol. 148 [1391, 12 March] and *ibid*., 597, fol. 49, 29 [1395, 12 March].

1393, August 9

Prestanze of 1387 and 1390 paid by proxies on 9 August 1393.[13]

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[11] The transcription of this document was made by Laura Regnicoli.

[12] For an even earlier *terminus ante quem* for Giovanni Gaddi's death, see above n. 6.

[13] See ASF, Prestanze, No. 1041, fol. 25v (1387); ASF, *ibid*., No. 1254, fol. 25r (1390) (this latter has been published by Labriola, 1998, 172.

LIST OF PLATES

Pls. I[1-4]	Frescoes: Female Saints	FLORENCE, Santa Maria Novella, archivolt of arch between first and second bay
Pl. II[1]	Reconstruction of the Parma - Milan - Maastricht - Worcester - Gap polyptych	
Pl. II[2]	Compartment of polyptych: Madonna and Child enthroned	PARMA, Pinacoteca Giuseppe Stuard, Inv. No. 4
Pl. II[3]	Compartment of polyptych: Martyr Saint (Gervasius ?)	MILAN, Florence Taccani Antichità (formerly)
Pl. II[4]	Predella: St. Ambrose finding the bodies of Saints Gervasius and Protasius	GAP, Musée Departemental des Hautes-Alpes, Inv. No. 16
Pl.II[5]	Compartment of polyptych: Martyr Saint (Protasius?)	MAASTRICHT, Bonnefanten Museum, Inv. No. 3592
Pl. II[6]	Compartment of polyptych: Bishop Saint	WORCESTER: Worcester Art Museum, Inv. No. 1924.15
Pls. III[1-2]	Panels: Saint Eligius receiving from King Clotaire II the commission to make a golden throne and the necessary gold; Saint Eligius at work in his goldsmith's shop	MADRID, Museo Nacional del Prado, Inv. Nos. 2481-2482
Pl. III[3]	Panel: Funeral of Saint Eligius	MÜNICH, Paul Drey Collection (formerly)
Pl. IV	Panel: Crucifixion between the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist	FLORENCE, Art Market
Pl.V[1]	Panel: Crucifixion between the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist and two angels	FLORENCE, Gualtiero Volterra collection (formerly)
Pl.VI	Panel: Last Judgement, Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*) and Instruments of the Passion	BOLOGNA, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Inv. No. 308
Pl.VII	Panel: Madonna of Humility	PARIS, Galerie Pardo (formerly)

Pl. VIII	Portable triptych: Madonna and Child enthroned and Saints, Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion	MILAN, Brunati collection (formerly)
Pl. IX	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned, Saints and Angels, the blessing Redeemer	LONDON, C. N. Napper collection (formerly)
Pl. X	Tabernacle shutter (fragment): Crucifixion between the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene and two angels	WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN
Pls. XI[1-2]	Portable Cross painted on both sides	NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No. 27231 A-B
Pl. XII	Panel: Madonna of Mercy, Christ blessing and angels	FLORENCE, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 8562
Pl. XIII	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned between Saints Peter and Paul; Martyrdom of Saint Catherine, Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*), Martyrdom of Saint Agatha	FLORENCE, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 437
Pl. XIV	Panel (fragment): Saint Luke the Evangelist	MILAN, Pinacoteca di Brera (Vitali bequest)
PL XV	Panel: Madonna of Humility	VENICE, Art Market
Pl. XVI	Panel: Madonna of Humility	ST. PETERSBURG, Hermitage Museum, Inv. No. GE7485
PL. XVII[1]	Reconstruction of the Kreuzlingen - London - New York - Worcester polyptych	
Pl. XVII[2]	Panel: Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine	KREUZLINGEN (Switzerland), Kisters collection
Pl. XVII[3]	Predella: Disputation of Saint Catherine with the pagan philosophers	LONDON, Art Market
Pl. XVII[4]	Predella: Vision of Saint Catherine of Alexandria	NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman collection, Inv. No. 1975.1.62
Pl. XVII[5]	Predella: Martyrdom of Saint Catherine	WORCESTER, Worcester Art Museum, Inv. No. 1940.30

Pl. XVIII	Panel: The *Holy Face* and two angels	NEW YORK, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Belle and Jack Linsky collection, Inv. No. 1981.365.2
Pl. XIX	Panel: Annunciation	ROME, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Inv. No. 104
Pls. XX[1-2]	Panel: Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata, Nativity, Conversion of Saint Paul	FLORENCE, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 8565
Pls. XXI[1-2]	Panels (fragments): Pentecost	POZNAŃ, Muzeum Narodowe, Inv. Nos. Mo-546-547
Pl. XXII	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin and Saints	BERN, Kunstmuseum, Inv. No. 876
Pl. XXIII	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin between Saints and angels	MÜNSTER, Stadt-museum, Inv. No. 144829 (formerly)
Pl. XXIV	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin, Saints and angels, the blessing Redeemer between two seraphim	LOCKO PARK (Derbyshire), Drury Lowe collection (formerly)
Pl. XXV	Panel: Crucifixion and Saints	ENGLAND, private collection
PL. XXVI	Crucifixion	VENICE, Art Market
Pl. XXVII	Panel: Crucifixion betwen the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Evangelist and four angels	MILAN, private collection
Pl. XXVIII	Predella: Betrothal of the Virgin	CAMBRIDGE, Harvard University Fogg Museum of Art, Inv. No. 1959.130
Pl. XXIX[1]	Panel: Prophet	LONDON, Art Market
Pls. XXIX[2-4]	Panels: Prophets	PARIS, Wildenstein Galleries (in 1930)
Pl. XXX	MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA, Miniatures in an antiphonary and a gradual: Saint Peter in cathedra; Saint Peter liberated from prison	BALTIMORE Walters Art Gallery, Inv. No. W 153
Pl. XXXI	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned and Saints	RENNES, Musée des Beaux-Arts
Pl. XXXII[1]	Panel (fragment): Madonna and Child enthroned, Saints and angels	PARIS, Musée Marmottan

Pls. XXXII[2-3]	Panel (fragment): Risen Christ	ROME, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Inv. No. 114
Pls. XXXII[4-5]	Panel (fragment): Crucifixion between the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene and two angels	LONDON, Art Market
Pl. XXXIII	Tabernacle: Madonna and Child enthroned and Saints, Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion	MOSCOW, Puskin Museum, Inv. No. 230
Pl. XXXIV	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned, Saints and angels, Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*) between the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist	FRANKFURT AM MAIN, Hedwig Ullmann collection (formerly)
Pl. XXXV	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin, Saints and angels, Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*) between the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist	CAMBRIDGE, Harvard University Fogg Museum of Art, Inv. No. 1962.301
Pl. XXXVI	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin, Saints and angels	WINTERTHUR (Switzerland), Oskar Reinhart collection "am Römerholz"
Pl. XXXVII	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin, Saints and angels	LONGLEAT (Wiltshire), Collection of the 7th Marquess of Bath
Pl. XXXVIII	Panel: Saint Zenobius and a kneeling donor	FLORENCE, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Inv. No. 110
Pls. XXXIX[1-2]	Triptych: Madonna and Child enthroned, Pope Urban VI and two kneeling donors, flanked by Saints Peter Apostle, Michael Archangel, Benedict and Andrew, the blessing Redeemer and the Annunciation, Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*) between the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist	MONTESPERTOLI (Florence), Sant'Andrea
Pls. XL[1-2]	Panel: Annunciation	NEW YORK, Art Market
Pl. XLI	Panel: Annunciation	LONDON, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, Gambier-Parry collection, Inv. No. 118
Pl. XLII	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin, Saints and angels	FLORENCE, Galleria Moretti (formerly)
Pl. XLIII	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned with angels and Saints	NEW YORK, Art Market
Pl. XLIV	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin and four angels	NEW YORK, Art Market

Pl. XLV	Panel: Annunciation, Nativity, Pietà and two donors, Crucifixion	CAMBRIDGE, Harvard University Fogg Museum of Art, Inv. No. 1917.213
Pl. XLVI	Panel: Madonna and Child, half figure	MANCHESTER, City Art Gallery, Inv. No. 1959.29
Pl. XLVII	Panel: Madonna and Child	FLORENCE, Galleria Luigi Bellini (formerly)
Pl. XLVIII[1]	Reconstruction of the Ponce - Brussels - New York - Nantes - Florence polypthych	
Pl. XLVIII[2]	Compartment of polyptych: Madonna and Child	PONCE (Puerto Rico), Museo de Arte, Inv. No. 62-0256
Pl. XLVIII[3]	Compartment of polyptych: Saints Anthony Abbot and James Major	BRUSSELS, Van Gelder collection (formerly)
Pls. XLVIII[4-5]	Panel: Madonna e San Giovanni dolenti	NEW YORK, Art Market
Pl. XLVIII[6]	Predella: Man of Sorrows	NANTES, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. 196
Pl. XLVIII[6]	Predella :Virgin Annunciate	FLORENCE, Art Market
Pl. XLIX[1]	Reconstruction of the Königsberg - Berlin - New York polypthych	
Pl. XLIX[2]	Compartment of polyptych: Saints Bartholomew and Paul	KÖNIGSBERG, Stadt-Museum, Inv. No. 1536
Pl. XLIX[3]	Compartment of polyptych: Saints Lawrence and Catherine	BERLIN, Gemäldegalerie, Inv. No. 1088
Pls. XLIX[4-5]	Predella: Man of Sorrows between the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist	NEW YORK, Art Market
Pl. L	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned and Saints, the blessing Redeemer between the Angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin Annunciate	HAMPTON COURT, Royal Collections, Inv. No. 1219
Pl. LI	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned and Saints, Annunciation	LONDON, Art Market
Pl. LII	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned and Saints	FLORENCE, Gallerie Fiorentine (Marchi bequest)
Pls. LIII[1-4]	Panels: BERNARDO DADDI, Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints; MASTER OF THE VIRGIN OF MERCY, four Evangelists, two busts of Prophets, five heads of Angels, the busts of Saints Julian, John the Baptist, a Martyr Saint and Francis of Assisi and four heads of Angels	Private collection
Pl. LIV	Compartment of polyptych: Saints Gregory the Great and Bartholomew	VERONA, Museo di Castelvecchio, Inv. No. 788

Pl. LV	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin, Saints and angels	MILAN, Galleria Geri (formerly)
Pl. LVI	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin and angels	ZURICH, Kunsthaus, Inv. No. 1624
Pl. LVII	Panel: Nativity	FLORENCE, Villa La Pietra (New York University), Inv. Camera dei Genitori XLVIII.D.14
Pl. LVIII	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned, Saints and two angels	FLORENCE, Gallerie Fiorentine, Inv. Dep. No. 176

CATALOGUE[1]

[1] The list of works is in chronological order. The date suggested by the present author is added in square brackets after the introductory information for each work.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE
SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, NAVE

PLS. I[1-4]

FRESCOES
Bust of the Madonna at the apex of the arch, flanked (from left to right in the archivolt of the arch between the 1st and 2nd bays) *to the left* by Saint Martha,[1] Saint Cecilia and Saint Lucy, *to the right* by Saint Catherine, Saint Agnes and Saint Margaret.
[date: 1350-1355]

STATE
The frescoes were covered over with a coat of whitewash at an unspecified date together with those of the other archivolts of the church. This operation might have taken place at the time of the renovation of the interior of the church conducted by Giorgio Vasari between 1565 and 1572, or of the programme of restoration in 1861.[2] The decoration was recovered during a restoration conducted by Giuseppe Cassioli between 1963 and 1964 (a, b).
The pictorial surface is now much worn, no doubt in part due to the removal of the whitewashing, and is deprived of the artist's finishing touches and the gold decorations of the garments. In the figure of Saint Margaret all that remains of the cross that the Saint holds in her right hand is the imprint of the leaf metal with which it was executed. Minor scattered colour losses over the surface have been retouched.

HISTORY
The vaults of the first two bays adjacent to the entrance wall were constructed immediately after the completion of the façade in c. 1350.[3] The work was conducted under the direction of the architect Jacopo Talenti da Nipozzano, while the *Operarius* of the building yard was Fra Jacopo Passavanti, to whom the sources attribute a significant role in the completion of the building which he *magnificavit et decoravit in multis scilicet testudinibus et picturis*.[4] The decoration of the archivolts was presumably undertaken immediately after the completion of the building work, since in this way the painters could use the scaffolds already erected for the construction of the vaults.

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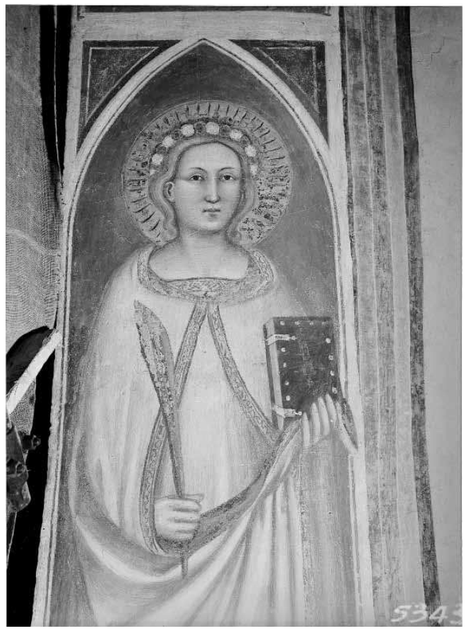
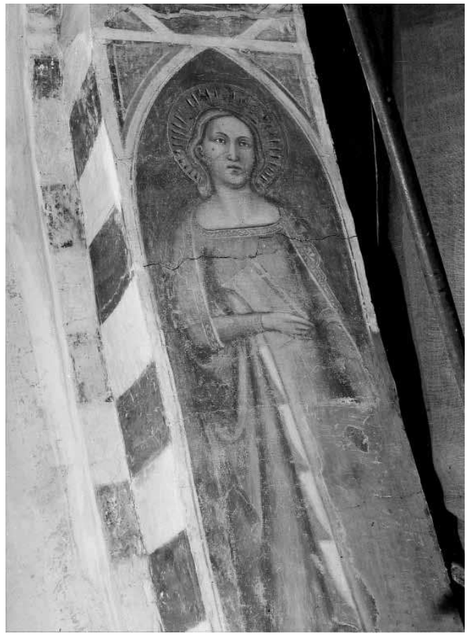
1 In contrast to Margaret, St. Martha's head is veiled, like a nun or a widow, and holds a *tarrasque* on a leash; this is the monster which, according to the legend, she tamed and after which the town of Tarascon is named; according to the description of Jacopo da Varazze, it had the head of a dragon and the body of a fish. Kaftal, 1952, cols. 681-682. A similar representation is found in the polyptych painted by Bernardo Daddi and Puccio di Simone, with the Crucifixion and Saints, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia (*Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 79-83).

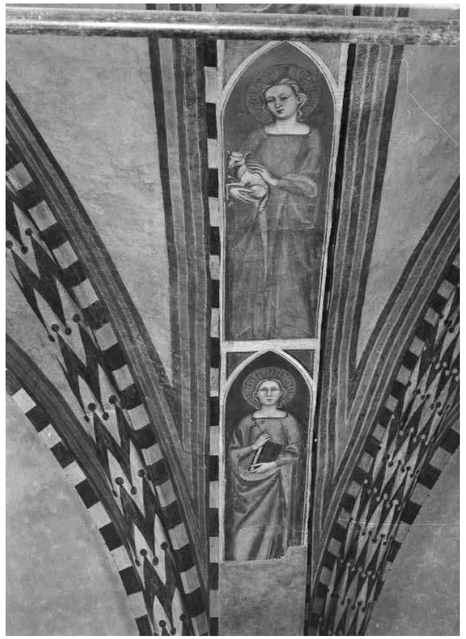
2 Boskovits, *Corpus*, III/IX, 1984, 132 considered that the whitewash, covering all the frescoed archivolts of the nave, could date back to the time of Vasari's intervention between 1565 and 1572. For a summary of the various restorations carried out on the church see Paatz, III, 1952, 667. For an account of the work carried out in 1861 see *Interno*, 1861.

3 *Necrologio*, 1955, 457. The date can be deduced from the fact that between 1350 and 1351 work was proceeding on the marble decoration of the three portals and the completion of the jambs, thanks to the financial contribution of Turino di Baldese.

4 The passage, taken from the *Necrologio di Santa Maria Novella* (Archivio del Convento), is published and commented on by in *Necrologio*, 1955, 454, 456-457. See also Villetti, in *Boll. Arch. Roma*, 28, 1981, 5-20. See in this volume 37-38. Jacopo Passavanti was responsible for the realization of many decorative enterprises between 1346, date of his taking up permanent residence at the Dominican convent, and 1357, the year of his death, including the *Stories of the Virgin* frescoed by Andrea Orcagna in the *cappella maggiore*, under the patronage of the Tornaquinci family, to which Fra Jacopo was himself related through his mother (*Necrologio*, 1955, 451, 454, 456-463; Kreytenberg, 2000, 71-78).







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1963 (a) PROSEGUONO IN SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, in LA NAZIONE, 28 October
di mano di artisti che non è forse possibile individuare esattamente, ma che gli esperti hanno indicato come Nardo di Cione e Niccolò di Tommaso (referring to all the arches without any distinction)

1964 (b) VITALI, in LA NAZIONE, 27 February
Terminato il restauro della navata centrale … gli affreschi… attr. nella maggior parte ai fratelli Orcagna e alla loro scuola, alcuni a Niccolò di Tommaso

1972 CONTI, in ANNALI PISA, Ser. III, II/I, 250
Pittori del tempo di Niccolò di Tommaso

1984 BOSKOVITS, CORPUS, III/IX, 188 N. 3
From about the mid-century… the series of female Saints is probably by the Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia[5]

PHOTOGRAPHS

Archivio del Comune, Florence, Nos. 5331, 5333, 5334, 5336, 5339, 5341, 5342, 5343, 5344, 5382.

[5] Boskovits (*ibid.*) also thinks that the series with the Hierarchies of Angels is "very close to (and probably by) Orcagna", whereas that with figures of male Saints could have been painted by Giovanni Bonsi. The *Hierachies of Angels* are also cited as the work of Niccolò di Tommaso by Fremantle, 1975, figs. 349-350 and Bruderer Eichberg, 1998, 190, figs. 36, 36a-b.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PARMA - MILAN - MAASTRICHT - WORCESTER - GAP POLYPTHYCH

PL. II[3]

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

PARMA
CONGREGATION OF SAINT PHILIP NERI
PINACOTECA GIUSEPPE STUARD - *Inv. No.* 4 PL. II[2]

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned;[1] 1.21 x .53 m.
[date: 1350-1355]

STATE
The painting was restored on the occasion of the exhibition in Parma in 1948 (g). In earlier photographs the panel still presents the appearance it had at the time it belonged to the collection of the marchese Alfonso Tacoli Canacci.[2] During this restoration the apex of the gabled top of the panel, previously truncated, was reintegrated, the stucco frame removed and the pictorial surface lightly cleaned (g). The pictorial surface was damaged by the joint between the right-hand and central planks of the support; other colour losses, integrated with retouches which have since darkened, could be noted in the cloth of honour, in the torso of the Child and in the Virgin's right hand; smaller losses, they too integrated, were visible in Mary's mantle and in the gold ground. The panel was subjected to a further restoration between 1998 and 2000 (i, l), when the wooden integration of the gable was removed and the flaked pigment along the crack between the planks retouched.

INSCRIPTIONS
On a label glued to the rear of the panel (g, h):
N. 17 *Giovanni Cimabue Fiorentino Discepolo dei Pittori Greci nato nel* 1240, *e morto nel* 1302.

HISTORY
The painting formed part of the group of works acquired in Tuscany by the marchese Alfonso Tacoli Canacci (Mirandola 1726 - Florence 1801),[3] and is cited in the successive manuscript inventories of his collection: those of 1789 (a, m), 1790-1792 (b, m) and 1792 (c, m), whereas it is not mentioned in the printed inventory of 1796.[4] The work might have been acquired in the period between 1792 and 1796 by the duke of Parma, Ferdinando di Borbone, into whose collection it passed, but it was then returned to the art market following the collector's death in 1802 (e, g). It was then probably acquired by Giuseppe Stuard (1790-1834),[5] by whom it was bequeathed in his will to the Congregation of St. Philip Neri together with other works from the same collection (d, g).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1789 (a) TACOLI CANACCI, MS. II/574 in MRB, No. 6
Quadro rappresentante la Madonna col Bambino, il quale tiene tra le mani un uccellino; figure di grandezza poco meno del naturale. – Tavola – B. 1 – *B.* 2/3 *– di anonimo*

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1 On the motif of the Christ Child who fondles the Madonna's face with his right hand, while stretching out the other to the little bird she holds out to him, see Shorr, 1954, 117-119.
2 The stucco frame, visible in photographs predating the restoration (Florence, Sansoni, No. 24170), is the same as that recognizable in other paintings in the Tacoli Canacci collection, e.g. the polyptych of Bernardo Daddi divided between the Galleria Nazionale in Parma, a private collection in Italy and formerly in the D'Atri collection in Paris (Offner, *Corpus*, III/IV, 2nd ed., 1991, 425-437, pls. LVII, LVII[1-4]).
3 On the collection of Tuscan paintings assembled by the marchese Alfonso Tacoli Canacci see Talignani, in *Parma nell'arte*, 1986, 31-42. A detailed reconstruction of the biography and collection of the marchese Tacoli Canacci can be found in Buonocore, in *Arte Cristiana*, XC, 2002, 423-428 and Buonocore, 2005.
4 Bocalosi, 1796.
5 On Giuseppe Stuard and his collection see Barocelli, 1996, 11-21.

– *di Cimabue – circa il* 1240

1790-1792[6] TACOLI CANACCI, MS. 105 in ASBAADP, No. 17[7]

(b) *Quadro rappresentante la Madonna con un uccellino sopra un dito della mano destra, e col Bambino sopra il braccio sinistro, figura quasi intiera in grandezza poco meno del naturale sopra a fondo d'oro. B.* 2-*B.* 1 – *Di Giovanni Cimabue – Dei Greci –* 1240-1330 – 3

1792 (c) TACOLI CANACCI, MS. 101 in ASP, No. 17[6]
Quadro rappresentante la Madonna con un uccellino sopra un dito della mano destra, e col Bambino sopra il braccio sinistro, figura quasi intiera in grandezza poco meno del naturale sopra a fondo d'oro. B. 2-*B.* 1 – *Di Giovanni Cimabue*

1832-1834 MOLOSSI, 281
Cimabue

1834 BORGHESI, MS. in ACSFNP, n. 82

(d) *Antica scuola fiorentina*

1847 GRAZIOLI, 98
Cimabue

1850 PARMA COLL. CAT., fol. 13v (1859, s.n.; 1891, No. 92; 1910, No. 26; 1913, No. 177)
Antica scuola fiorentina

1926a (e) COPERTINI, 18, pl. 2
Scuola giottesca XIV secolo… somiglianza d'ispirazione fra questa tavola e quella d'Orsanmichele[8]*… la Madonna di Bernardo Daddi, esistente nella chiesa di San Giorgio a Ruballa presso Firenze*[9]*… con questa parmense ha somiglianze stilistiche tutt'altro che trascurabili… attribuzione a Cimabue dovuta a un cartellino del Settecento incollato sul rovescio della tavola…*

1926b COPERTINI, in AUREA PARMA, X, Nos. 3, 125-126, 133
Scuola giottesca, probabilmente Bernardo Daddi… Nei vecchi cataloghi della Congregazione l'opera era attribuita a Giotto… La rigidezza dell'atteggiamento della Vergine, l'esilità delle forme, e la mancanza di un vigoroso rilievo fanno pensare… al 'rigidetto'
Bernardo Daddi

1926c COPERTINI, in ALMANACCO, 193
Bernardo Daddi

1927a COPERTINI, in LE VIE D'ITALIA, XXXIII, 145-146
Madonna di scuola giottesca attribuita a Bernardo Daddi. Other information on the Tacoli Canacci collection

1927b COPERTINI, 7
Bernardo Daddi

1934 OFFNER, CORPUS III/IV, 163 (2nd ed., 1991, 459)
Close Following of Daddi replicating Bernardo Daddi's *Madonna and Child* in the Bernard Berenson collection,[10] as too does the now homeless *Madonna and Child* formerly in the Bellini collection in Florence (see below pl. XLVII)

1934 [SERRA], 119
Maniera di Bernardo Daddi… presenta strette relazioni con… [il] *polittico dell'oratorio di San Pietro a Petrognano, più povero e provinciale*[11]
e con una Madonna di Maestro diverso, più vicino al Daddi… nella chiesa di San Pietro a Lecore[12]

1935 BERTARELLI, 226
Bernardo Daddi

1939 QUINTAVALLE, 162
Undoubtedly by the same hand as compartments Nos. 427 and 433 in the Galleria Nazionale at Parma,[13] attributed to Puccio di Simone by Roberto Longhi (oral communication), of which it might be the central compartment

1948 (f) QUINTAVALLE, 27
Puccio di Simone… Liberato dagli stucchi settecenteschi e lievemente pulito… Roberto Longhi… in un primo tempo lo credeva al centro dei due scomparti della Galleria Nazionale di Parma. On this occasion Longhi proposed instead, as the centrepiece of the polyptych, a Coronation of the Virgin (Laurati sale 1929) *ove lo acquistò per un Orcagna il conte Spada*[14]

1954 SHORR, 119 N. 9
Follower of Bernardo Daddi. The composition replicates Bernardo Daddi's *Madonna and Child* in the Berenson Collection (Villa I Tatti, Florence)

1957 TCI, EMILIA E ROMAGNA, 317
Maniera di Bernardo Daddi

1958 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/VIII, 188 n. 5, 203
Orcagnesque Master of the Virgin of Mercy in the Florentine Accademy

1959 LONGHI, in PARAGONE, X, No. 111, 10, pl. 10 (1974, 99, pl. 115a)
Puccio di Simone. Perhaps slightly later than the *Madonna and Child* formerly in the Bellini collection in Florence (pl. XLVII in this volume); both have as their model Bernardo Daddi's *Madonna and Child* in the Bernard Berenson collection at I Tatti

1961 PARMA COLL. CAT., 17, 21

(g) *Bernardo Daddi*

1961 PODESTÀ, in EMPORIUM, LXVII, 802, 191
Bernardo Daddi

1965 GHIDIGLIA QUINTAVALLE, 9-10
Puccio di Simone

1967 RONCORONI, in GAZZETTA DI PARMA, 26 May, 3
Bernardo Daddi

1967 KLESSE, 391 No. 365 b
Orcagnesker Meister… 3 Viertel des 14. *Jahrhunderts.* The decorative motif of the cloth of honour recurs in the *Madonna and Child with Saints* from the bottega of Jacopo di Cione in the National Gallery of London (Inv. No. 569)[15]

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, LXXI, 74-75
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia… a mio avviso le tre tavole (pls. II[3], II[5-6] in this volume) *sono certamente i laterali superstiti dei quattro che, in origine, fiancheggiavano la Madonna della Pinacoteca Stuard di Parma; visto che il pannello già Lanz, mostra, in basso a sinistra, l'angolo destro del tappeto disteso ai piedi della Vergine nella tempera parmense (il cui battesimo in favore di Puccio di Simone, avanzato da R. Longhi, non ci trova consenzienti).*

1971 GAMBARA - PELLEGRI - DE GRAZIA, 551
Bernardo Daddi

1975 BOSKOVITS, 62-63, 215 n. 74, 366, 371, pl. 69b
Maestro della Misericordia… 1360-1365… nonostante la potenza e l'autonomia mentale della realizzazione dovrebbe risalire a una data relativamente precoce. La robusta e bionda Vergine e il suo Bambino, uniti dal guscio comune del mantello scuro, formano un gruppo saldamente equilibrato che è una versione liberamente trasformata di

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6 This catalogue, undated, is generally considered a copy of the previous one. See Buonocore, 2005, 71.

7 The transcription of the manuscript is published by Buonocore, 2005, 210 (m).

8 The reference is to the *Madonna and Child with angels* by Bernardo Daddi incorporated in the marble tabernacle of Andrea Orcagna in Orsanmichele. See Offner, *Corpus*, III/III, 2nd ed., 1989, 312-323; Bertani-Vervat, 2000.

9 The *Madonna and Child enthroned between St. Mattheu, St. George and four angels* in the church of San Giorgio a Ruballa at Osteria Nuova (Bagno a Ripoli, Florence), formerly attributed to the circle of Bernardo Daddi (Sinibaldi-Brunetti, 1943, 457) or to an anonymous master influenced by Daddi and by Maso di Banco, baptized by Roberto Longhi "Maestro di San Giorgio a Ruballa" (Longhi, in *Proporzioni*, II, 1948, 53), later was referred to Maso himself by Boskovits (1975, 195-196) and Volpe (1979, in *Paragone*, XXX, Nos. 349/351, 33-34). Others scholars consider the painting as one of the first works in the catalogue of Andrea di Cione (Bellosi, in *Prospettiva*, 1984, Nos. 37, 89-90; Bartalini, in *Prospettiva*, No. 77, 1995, 24-26; Kreytenberg, 2000, 29-32), while Neri Lusanna (in *Maso di Banco*, 1998, 36) has reaffirmed the link with the bottega of Maso di Banco, accepting with question mark the identification of the painter with Andrea Orcagna.

10 Offner, *Corpus*, III/III, 2nd ed., 1989, pl. XIII.

11 Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 475-482, pl. LI. The polyptych was there attributed to the "Master of the Fabriano Altarpiece" now identified with Puccio di Simone.

12 Offner, *Corpus*, III/IV, 1934, 177-179, Add. pl. II (2nd ed., 1991, 18, 105-107, pl. XIIIa 109) attributed by Offner to a "Close Following of Daddi" and now generally given to the master himself.

13 See Parma, *Mus. Cat.* 1997, 46-47; Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 415-420.

14 See supra n. 13 and Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 412-414.

15 Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 35-47.

una nota composizione del Daddi.[9] Apart from the Saints formerly in the Taccani collection in Milan and Lanz collection at Amsterdam, and that in the Art Museum at Worcester (MA) (pls. II[3], II[5-6] in this volume), the polyptych to which the Pinacoteca Stuard Madonna belonged might also have included the predella panel in the museum at Gap (pl. II[4] in this volume)

1978 da MARETO, 62, fig. 80
Bernardo Daddi

1979 SHAPLEY, vol. I, 384
Puccio di Simone

1981 FARINELLI - MENDOGNI - GODI, 170
Bernardo Daddi

1981 OFFNER, 12
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1983 VOLPE, in STORIA ARTE, V, 281, n. 30
Maestro della Misericordia

1987 CIRILLO - GODI, 30-31, fig. 4
(h) *Maestro della Misericordia*. Compared with the *Madonna of Humility* presented for sale at Sotheby's in London in 1978 (pl. VII in this volume)

1988 BOSKOVITS, 134
Meister der Schutzmantelmadonna… whose earliest works, for example the Madonna No. 4 in the Pinacoteca Stuard at Parma, *sind im allgemeinen von daddesken Formeln beherrscht…*

1991 TCI, EMILIA ROMAGNA, (6th ed.), 497
attribuita a Bernardo Daddi o al Maestro della Misericordia

1994 SKAUG, I, 258; II, 8.1
Master of the Misericordia. Perhaps the punch used here is identical with that used by Agnolo Gaddi in the Borgo San Lorenzo polyptych, in the *Madonna of Humility* in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and in the *Annunciation* formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond[16]

1995 de JONG JANSSEN - van WEGEN, 88-89
Master of the Virgin of Mercy… 1360-1365

1996 BAROCELLI, 16, 24-25
Maestro della Misericordia… Confronto con la Madonna con il Bambino già nella Galleria Bellini di Firenze (pl. XLVII in this volume)*… parte centrale di un polittico… assai vicino e sul piano figurativo e su quello stilistico a quello qui analizzato*

1998 BAROCELLI, 12
(i) *Maestro della Misericordia*

2000 BAROCELLI, 12, 16-17, 23 n. 7
(l) *Maestro della Misericordia… L'opera di restauro è stata compiuta da Lucia Biondi di Firenze in collaborazione con l'Opificio delle Pietre Dure*

2005 BUONOCORE, 210, n. 349
(m) *Maestro della Misericordia*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Frick Art Reference Library, New York, No. 24170; Museum Photo.

[16] Boskovits, 1975, 296, 303; Fremantle, 1975, 270, fig. 549.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MILAN
FLORENCE TACCANI ANTICHITÀ (formerly) PL. II[3]

LEFT COMPARTMENT OF POLYPTYCH
Male Martyr Saint; .432 x .328 m.
[date: 1350-1355]

STATE
The panel, originally with a pointed arch, has been cut just above the Saint's halo and below at the level of the figure's hips. A photograph dating to the 1920s shows the pictorial surface darkened by grime and damaged by small scattered colour losses. In 1970 (c) the painting resurfaced on the art market, after undergoing light cleaning; during this restoration the scratches and flaked gold in the ground, especially close to the right margin, were in part reintegrated.

HISTORY
The painting was purchased at an auction in Rome by Edgar A. Mowrer (1892-1977) between 1921 and 1922 and followed him first to Berlin and then to Washington (D.C.).[1] In 1929 it was exhibited at the Art Institute in Chicago[2] and later, in 1969, at the Finch College Museum of Art, New York, as a work belonging to the collection of Richard H. Rush (a). Presented for sale in New York in 1970 (b, c), in 1971 it was with the dealer Florence Taccani in Milan (d, e) who showed it at the 7th Mostra Internazionale dell'Antiquariato in Florence.

Reports are also extant of the former presence of the painting in the Tezzani collection[3] and with the Ehrich Gallery in New York.[4]

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1932 BERENSON, in DEDALO, XII, 24 (1969, 137, fig. 235)
… può essere… di Lorenzo di Niccolò… (the same figure) *ritorna, con lievi modificazioni, nella figura di un giovane spettatore a braccia conserte, su una delle tavolette di una predella della raccolta Cambò a Barcellona* (pls. III[1-2] in this volume)

1965 MARCUCCI, 135
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, 6, LXXI, 74-75
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia… A mio avviso le tre tavole (pls. II[3], II[5-6] in this volume) *sono certamente i tre laterali superstiti dei quattro che, in origine, fiancheggiavano la Madonna della Pinacoteca Stuard di Parma* (pl. II[2] in this volume)

1969 NEW YORK EXH. CAT., No. 1
(a) *Italian, Tuscan School, Late XIVth Century… Lent from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Richard H. Rush, Washington, D.C… Former collection: Edgar Mowrer, Washington, D.C.*

1970 reproduction in BURL. MAG., CXII, lxiii

[1] Manuscript note by Richard Offner in the Corpus archive. We can assume the painting's owner was Edgard Ansel Mowrer 1892-1977), author, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, and European correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News* in the 1920s and 1930s; he is known to have lived in Rome between 1921 and 1922 (Mowrer, 1922). He later moved to Berlin.

[2] Corpus, Archive. Manuscript note of Richard Offner on the basis of a communication from the Art Institute of Chicago.

[3] Corpus, Archive. In this case too the information came to Richard Offner from the Art Institute of Chicago. It might refer to the owner of the painting prior to 1921-1922.

[4] Hand-written annotation on the back of the photograph in the Berenson Photo Archive (Florence, Biblioteca Berenson).

(b) *Master of the Virgin of Mercy… Parke Bernet Galleries… 22nd October…*

1970 NEW YORK, SALE CAT., PARKE-BERNET, 22 October, lot 1

(c) *Master of the Virgin of Mercy*

1971

(d) FLORENCE TACCANI (advertisement in) in BOLAFFI ARTE, II, 25, No. 17 *Giovanni Gaddi (?)… seconda metà del XIV secolo… Florence Taccani, via Santo Spirito 24 Milano…* 43.2 *x* 33 *VI Mostra Mercato Internazionale dell'Antiquariato*[5]

1975 BOSKOVITS, 63, 370, pl. 69/a

(e) *Maestro della Misericordia…* 1360-1365… *penso che lo Zeri abbia ragione indicando queste tempere* (pls. II[2-3]; II[5-6] in this volume)… *come elementi di un polittico disperso.* The predella compartment in the museum at Gap (pl. II[4] in this volume) perhaps also belongs to the same polyptych

1981 OFFNER, 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1987 CIRILLO - GODI, 30-31
Maestro della Misericordia

1995 de JONG-JANSSEN - van WEGEN, 88-89
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1996 BAROCELLI, 24-25 (1998, 12; 2000, 12)
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Photo Perotti, Milan, No. 515.

[5] The art fair in question was in fact the 7th Mostra Internazionale dell'Antiquariato in Florence.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

GAP (France)
MUSÉE DÉPARTEMENTAL DES HAUTES-ALPES - *Inv. No.* 16 PL. II[4]

PREDELLA COMPARTMENT
St. Ambrose finding the bodies of Saints Gervasius and Protasius;[1] .215 x .365 m.
[date: 1350-1355]

STATE
The painting, on a horizontally grained panel, has been cropped along the margins. Since on the left side the gilded surface continues beyond the punch-decorated frieze that delimits the scene, it may be presumed that the predella originally had a continuous surface, i.e. not separated by any framing elements. Photographs taken prior to the restoration conducted in 1984-1985 show the pictorial surface much darkened by grime and damaged by scratches, flaked pigment and small colour losses.[2] In the most recent restoration the pictorial surface was consolidated and cleaned, revealing slight uniform wear to the paint film. A large area of colour loss over the Saint's right arm was integrated with neutral colour, while the head of the monk at the centre of the back row was partially reconstructed. Small retouches are visible all over.

HISTORY
In 1858 the painting was in Rome in the collection of Giovan Pietro Campana (1808-1880)[3] (a). As part of this collection, it was acquired by Napoleon III in 1861 for the Musée Napoleon III (b), where it was displayed from 1st May 1862 with the No. 34 (c), and then ceded to the Louvre on 11 July of the same year. Given on loan to the museum in Gap in 1876 (d, e).[4]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1858 ROME COLL. CAT., cl. VIII, 5, No. 38[5]
(a) *Giotto (pittori contemporanei a) Dissotterramento di due Santi. Dall'alto San Pietro e San Paolo benedicono ad un Santo Vescovo*
1862 CORNU, 11, No. 38
(b) *Giotto (École de)*
1863 DELABORDE, in GAZ. B. ARTS, XIII, 495
Scène traitèe avec une simplicité touchante…
1865 REISET, No. 34
(c) *École de Giotto*
1867 CAHIER, I, 440 (illustration), 441
Saint Ambroise de Milan, retrouvant les corps des deux Saints frères Gervais et Protais (19 juin). Ce doit être le sujet d'un petit tableau (sous le n. 34) (sic) *du musée Napoléon III.*
1907 PERDRIZET - JEAN, 16, 52

[1] Kaftal, 1952, 27-28, fig. 28. See in this volume 00.
[2] Information kindly provided by the Direction des Musées de France.
[3] On the Campana collection, and especially in the events that led to its dispersal, see Borowitz, 1991 and Nadalini, in *Histoire de l'Art*, 21/22, 1993, 47-58.
[4] Napoleon III's acquisition of the Campana collection and subsequent foundation of the Musée Napoleon III were prompted by the French emperor's wish to establish a "museum of the industrial arts", of a type inaugurated by the English royal family with the South Kensington (later Victoria and Albert) Museum. The project, opposed by many, foundered: instead, the collection was transferred to the Louvre on 11 July 1862.
[5] This was the first printed catalogue of the well-known Campana collection. Nadalini (in *Histoire de l'Art*, 21/22, 1993, 57 n. 9) however reports the existence of a manuscript catalogue of 1856, preserved in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum in London (Report on the Campana Collection, September 1856), compiled on the occasion of an abortive attempt to sell the collection to the royal house of Great Britain. This catalogue in turn referred to an even earlier catalogue which is now lost.

(d) *Saint Ambrose découvrant les corps des saints Gervais et Protais. Gap,* 1876.
1952 KAFTAL, 28, fig. 28
Orcagna-Daddi tradition (oral communication by Richard Offner)
1956 AIMÈS, 7 No. 1
(e) *École italienne (Toscane)…* 14*me siècle. Dépot de l'Etat (16 mars* 1876*) I. G. n.* 16 *Bibl. Archives départ. Série* 2*T n.* 42
1975 BOSKOVITS, 368
Maestro della Misericordia… 1365-1370… *Miracolo di Sant'Agostino.* Perhaps part of the Parma-former Milan-Maastricht-Worcester polyptych.
1981 OFFNER, 10
Master of the Virgin of Mercy
1987 CIRILLO - GODI, 30
Maestro della Misericordia
1995 de JONG JANSSEN, 88-89
Master of the Virgin of Mercy
1996 BAROCELLI, 24
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Museum Photo.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MAASTRICHT
BONNEFANTENMUSEUM - *Inv. No.* 3592 pl. II[5]

RIGHT COMPARTMENT OF POLYPTYCH
Male Martyr Saint, .907 x .375 m.
[date: 1350-1355]

STATE
Photographs given to Richard Offner by Robert Langton Douglas show two different states of conservation.[1] In the earlier photograph the painting is truncated, as now, along its upper margin. A slight crack that crosses the right foot of the figure and reaches the hem of his mantle can be noted, while the pictorial surface appears damaged by wormholes and small colour losses. Small losses may also be noted in the gold ground, while the wooden strips along the edges originally covered by the frame seem repainted. Later Douglas had the painting restored; the colour losses were integrated, the decorative motifs in the hems of the Saint's garment were renovated and the upper corners of the panel, formerly covered by the frame, regilded.
The painting was once again restored in 1989 (d). The pictorial surface was cleaned, and the retouches added by the previous restoration were eliminated, while the modern regilding to the sides of the Saint's face was retained.

HISTORY
In the early years of the twentieth century the painting was in the collection of Robert Langton Douglas in London,[2] together with the compartment representing a *Bishop Saint* now in the Worcester Art Museum (c) (pl. II[6] in this volume), both with a provenance from the Havergal collection.[3] In 1922 the two compartments were sold by Douglas to the dealer Paul Cassirer (Berlin), who shared ownership of them with Julius Böhler (Munich) and Steinmeyer (Lucerne, The Lucerne Fine Art Co.) (N.4). In 1928 the compartment being discussed here was in the Otto Lanz collection at Amsterdam,[4] where it is recorded in 1932 (a). Following Lanz's death (1935) it was sold by his widow with the rest of his collection to Adolf Hitler (who acquired it for his proposed Führermuseum). Having entered Germany with the rest of the Lanz collection in 1941, it was restored to the Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit in 1945 and then placed on loan at the Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst (Inv. No. NK 1585) in The Hague. Then placed on temporary loan

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1 The two photographs in question remain in the archive of the Corpus of Florentine Painting. Their date can be deduced from the fact that the two states appear similar to those of the compartment in the museum at Worcester (MA) (pl. II[6]), whose collecting history coincided with that of the painting being discussed here until 1924 (see the corresponding entry in this volume).
2 On Robert Langton Douglas see Sutton, in *Apollo*, CIX, 1979, 248-315, 334-393, 412-475; CX, 1980, 2-55.
3 Richard Offner's notes in the Corpus archive, based on a verbal communication from Robert Langton Douglas. The Havergal family has not certainly been identified. Authoritative members of this family in the nineteenth century included William Henry Havergal (1793-1870), composer of church music, and his daughter Frances Ridley Havergal (1836-1879); their archive is still preserved at the University of Birmingham. In the early twentieth century the surname Havergal was adopted by William Brian Havergal (1876-1972), he too a composer, in honour of the composer of the previous century. The neo-romantic tastes of this latter and his predilection for sacred themes might suggest the identification with the collector in question. Cf. Randel, 1996, 107.
4 Handwritten annotation by Richard Offner on the back of the photograph in the Corpus archive. On the Otto Lanz collection see van Os, in *Bull. Rijks.*, XXVI, 1978, 147-174 and *Introduction*, in de Jong - Janssen, 1995, 11-13.

to the Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum in Utrecht (since 1979 Het Catharijneconvent), the panel has been in the Bonnenfantenmuseum in Maastricht since 1989 (d).

Exhibitions: Amsterdam, 1934 (b).

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1932 BERENSON, in DEDALO, XII, 1, 5-6 (1969, 129, fig. 216)
Niccolò di Piero Gerini (?)… *figura, accuratamente panneggiata e meticolosamente eseguita*

1932 BEENKEN, in ZEITSCHR. KUNSTGESCH., I, 312
(a) *Amsterdam, collezione Lanz*

1934 AMSTERDAM EXH. CAT., 92 No. 261
(b) *Allegretto Nuzzi… coll. Otto Lanz, Amsterdam*

1962 BOSKOVITS, in BULL. HONGROIS, 21, 29-30
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini ou son atelier… collection inconnue… attitude un peu maladroit et raide

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, LXXI, 75
(c) *Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia… Questa tavola e la precedente* (pl. II[6] in this volume) *provengono da uno stesso complesso, come indicano molti indizi… Dello stesso complesso anche il Santo martire frammentario già nella collezione Taccani a Milano* (pl. II[3] in this volume) *e la Madonna con il Bambino in trono della Pinacoteca Stuard a Parma* (pl. II[2] in this volume) *visto che il pannello già Lanz mostra, in basso a sinistra, l'angolo destro del tappeto disteso ai piedi della Vergine nella tempera parmense…*

1975 BOSKOVITS, 63, 366, fig. 69c
Maestro della Misericordia… 1360-1365… La fiera impassibilità di un giovane Santo già appartenente alla collezione Lanz di Amsterdam e di un Santo Vescovo nel Museo di Worcester rivelano una stretta affinità con gli umori della Madonna di Parma

1980 WRIGHT, 348
Allegretto Nuzi… The Hague Diest Verspreide Rijkskollekties… (formerly the Dienst voor's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen)

1981 OFFNER, 8, fig. 9
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1987 CIRILLO - GODI, 30
Maestro della Misericordia… ispirato ad un particolare del polittico del Daddi agli Uffizi… Inv. No. 8345)[5]

1992 THE HAGUE MUS. CAT., No. 36
Allegretto Nuzzi

1994 SKAUG, I, 258; II, 8.1
Master of the Misericordia. One of the punches is perhaps the same used by Agnolo Gaddi in the Borgo San Lorenzo polyptych, in the *Madonna of Humility* in Amsterdam and in the *Annunciation* formerly in the Cook collection in Richmond[6]

1995 van WEGEN, 179, 185, fig. 101
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1995 de JONG - JANSSEN - van WEGEN, 88-89, fig. 38, pl. 21
(d) *Master of the Virgin of Mercy… (Miniatus?) Between* 1360 *and* 1365. Report on the panel's condition

1996 BAROCELLI, 24 (1998, 12; 2000, 12)
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Museum Photo.

[5] Offner, *Corpus*, III/III, 2nd ed., 1989, pls. XIV[16].
[6] Boskovits, 1975, 296, 303; Fremantle, 1975, 270, fig. 549.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

WORCESTER (Massachusetts)
WORCESTER ART MUSEUM - *Inv. No.* 1924.15 PL. II[6]

RIGHT COMPARTMENT OF A POLYPTYCH
Bishop Saint; .945 x .407 m *with the frame*; .907 x .365 *without the frame*.
[date: 1350-1355]

STATE
Photographs presented by Robert Langton Douglas to Richard Offner in the early 1920s, document two different states.[1] The panel had been shorn of its gable, reduced to rectangular format and inserted in a modern frame; to the sides of the gable the wood had been coarsely repainted in a dark colour. The pictorial surface, altogether in good condition, seemed damaged by a few colour losses in the area of the Saint's beard and in his cope, while larger losses could be noted in the lower corners, both to left and right and in the gold ground in the upper left. After the restoration commissioned by Douglas, the repainting to the sides of the gable was eliminated and the corresponding surface regilded. The colour losses in the pictorial surface were integrated.

HISTORY
At the start of the twentieth century, the painting was in the collection of Robert Langton Douglas in London (b), together with the panel with a Martyr Saint now in Maastricht (see pl. II[5] in this volume), both with a provenance from the Havergal collection.[2] In 1922 the two panels were sold to the Lucerne Fine Art Co. of Paul Cassirer, Julius Böhler (Munich) and F. Steinmeyer (Lucerne).[2] After passing through the Reinhardt Galleries and then the John Levy Galleries in New York, the panel entered the Worcester Art Museum in 1924[3] (a, c).

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1924 (a) Quoted in BULL. WORCESTER, XV, No. 1, 21
Nuzi, Allegretto
1924 Quoted in ANN. REP. WORCESTER, XV, 32
Nuzi, Allegretto
1932 BERENSON, 239 (1936, 206; 1963, 216)
Between Orcagna and Agnolo Gaddi
1967 BOSKOVITS, in MITTEILUNGEN KIF, XIII, 41
Meister der orcagnesken Misericordia
1968 (b) ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, LXXI, 74-75
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia o Maestro di Sant'Eligio… Del medesimo complesso anche il Santo Martire già nella collezione Otto Lanz ad Amsterdam (pl. II[5] in this volume) *e il Santo Martire già nella collezione di Edgar A. Mowrer di Berlino* (pl. II[3] in this volume) *sono certamente i tre laterali superstiti dei quattro che, in origine, fiancheggiavano la 'Madonna' della Pinacoteca Stuard di Parma* (pl. II[2] in this volume)
1972 ZERI-FREDERICKSEN, 132, 392
Master of Orcagnesque Misericordia
1974 DAVIES, in WORCESTER MUS. CAT., I, 354-356; II, 618.

[1] The collecting history, and the condition of the panel down to c. 1922, coincides with that now in Maastricht (pl. II[3]). See in this volume oo.
[2] Manuscript note of Richard Offner in the archive of the Corpus, based on an oral communication from Robert Langton Douglas. See in this volume oo N.[3].
[3] Manuscript note of Richard Offner in the Corpus archive, based on a communication from the Worcester Art Museum.

(c) *Florentine School… good condition… Almost certainly cut somewhat at the bottom, and probably also at the left… there are obscure indications in a radiograph that the top was originally pointed; what seem to be indications of the arch start about 4 ¼ inches from the present top, and cross the present top 2 inches in at the left, 3 ½ inches in at right*
The same scholar reported the manuscript opinion of E. Sandberg Vavalà (letter to the Museum), who attributed the painting to a Florentine painter in the period around 1360, close to the Master of the San Niccolò Altarpiece.[4]

1975 BOSKOVITS, 63, 103, 372, fig. 69/d
Maestro della Misericordia… 1360-1365… *stretta affinità con gli umori della Madonna di Parma… Forse apparteneva allo stesso complesso lo scomparto di predella raffigurante un Miracolo di Sant'Agostino del museo di Gap* (pl. II[4] in this volume).
1981 OFFNER, 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy
1987 CIRILLO - GODI, 30
Maestro della Misericordia…
1995 de JONG-JANSSEN - van WEGEN, 89
Master of the Virgin of Mercy… 1360-1365
1996 BAROCELLI, 24 (1996, 12; 2000, 12)
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Museum Photo.

[4] On this anonymous artist, see Offner, in *Burl. Mag.*, LXIII, 1933, 84; Boskovits, 1975, 211-212 n. 55; Tartuferi, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 136-139 and, more recently, Parenti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2005c, 27-29, 58-59 and Pasquinucci, *ibid.*, 33-34.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MADRID
MUSEO NACIONAL DEL PRADO - *Inv. Nos.* 2481-2482 PLS. III[1-2]

PANELS
Saint Eligius before King Clotaire II and Saint Eligius in his Goldsmith's Workshop;[1] each .355 x .44 m.
[date: 1355-1360]

STATE
The two compartments, fragments of a single-plank, horizontally grained predella panel, have been cropped along the sides. The rear of the supports has been thinned and cradled. The pictorial surface is slightly worn and reveals small retouches here and there, especially along the margins.

HISTORY
The two compartments are recorded for the first time in the Giuseppe Toscanelli collection at Pontedera, and together with it were offered for sale at an auction in Florence in 1883 (a). In 1888 they were acquired by Joseph Spiridon (Paris) (b). Sold with this collection in Berlin in 1929 (b), they passed in the same year, through the intermediary of the dealer Arnold Seligman (Paris) (c), into the Francisco de Asís Cambó collection (1876-1947) in Barcelona (d). They were bequeathed to the Museo del Prado in 1941 (e).

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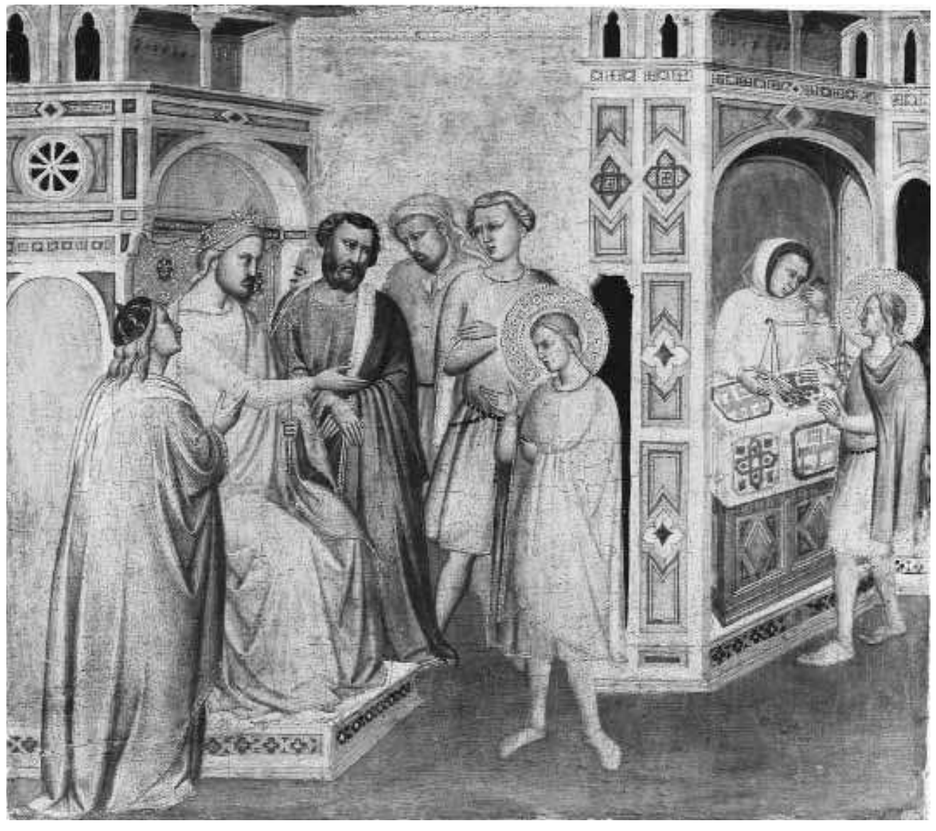
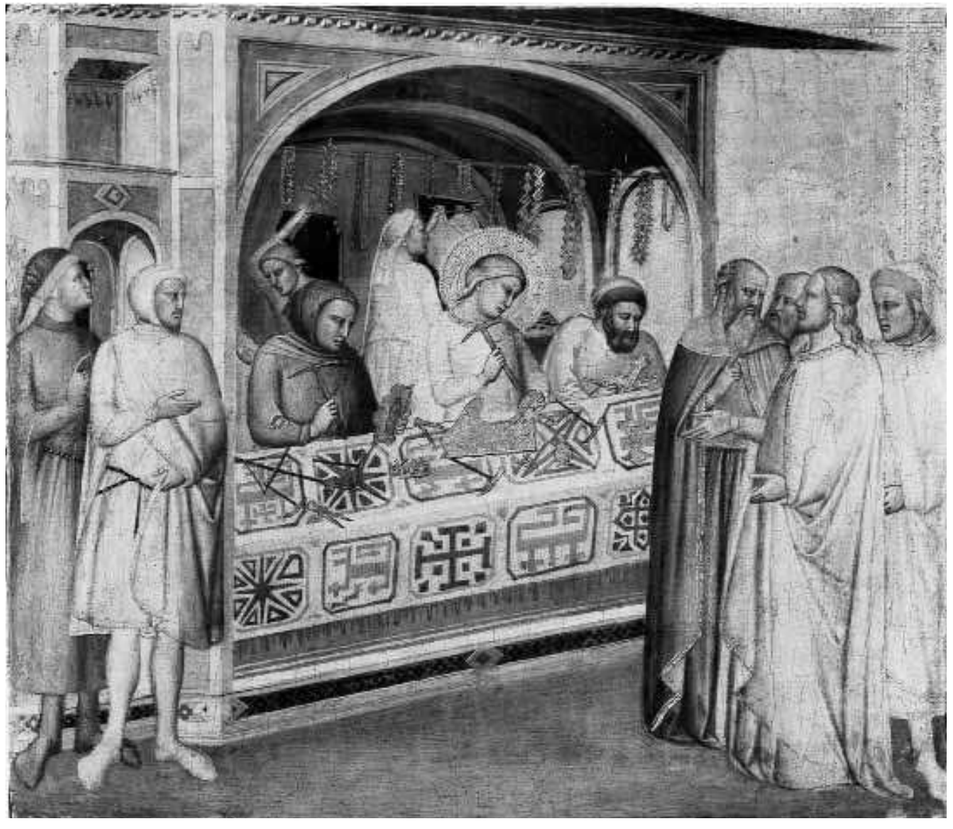
1883 MILANESI, Nos 13, 14
(a) *Taddeo Gaddi*… compares them with the frescoes in the Baroncelli Chapel
1905 REINACH, I, 548
Taddeo Gaddi
1908 SIRÉN, in MONATSH. KUNSTWISS. I, 1122
Agnolo Gaddi… Paris, Coll. Spiridon… aus der Toscanelli - Sammlung
1929 DUSSLER, in PANTHEON, III, 159, 162
Mit recht dem Kreis des Taddeo Gaddi zugeschrieben... Ende Mai… bei P. Cassirer, Berlin… Sammlung Spiridon aus Paris zur Auktion
1929 ERDMANN, in JAHRB. PREUSS. KUNSTS., L, 282
Taddeo Gaddi. Notes the oriental provenance of the motif of the carpet that covers the counter of the goldsmith's workshop and identifies its affinities with the carpet painted by Niccolò di Buonaccorso in the *Betrothal of the Virgin* in the National Gallery in London[2]
1929 FISCHEL, Nos 27, 28
(b) *Taddeo Gaddi… Die Bilder stehen im Stil des Taddeo Gaddi aus den Sakristeischränken von S. Croce in der Akademie von Florenz besonders nahe… die Herr Joseph Spiridon selbst aufgestellt hat*
1929 van MARLE, in DER CICERONE, XXI, 178-179, figs. 2-3
Taddeo Gaddi
1929 Versteigerungsergebnisse, in KUNSTCHR. UND KUNSTLIT., July, 44
(c) *Taddeo Gaddi… Sammlung Joseph Spiridon*. Acquired by Arnold Seligman, Paris.
1929 Carter, in BURL. MAG., LIV, lvi
Taddeo Gaddi
1929 SCHOTTMÜLLER, in ZEITSCHR. BILD. KUNST., LXIII, 23
Taddeo Gaddi… interessant… als

[1] Kaftal, 1952, 332-336; Weiner, in *Lex. Christl. Ikon.*, 6, 1974, ed. cons. 1994, 112-127. See also in this volume 00-00.
[2] Davies, 1988, 86-88, pl. 59.

PL. III[1]



PL. III[2]



Darstellung einer mittelalterlichen Goldschmiedewerkstatt…

1932 BERENSON, in DEDALO, XII, 23-26 (1969, 137)

(d) *Seguace di Lorenzo di Niccolò… Sant'Eligio e il re Dagoberto… non sembra di Lorenzo, ma piuttosto d'un pittore più vicino a Niccolò e Jacopo di Cione. L'altro episodio… ricorda tanto Pietro Nelli che non mi meraviglierebbe fosse proprio di lui…*

1934b SALVINI, in RIV. ARTE, XVI, 224-226
Maestro Vaticano… tracce geriniane

1936 SALVINI, 185
Maestro Vaticano

1942 SANCHEZ CANTON, in MADRID MUS. CAT., 816-817 (1949, 216-217; 1963, 230-231; 1972, 230-231; 1985, 233-234)
Taddeo Gaddi… Para el Dr. Offner, pueden ser obras del anónimo para Maestro della Misericordia, y para Berenson, de un secuaz de Lorenzo di Niccolò, próximo también a Jacopo di Cione

1942 SANCHEZ CANTON, in ARTE ESPAÑOL, XIV, 8-9
Taddeo Gaddi... R. Offner anotò en *1927 sobra la correspondiente carpeta de la magnifica Frick Library, de Nueva York, que estas tablas debieran clasificarse como obras de cierto "Maestro della Madonna della Misericordia"…*
… admiremos la belleza pura de los rostros, el plegar noble de las telas, la agrupación de los personajes, … y la calidad come de esmaltes translucides, de los colores.

1949 SANCHÉZ CANTÓN, 23, pls. CXXV-CXXVI
Taddeo Gaddi

1952 KAFTAL, 332, 336
Orcagna - Daddi tradition according to Richard Offner (oral communication)

1955 SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, 39-40, 125, Nos 3bis-2ter, figg.V-VI

(e) *Tadeo Gaddi… extraordinaria conservación*

1958 RÉAU, III-I, 425-426
Taddeo Gaddi

1961 MADRID MUS. CAT., 22
Tadeo Gaddi

1961 GAYA NUÑO, 33, figg. 1-2
Taddeo Gaddi

1964 NEGRI ARNOLDI, in BIBL. SANCTORUM, IV, 1073
Scuola fiorentina del secolo XIV

1965 CARLI - GUDIOL - SOUCHAL, 11, fig. 77
Taddeo Gaddi

1965 LONGHI, in MARCUCCI, 134
Maestro di Sant'Eligio[3]

1966 DONATI, 30
da riferire… a uno degli Orcagna, a Jacopo forse

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6, LXXI, 74-75
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia… a companion panel formerly in Münich, *coll. Drey* 1928 (pl. III[3] in this volume)

1975 BOSKOVITS, 369
Maestro della Misericordia… 1365-1370… Per un terzo elemento del complesso… Monaco, Coll. Drey (pl. III[3] in this volume)

1978 MILLS, in HALI, I-2, 243
Taddeo Gaddi. Notes the oriental derivation of the decorative motif of the carpet (stylized birds), recurrent in Florentine works of the early fifteenth century, but also found in the *Annunciation* (Inv. No. 104) in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pl. XIX in this volume)

1979 ROGELIO BUENDIA, 15, 80, pl. III
Taddeo Gaddi (scuola)… 1350-1380… per il formato e l'argomento queste tavolette debbono essere appartenute a una pala dedicata al patrono degli orefici

1979 ÍÑIGUEZ, 18-20, pl. I
Tadeo Gaddi… se ha atribuido al anónimo Maestro della Misericordia

1981 OFFNER, A Legacy, 11
Master of the Virgin of Mercy (Misericordia Master)… near to… Belongs to the same series as the compartment formerly in the Drey collection in Münich (pl. III[3] in this volume)

1985 MADRID MUS. CAT., 233-234
Tadeo Gaddi… Una tercera pieza de esta serie, con la "Funerales de San Eloy" se encuentra en la Colleciòn Drey, de Munich, atribuida allì a Tadeo Gaddi (pl. III[3] in this volume)

1986 LUCA DE TENA - MENA, 213
Taddeo Gaddi

1990 BELLOSI - FOLCHI, in MADRID EXH. CAT., 135-144
Maestro de la "Madonna de la Misericordia"… Para el planteamiento de las escenas, el punto de referencia son las historias laterales de la tabla de San Mateo en los Uffizi,[4] The dating *se podrìa incluso precisar en torno a* 1370 *o poco antes.*

1994 MADRID MUS.CAT., 221-223
Maestro della Madonna della Misericordia

1996a MADRID MUS.CAT., 206
Maestro de la Madonna della Misericordia… Una tercera pieza de esta serie, con los Funerales de san Eloy, se encuentra en la Colección Drey de Munich, attribuida… a Tadeo Gaddi (pl. III[3] in this volume)

1996b MADRID MUS.CAT., 446 nn. 1723-1724
Maestro de la Madonna della Misericordia

2000 ROGELIO BUENDÍA, 221-223
Maestro de la Madonna de la Misericordia… hacia 1370

PHOTOGRAPHS
Frick Art Reference Library, New York; Museum Photo.

[3] The name under which Longhi classified the works of the Master of the Misericordia.

[4] Offner - Steinweg, Corpus, IV/III, 1965, 20-26; Kreytenberg, 2000, 166-169.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MÜNICH (Germany)
PAUL DREY COLLECTION (formerly) PL. III[3]

PANEL
Funeral of Saint Eligius (a);[1] .343 x .394 m.[2]
[date: 1355-1360]

STATE
In a reproduction dating to the early years of the last century (a) the pictorial surface appeared darkened by grime but otherwise fairly well preserved, with some small scratches and colour losses, especially along the borders.

HISTORY
In 1928 the painting was in the Drey gallery in Munich (b). The report of its presence in New York (Ehrich Galleries) probably refers to a later period.[3]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1932 BERENSON, in DEDALO, XII, 21 (1969, 136, as *Funerali di Sant'Agostino*)
(a) Milieu of Niccolò Gerini… *Più aspro e più al livello di Niccolò, ma difficilmente di sua mano sebbene vicino a lui… perduto di vista da circa vent'anni*.
1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6, LXXI, 75
(b) *Maestro della Misericordia… Monaco di Baviera, già Drey* 1928… *della stessa serie degli scomparti di Madrid* (pls. III[1-2] in this volume)
1975 BOSKOVITS, 370
Maestro della Misericordia… 1365-1370… *dello stesso complesso…* as the predella compartments in the Museo del Prado (pls. III[1-2] in this volume).
1981 OFFNER, A Legacy, 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy (Misericordia Master)… companion to Madrid
1985 MADRID MUS. CAT., 234
Tadeo Gaddi
1996a MADRID MUS. CAT., 206
Tadeo Gaddi

PHOTOGRAPHS
Fondazione Federico Zeri, Bologna, Nos. 17031, 17032.

[1] For the identification of the protagonist of the scene in this painting see in this volume ∞ (chap. III).
[2] The measurements are here derived from the handwritten annotation on the back of the photograph in the photo archive of the Fondazione Federico Zeri (Bologna).
[3] Information derived from a handwritten annotation on the back of the photograph in the Fondazione Federico Zeri (Bologna), taken by A. E Sproul, New York.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE (formerly)
Art Market

PL. IV

PANEL
Christ on the cross between the mourning Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist; .65 x .342 m., *painted surface* .44 x .26 m.
[date: 1355-1360]

STATE
The painting is inserted in a modern (probably nineteenth-century) frame. The gold ground, though on the whole well preserved, is rubbed in some areas and the underlying bole is showing through. Damage from bruising can be noted close to the Virgin's halo and in that of Saint John. The pictorial surface is slightly abraded; retouches may especially be noted in the body and face of Jesus. Small colour losses are detectable along the lower margin of the panel and in the gold ground, especially close to St. John's halo.[1]

HISTORY
The painting was reported in the Galleria Frascione in Florence in 1967.[2] Auctioned in thr same city in 1987 (a), it later entered the collection of another Florentine dealer Carlo De Carlo, as part of which it was sold in Florence in 2000 (b). Its present whereabouts are unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

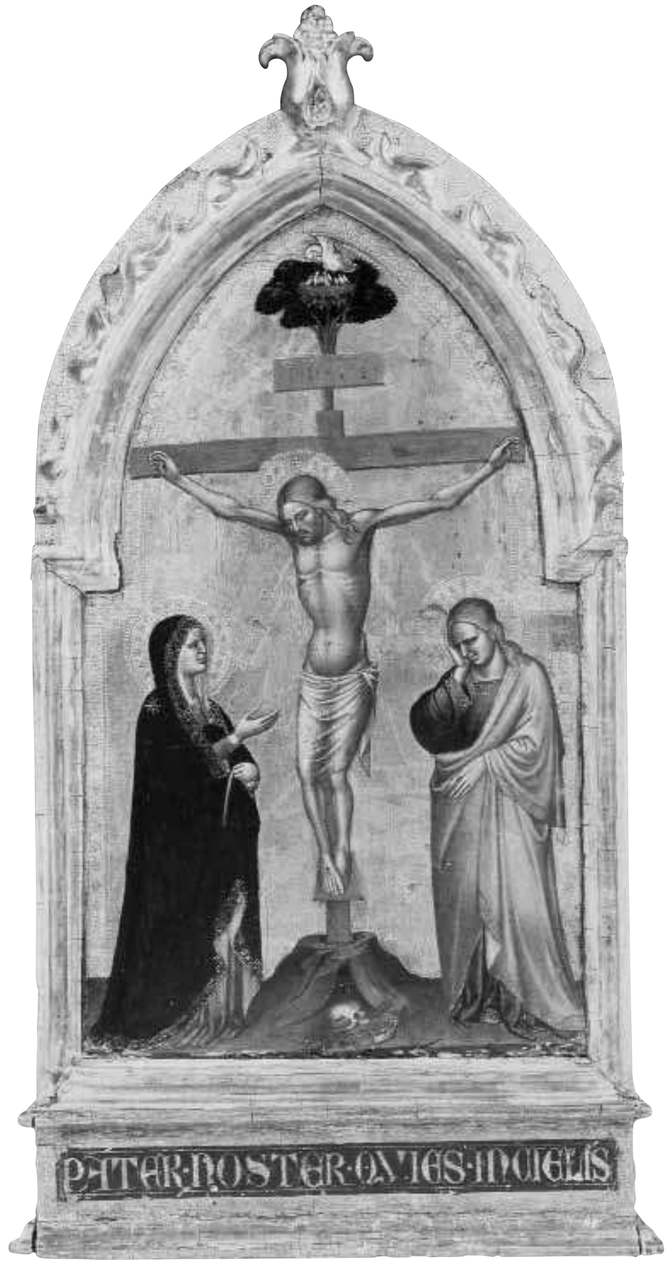
1987 FLORENCE, SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, May 18th, lot 676
(a) *Maestro della Misericordia… Venduto con una lettera del Professor Roberto Longhi che attribuisce la tavola al Maestro di Sant'Eligio, ora identificato come il Maestro della Misericordia*[3]
1996 TARTUFERI, in ANT. VIVA, XXXV, Nos. 4, 4, 7 n. 8
Maestro della Misericordia
2000 FLORENCE, SALE CAT., SEMENZATO, October 18th, lot 69
(b) *Maestro della Misericordia*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Bardazzi, Sesto Fiorentino; Semenzato, Venice.

[1] The punch used for the decoration of the borders of the panel seems to be that recognized by Frinta (I, 1998, 399, Jc10) in other Florentine works of the second half of the fourteenth century, including the paintings of the Master of the Misericordia in the museums of Bern (Inv. No. 876) (pl. XXII in this volume) and Cambridge (MA) (Inv. No. 1962.301) (pl. XXXV in this volume). The same punch was also recognizable in the *Crucifixion* formerly in the Voena gallery in Turin at the time the work was with the dealer Gualtiero Volterra (pl. V[1] in this volume).

[2] Information derived from the handwritten note on the back of the photograph in the Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi (Florence).

[3] The Maestro di Sant'Eligio is the provisional name with which Roberto Longhi (in Marcucci, 1965, 134-135) indicated the author of the same group of paintings classified by Richard Offner as works of the Master of the Virgin of Mercy (alias Master of the Misericordia). On Longhi's Master of St. Eligius see above 00-00)



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE
GUALTIERO VOLTERRA COLLECTION (formerly) PL.V

PANEL[1]
Christ Crucified between the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Evangelist and two angels;[2] .485 x .30 m.
[date: 1355-1360]

STATE
In a photo of the early 1920s the pictorial surface appeared darkened by grime and altered by small scattered retouches, but otherwise substantially intact. The early photographs also show the borders with punched decoration running along the margins of the panel; the punched motif in question has been deciphered and coincides with that recognizable in other works of the Master of the Misericordia.[3]

HISTORY
The painting was in the Wilkins collection in Florence.[4] It had been acquired from Gualtiero Volterra in 1922.[5]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1975 BOSKOVITS, 1975, 368, fig.220.
Maestro della Misericordia… 1365-1370
1981 OFFNER, A Legacy, 10, fig.12.
Master of the Virgin of Mercy
1995 TAMASSIA, 276
Maestro della Misericordia.
1999 BENATI, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 46
Maestro della Misericordia (Giovanni Gaddi?)

PHOTOGRAPHS
Reali, Florence (Negatives at the National Gallery of Art, Washington); Biblioteca Berenson, Florence; SSPMF, Fondo Jacquier, Florence, No. 56607.

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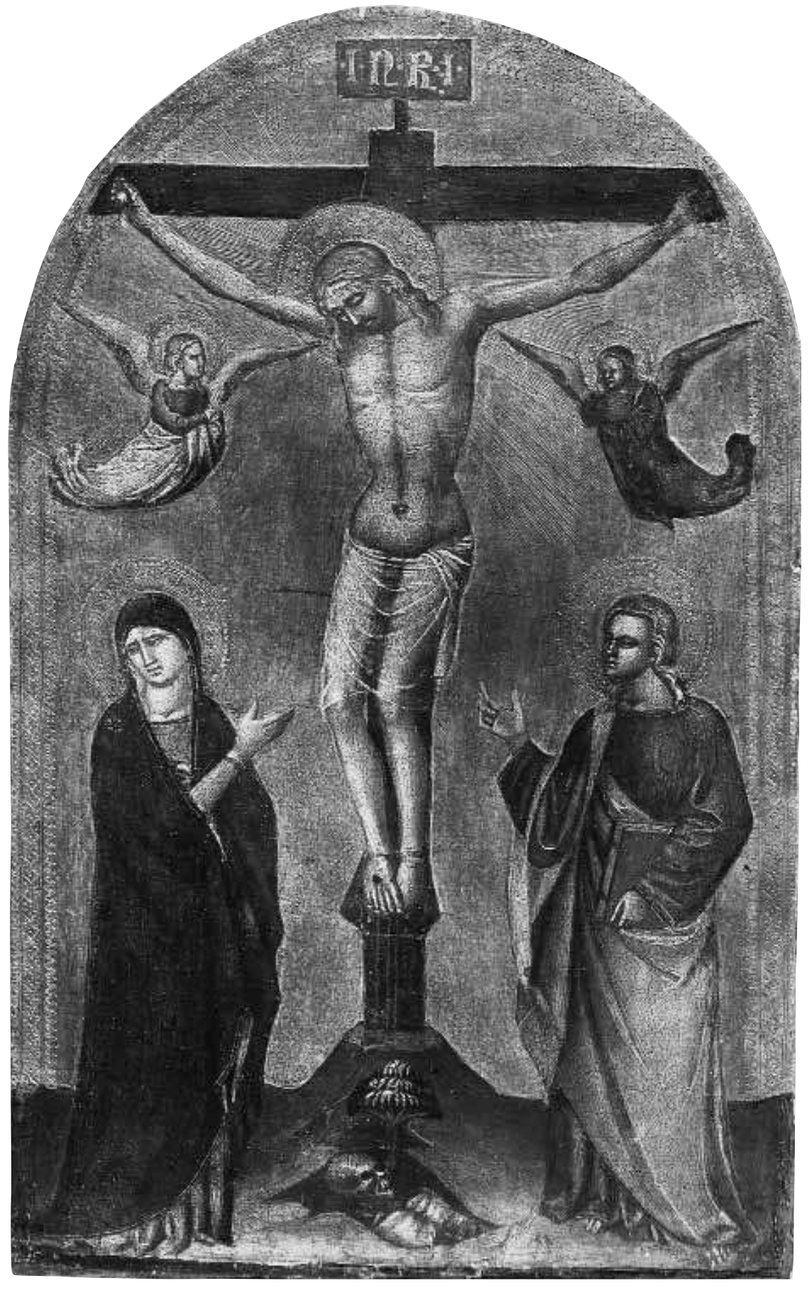
1 I am uncertain about the identity of this painting with that of similar composition which in 1985 belonged to a private collection in Turin (note on the reverse of the photograph with the Fondazione Zeri, Bologna), and in 1998 resurfaced in the Galleria Marco Voena in Milan (information kindly furnished by Andrea De Marchi). Although the measurements of the latter coincide with the painting formerly with Volterra, both the painted surface and the gold background looks modern and on the base of the photograph is impossible to accertain its autenticity. In conclusion I doubt that this panel is identical with the one discussed here after having suffered an unhappy restoration or is a modern imitation.

2 At the foot of the cross the motif of the skull of Adam, buried in a cavity on Golgotha, is presented with an unusual iconographic variant, showing not only Adam's skull as usual (Schiller, 2, 1968, 124-125), but also the upper part of his cadaver. The meaning of this motif is well expounded in a passage from Franco Sacchetti's *Sermoni Evangelici*, of much the same date as the painting being discussed here, in which the author observes that "quando vedi la croce col teschio a piede, è solo perché il legno della croce dove fu crocifisso il secondo Adam nacque sul teschio e sul corpo del primo Adam" (Sacchetti, 1857, XLII, 140). On the legend that the wood of the cross on which the second Adam was crucified grew out of "the skull and body of the first Adam" see also the *Leggenda della Vera Croce* (in Baert, 2004) and the *Leggenda Aurea* di Jacopo da Varazze (ed. 1995, 380-388).

3 Skaug, 1994, II, 8.1, N. 370; Frinta, 1998, 399, Jc10. See in this volume 00 n. 30 (Chap. 4)

4 Information derived from a handwritten note on the back of a photograph in the photo archive of the Biblioteca Berenson (Villa I Tatti), in the folder "Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation".

5 Corpus, Archive. Handwritten note by Richard Offner citing a verbal communication from Gualtiero Volterra.



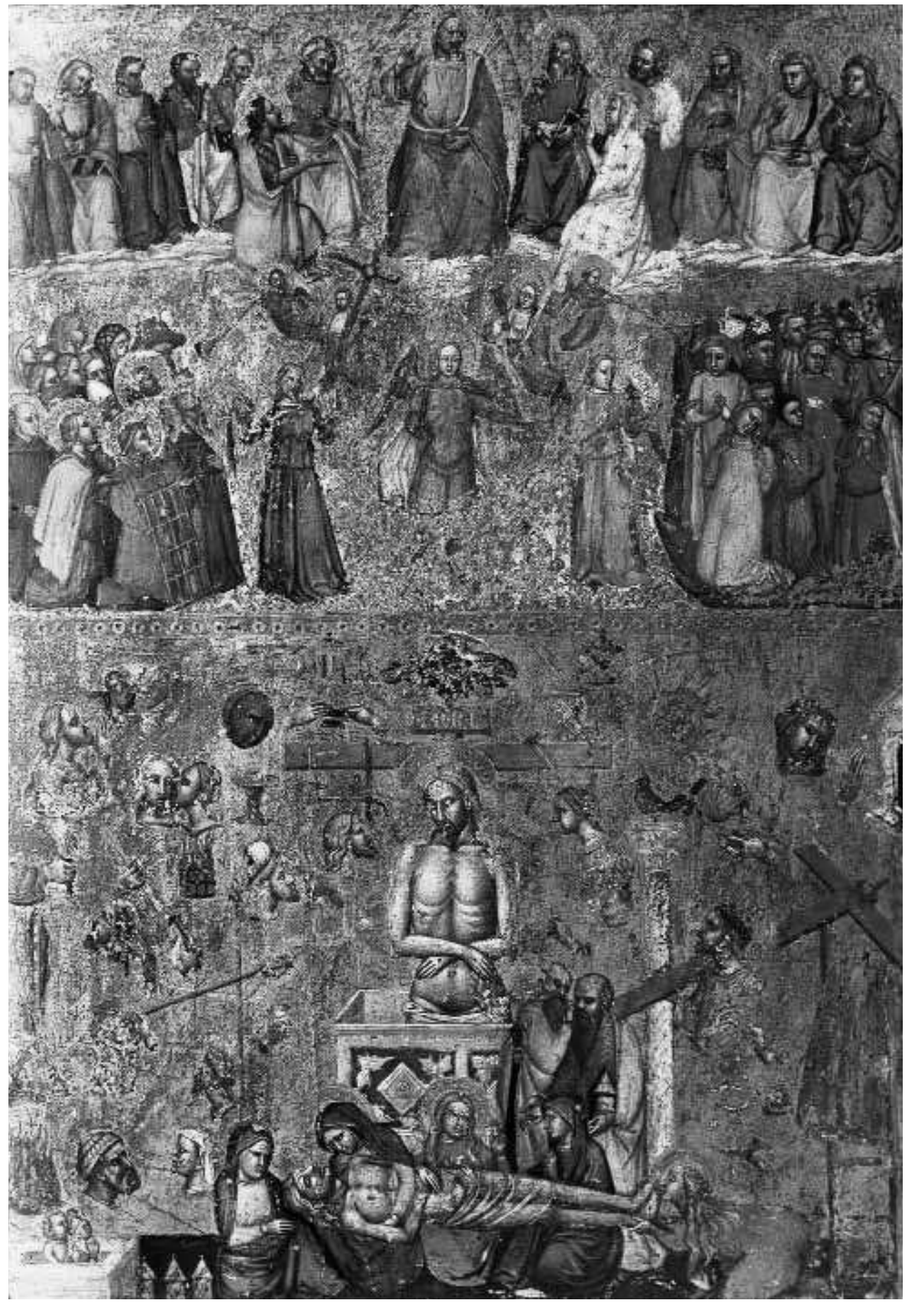
MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

BOLOGNA
PINACOTECA NAZIONALE - *Inv. No.* 308 *(formerly* 230*)* PL.VI

PANEL
In the upper part, Last Judgement;[1] *in the lower part*, Man of Sorrows between the symbols of the Passion,[2] and Lamentation over the dead Christ; .53 x .385 m.
[date: 1355-1360]

STATE
The painting still retains its original frame, embellished along its external border with a pattern of geometric motifs. The rear of the panel is painted dark red.
In a Croci photograph taken in the 1920s, the

[1] For the iconography of the Last Judgement see Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 1947, 251-259 (2nd ed., 2001, 541-550).
[2] To the left, from top to bottom, the following scenes and symbols of the Passion are recognizable: Christ praying in Gethsemane; the Kiss of Judas, Peter cutting off Malchus' ear, the cudgel and the lantern with which the ruffians present themselves at the capture of Jesus; further below, hands holding a nail and a hammer, flanked by a face in profile, perhaps alluding to preparations for the Crucifixion; further below, the lance with the sponge soaked with vinegar, Caiaphas ordering the scourging of Christ; yet further below, St. Peter's first denial. The narrative of the Passion continues to the right with Christ crowned with thorns, the praetorium in which the trial of Jesus before Pilate is held, the crow alluding to the triple denial of Peter, Pilate washing his hands, the column of the scourging of Christ, the ascent to Calvary, the ladder used to ascend the cross, on which the garment of Jesus is draped. In the central zone: Christ, portrayed as *Vir dolorum*, standing in the centre of his tomb with behind him the cross surmounted with the pelican. On the horizontal arm of the cross can be seen the tools of martyrdom: pincers, a rope and a hammer; at either end the Moon and the Sun. Round the cross, clockwise, beginning from the far left, can be seen the hands of the soldiers casting lots to see who should have the tunic of Jesus, the hands of an angel supporting a chalice in which the blood that flows from Christ's side is collected, two ruffians who mock Jesus on the cross and a figure characterized by a curious headgear (or helmet), towards which he stretches his hand, perhaps the Good Centurion; below, to the left, can be glimpsed the remains of another figure who seems to have a polygonal halo and a lance, presumably Longinus. In the foreground, at the foot of the panel, before the Sepulchre, is the representation of Christ taken down from the cross, supported by the Virgin Mary and three Holy Women, while the Magdalene is kissing his feet; behind them, to the right, can be recognized Joseph of Arimathaea with the nails and Nicodemus holding the jars with the ointments for the preparation of the body for burial. In the lower left, two naked figures, one of whom seems to be child, are rising from a tomb with hands joined in prayer.
The painting presents an extraordinary richness of iconographic motifs and is therefore an important testimony for this particular type of painted panel, whose veneration was probably associated with the granting of indulgences. For the iconography see Berliner, in *München Jahrb.*, VI, 1955, 35-152; *Arma Christi,* in Lex. Christl. Ikon., 1, 1968, 183-187; Bertelli, in ESSAYS WITTKOVER, 1967, 40-55; Boskovits, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIV, 2006, 86. The connection with the granting of indulgences is clearly indicated by the inscription that is still preserved in fragmentary form on the related panel of the Master of the Madonna Straus at Valiana, which reads: "QUI. VIDET. HEC. ARMA. XPI. BENE. CONFESSUS. HABET. III. ANNOS. INDULGENTIE. A. BEATO. PETRO. APOSTOLO. […] C[…ES…]XXVIII. SUMMIS. PONTIFICIBUS. AQUOLIBET […] INNOCENTIUS. IIII. OMN(IS?) (ADDIDIT)."
I know of no paintings of this subject in a Florentine context antedating the mid-Trecento. Slightly earlier than the work of the Master of the Maestro della Misericordia, however, is likely to be a small panel of the *Man of Sorrows between the instruments of the Passion and the Coronation of the Virgin* attributed to the Master of the Christ Church Coronation (Florence, Museo Bardini, Corsi collection; Boskovits, 1975, fig. 151; Soffici in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2011, 00). A good deal larger, and some decades later, are a panel painted by Niccolò Gerini (Arezzo, Museo di Arte Medioevale e Moderna; Arezzo Mus. Cat. 1987, 48), two dossals by the Master of the Madonna Straus respectively in the *pieve* of San Romolo at Valiana (*Arezzo Exh. Cat.* 1974, 72-73, figs. 97-101) near Stia and in the Galleria dell'Accademia (*Florence Exh. Cat.* 1986a, 122-123) and two frescoes attributed to Mariotto di Nardo respectively



gold ground seemed in part renovated, with numerous retouches in the figures and in the symbols of the Passion, The overpaintings were removed between 1939 and 1940 by Enrico Podio). Further conservation work on the panel took place in the restoration laboratory of the Bolognese Soprintendenza, probably in the 1960s.[3] The gold ground is now much abraded, or rubbed away, allowing the underlying bole to show through here and there. The colour is better preserved in the upper half of the panel, in the figures of the Lamentation and Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*), but reveals significant losses in the symbols of the Passion, no doubt because here the pigment was laid directly over the gold ground and hence more fragile. Colour losses may also be noted over the legs of the Archangel St. Michael, in the faces of the group of Blesseds to his right and in that of God the Father.

HISTORY

The painting formed part of the collection of the Istituto delle Scienze e delle Arti in Bologna.[4] At the time of the early 19th century suppressions the painting entered the Accademia di Belle Arti and from here into the Pinacoteca (1809).[5]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1810 BOLOGNA MUS. CAT., ms., No. 369
Quadretto che superiormente rappresenta una specie di Paradiso, inferiormente una Pietà con attorno vari simboli della Passione, 46 x 34 Accademia Clementina

1820 BOLOGNA MUS. CAT., ms., No. 478
Giudizio Universale di sopra e di sotto ecce homo con emblemi della Passione in campo dorato, 21 x 46 in tavola

1826 BOLOGNA MUS. CAT., 130 No. 230 (1835, 157 No. 230)
Stile Giottesco… conservatissima

1846 GIORDANI, 32 No. 230
Scuola di Giotto, forse di pittore senese

1852 GIORDANI, 81 No. 230
Scuola senese del XIV secolo

1878 BOLOGNA MUS. CAT., 22 (1879, 18; 1883, 18; 1894, 43; 1895, 36)
Scuola bolognese del XIV secolo

1899 GUADAGNINI, 82 No. 230 (1906, 83 No. 230)
Scuola bolognese (sec. XIV)

1925 MALAGUZZI VALERI, in *Boll. Arte*, XIX, 13
Scuola bolognese (sec. XIV)… opera debole ridipinta

1929 SANDBERG VAVALA', 462, 314
Pittore bolognese, sec. XIV

1931 MAUCERI, 17 (1935, 27)
Scuola bolognese (sec. XIV)

1955 BERLINER, in MÜNCHNER JAHRB., VI, 77-78, fig. 23
Bologna, 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. The bird above the cross alludes, in his view, to the Jewish people[6]

1957 RODRIGUEZ, 26
Scuola toscana sec. XIV

1967 BOLOGNA MUS. CAT., 45 (1979, 18)
Scuola pistoiese del XIV secolo

1968 RICCI - ZUCCHINI, 241
Scuola pistoiese

1971 EMILIANI, in ATTI E MEMORIE, 95, 139, 151
Scuola pistoiese del XIV secolo.

1975 BOSKOVITS, 367
Maestro della Misericordia… 1365-1370

1981 OFFNER, A Legacy, 9
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1987 MEDICA in BOLOGNA MUS. CAT., 38
Maestro della Misericordia… Da datarsi intorno al 1365-1370

1997 (a) BOLOGNA MUS. CAT., 48-49 No. 55
Maestro della Misericordia. Provenienza: Istituto delle Scienze. Da datarsi intorno al 1365-1370

2001 D'AMICO, 22
Maestro della Misericordia

2004 CHIODO, in BOLOGNA MUS. CAT., 152-154, Cat. 44
Maestro della Misericordia… probabilmente destinato alla commemorazione privata dei defunti… inizio del settimo decennio. Rapporto ancora molto stretto con la lezione figurativa di Taddeo Gaddi e di Andrea Orcagna.

2006 BOSKOVITS, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIV, 86, fig. 8
Maestro della Misericordia.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Croci, Bologna (negative in the Dipartimento di Storia dell'Arte at the University of Bologna, 3092); Museum Photo.

in the former convent of the Oblate Sisters at Florence (Boskovits, 1975, 393) and in the church of San Lorenzo at San Giovanni Valdarno (*Arezzo Exh. Cat.* 1974, 74, fig. 118).

3 Information kindly given to me by Giampiero Cammarota, Soprintendenza per il Patrimonio Storico Artistico e Demoetnoantropologico per le Province di Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Forlì - Cesena, Rimini, Archivio storico e iconografico della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna.

4 Founded by the Bolognese érudit (and leading advocate of the reform of the University of Bologna) Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli in the early eighteenth century, the institute had later been divided into two branches in 1780: Accademia delle Scienze and Accademia Clementina. Most of the works of art in its possession were displayed in the rooms of the Accademia Clementina. The collection had grown following many private bequests, not least that of the Oratorian Father Urbano Savorgnan, which comprised works of many old masters. But the detailed inventory of this legacy is not known and therefore the possible provenance of the painting of the Master of the Misericordia from the Savorgnan collection cannot be verified. On the collections of art of the Istituto di Scienze and their later history down to the establishment of the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna see Cammarota, 1997-2000.

5 Emiliani, in *Bologna Mus. Cat.*, 1997, 12.

6 Berliner, who was familiar with the painting only through a photo predating its restoration in 1939/1940, noted the presence of a particular type of bird above the cross, which he thought he could identify with an owl, a bird often allusive to the Jewish people in medieval literature. The restoration, however, showed that the bird in question is the more common symbol of Christ's act of self-oblation: the pelican that pierces its breast to feed its young (Levi D'Ancona, 2001, 175-176).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

PARIS
GALERIE PARDO (formerly) PL.VII

PANEL
Madonna of Humility;[1] .58 x .39.5 m[2]
[date: 1360-1365]

STATE
A photo taken in the early decades of the twentieth century (Reali) shows the painting inserted in a modern neo-gothic frame which concealed parts of the pictorial surface along the borders. A vertical crack which ran from top to bottom, passing through Mary's left shoulder and the feet of the Child, had caused some colour loss, which had been later stuccoed and repainted. Apart from small scratches and woodworm damage all over the surface, many retouches could be seen in Mary's dress and in the Child's halo.
A restoration conducted by 1936 (as evidenced by the Brogi photo, No. 25658) profoundly altered the appearance of the work: the curtain to the sides and above the head of the Madonna was eliminated and the ground renovated. A punched decoration imitating fourteenth-century motifs was added along the borders. The neo-gothic frame was also removed and replaced by a modern moulded frame decorated with dentils and punched motifs.

HISTORY
In the early years of the twentieth century the painting was in the Masi collection at Capannoli (Pontedera, Pisa) (a, b);[3] it was later reported in New York, in the collection of H. Parsons,[4] from where, through the Satinover Galleries, New York, it passed to Raimond Van Marle at Perugia (c).[5] As part of that collection it was offered for sale in 1952 (d). It was exhibited at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam from 1952 to 1954 as the property of the Galerie Pardo in Paris (e). In 1978 it was offered for sale in London as a work with a provenance from the Van Marle collection (f). Its present whereabouts are unknown.

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1 On the iconography of the Madonna of Humility see the fundamental study by Meiss (in *Art Bull.*, XVIII, 1936, 435-464, and *Idem*, 1951, 132-156), and the later contributions Offner - Steinweg (*Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 107-108), van Os, 1969 and Simi Varanelli, in *Arte e Spiritualità*, 1992, 77-91.

2 Information on the panel's measurements kindly furnished by Francis Russell (London, Christie's) in a letter written to Miklós Boskovits on 15 April 2005. These measurements are slightly smaller than those cited in the sale catalogue of 1978 (f). Those previously cited (1.41 x .63 m) in *Burl. Mag.*, 1954 (e) must be considered erroneous.

3 A handwritten annotation on the back of the Reali photograph preserved in the Corpus archive specifies the date as "1915 ca".

4 Corpus, Archive. Handwritten note by Richard Offner. Its owner was probably Harold Woodbury Parsons (b. 1882 - d. ?), American connoisseur and collector, who had dealing with Duveen Brothers (New York) from 1912 to 1941 (Getty Provenance Index, Duveen Brothers Records, 1876-1981) and with Bernard Berenson from 1912 to 1958 (Mariano, 1965, 74); see also Boskovits, *Corpus*, III/IX, 1984, 354-355. After the Second World War Parsons moved to Rome and entered into contact with Pico Cellini to whom he later donated his archive. As part of the Fondo Pico Cellini the Woodbury Parson archive then entered the Biblioteca "Luigi Grassi" at the Università degli Studi "Roma Tre" in 2003. I wonder if Cellini could have been responsible for the restoration of the painting before 1936.

5 The painting's presence in the van Marle collection is attested by an annotation on the back of the Brogi photo No. 25658, taken in 1936. A handwritten annotation on the back of a copy of the Reali photo (which documents its earliest state), now in the archive of the Corpus of Florentine Painting, testifies that the painting was (at an unspecified date) in the Baglioni collection at Tuoro, on Lake Trasimeno.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1924 van MARLE, III, 408 n. 1

(a) *Daddi's school… Pisa, once the property of Cav. Masi, Capannoli*

1928 LEHMAN, comment to pl.V

(b) Free contemporary copy of the Madonna attributed to Andrea Orcagna in the Lehman collection in New York[6]… *in the possession of Cav. Masi near Florence*

1936 MEISS, in ART BULL., XVIII, 447, 447 n. 27 (1951, 138 n. 23)

(c) *Orcagnesque*, copy of the Madonna in the Lehman collection in New York… *Satinover Galleries, New York…*

1952 AMSTERDAM, SALE CAT., 14-21 October, 49 lot 484

(d) *Andrea Orcagna (école de)*

1954 Notable works of art… in BURL. MAG., XCVI, July, pl.V

(e) *Formerly attributed to Orcagna…has recently been re-attributed by… Richard Offner to his Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia… Galerie Pardo… Paris… formed part of the van Marle Collection… exhibited for two years as such in the Rijksmuseum*

1965 MARCUCCI, 104
Maestro dell'Infanzia

1965 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, IV/III, 107 n. 5
Master of the Virgin of Mercy copy of the Madonna of Humility of Jacopo di Cione and shop in the National Gallery in Washington (Inv. No. 814), in its turn probably deriving from a lost prototype of Andrea di Cione

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6, LXXI, 1189, 74
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia… derivata dall'esemplare di Jacopo di Cione nella National Gallery di Washington

1975 BOSKOVITS, 211 n. 45, 371
Maestro della Misericordia… 1380-1385

1978 LONDON SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 21 June, lot A

(f) *Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia… Sold with a photostat of a certificate from Professor Richard Offner,* 1953

1981 OFFNER, 12, fig. 24
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

PHOTOGRAPHS
Reali, Florence (negatives at the National Gallery of Art, Washington), 218; Brogi, 25658, Firenze (1936); Sotheby's, 08849, London.

[6] The painting has been in the National Gallery in Washington since 1945 as a work of Jacopo di Cione, see Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 107-111 and Kreytenberg, 2000, 164-166. Seven contemporary replicas of the Jacopo di Cione *Madonna of Humility* have been reported, apart from the painting being discussed here: Giovanni del Biondo (Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/V, 1969, pl. XLV); Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Florence, Gallerie, Inv. No. 3161 (Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VIII-2, 1997, pl. XLII); Tommaso del Mazza, Philadelphia, Museum of Art, No. 45.25.119 (Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/IX, pls. XXVIII[1-2]); Lorenzo di Bicci, Loro Ciuffenna, parish church (Fremantle, 1975, fig. 848); Niccolò Gerini, Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais, No. M.I. 365; Laclotte - Moench, 2005, 103-104; Niccolò Gerini, Florence, Acton collection (Villa La Pietra) (Boskovits, 1975, fig. 162).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MILAN
BRUNATI COLLECTION (formerly) PL.VIII

PORTABLE TRIPTYCH
Madonna and Child enthroned between a female Martyr Saint and Saint John the Baptist *to the left*, another female Martyr Saint and Saint Paul *to the right*. *In the left shutter* Nativity and *above* Angel of the Annunciation, *in the right shutter* Crucifixion and *above* Virgin Annunciate; .609 x .47 m
[date: 1360-1365]

STATE
The tabernacle maintains its original structure and, at least in part, its original frame. Traces of no longer decipherable coats of arms can be seen on either side of the base. In a photograph taken prior to 1937 the pictorial surface appears much worn and altered by some retouches and integrations (a). Around 1937 the painting was restored; during this operation the frame and the base were reintegrated in various points, and the forms most severely damaged by abrasion or colour loss were reconstructed (b).

HISTORY
In 1935-1936 the tabernacle was on the art market in London (Thomas Harris).[1] But by 1937 it was reported in the Brunati collection in Milan (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1981 OFFNER, 11, fig. 21

(a) *Master of the Virgin of Mercy*

1991 DE MARCHI, in ANGELELLI - DE MARCHI, 203 No. 396 (B816)

(b) *Maestro della Misericordia*. In the photograph published by Offner (a) *situazione conservativa diversa*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.

[1] The photographs in the archive of the Corpus of Florentine Painting and in that of Miklós Boskovits have handwritten annotations on their back, respectively by Richard Offner and Hans Dietrich Gronau with the date and whereabouts of the painting.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

LONDON
CHARLES M. NAPPER COLLECTION (formerly) PL. IX

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned; *to the left,* Saint John the Baptist, a male Martyr Saint and Saint Catherine; *to the right*, Saint Peter, a Knight Saint and Saint Stephen; two angels supporting the cloth of honour; *in the trefoil set into the triangular gable*, bust of the Redeemer; .84 x .335 m [date: 1360-1365]

STATE
The panel, evidently once the central piece of a portable triptych, is inserted in a modern neo-gothic frame, though this apparently incorporates parts of the original. The pictorial surface is heavily worn, perhaps as a result of an early, unsuccessful attempt at cleaning. Extensive retouches can be noted in the faces of the protagonists and of the two Saints in the foreground.

HISTORY
The painting could have been acquired in Florence by George, third Earl of Ashburnham (1760-1830), who long lived in the Villa Pasquali near Florence, or by his son Bertrand, fourth Earl of Ashburnham (1797-1878), one of the most famous English collectors of his century (a). In 1953 it was offered for sale as part of the Ashburnham family collection after the death of its last descendent, Lady Catherine of Ashburnham (a). Acquired by the dealer Giuseppe Bellesi, it entered the collection of Charles M. Napper in 1954.[1] Sold in 1997 (b), its present whereabouts are unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1953 LONDON, SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 24 June, 7, lot 9
(a) *N. di Tommaso*
1981 OFFNER, 11 pl. 18
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia
1997 LONDON, SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 3 July, lot 57
(b) *Lorenzo di Bicci*. Attribution of Everett Fahy.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.

[1] Handwritten annotation on the back of the photo in the Corpus Archive.

PL. IX

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

KREUZLINGEN (Switzerland)
KISTERS COLLECTION (formerly) PL. X

PANEL (fragment)
Christ on the Cross between the half-length figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John, the kneeling Mary Magdalene, and two angels.[1]
[date: 1355-1360]

STATE
The painting is the fragment of a tabernacle shutter. The panel is cut below and perhaps cropped along the other sides. The pictorial surface is rubbed and darkened by grime. Colour losses, later integrated, are visible all over, in particular along the contours of the figure of Christ on the cross and in the face of Saint John. The face of Jesus seems one of the better preserved passages.

HISTORY
The panel belonged in the early 20th century to the collection of Eugen Schweitzer in Berlin (a) and was sold with others works of the same collection in 1918 (b). Acquired subsequently by Paul Drey (Munich) it passed to the collection of Heinz Kisters, who sold it to Konrad Adenauer (Rhöndorf), but bought it back after the latter's death. It was sold by auction in London in 1970 (c).

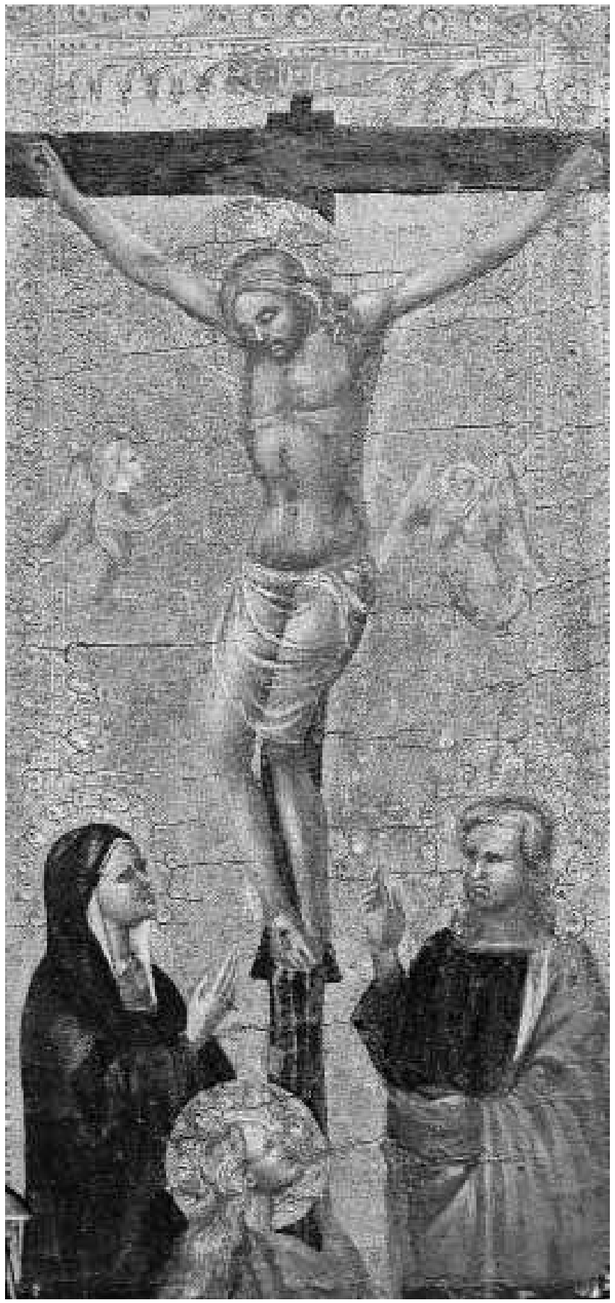
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1904 BERLIN EXH. CAT., 7 No. 1
Ambrogio Lorenzetti
1918 GRONAU, in BERLIN EXH. CAT., 25 No. 42
Ambrogio Lorenzetti
1970 LONDON SALE CAT., 26, 34, lot 13
Tuscan School, circa 1350
1981 OFFNER, 13, fig. 27
Master of the Virgin of Mercy… (fr.)

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive (E. C. Nunney, Greenford, Middlesex)

[1] The blood that flows from the pierced side of Jesus (John 19: 34) gave rise to the devotion to the Precious Blood of Christ, on which see Brückner, in *Lex. Christl. Ikon.*, 1, 1968, 309-312 and Strazzullo, 1999.

PL. X



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

NEW YORK
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
SAMUEL H. KRESS COLLECTION - *Inv. No. 27231 A-B* PLS. XI[1-2]

PROCESSIONAL CROSS
(painted on both sides)
Recto (pl. XI[1]): Christ crucified, *to the left* bust of the Virgin Mary, *to the right* bust of Saint John the Evangelist, *above* Saint Francis pointing to the wound in his side, *below* a Franciscan Saint.[1]
Verso (pl. XI[2]): Christ alive on the cross, *to the left* Saint Matthew, *to the right* Saint Luke, *above* Saint John the Evangelist, *below* Saint Mark;[2]
.457 x .337 m
[date: 1360-1365]

STATE
The two faces of the processional cross had already been divided into two parts in 1928 (a). During a recent restoration, the two fragments were joined together again,[3] and damaged parts where the wood had chipped away, visible in old photographs, notably in the curved terminations of the trefoils at the top and bottom of the cross, were integrated. At the same time, the lower part of the figures of Saint Francis on the *recto* and of the Evangelist on the opposite side were reconstructed, while the beading which had substituted the lost original beading along the curvilinear moulding of the frame was eliminated.
On both sides the pictorial surface is on the whole fairly well preserved. On the *recto* two horizontal cracks along the joint between the horizontal and vertical arms of the cross are visible above Christ's head and through the middle of his torso. On the *verso* the same cracks run vertically through Christ's arms. On the *recto* colour losses, later reintegrated, can be noted in the Virgin's mantle and on Saint John's right arm. There is also some colour loss along the contours of the figure of Saint Francis, where the pigment was directly laid over the gold; small colour losses are also visible in Christ's

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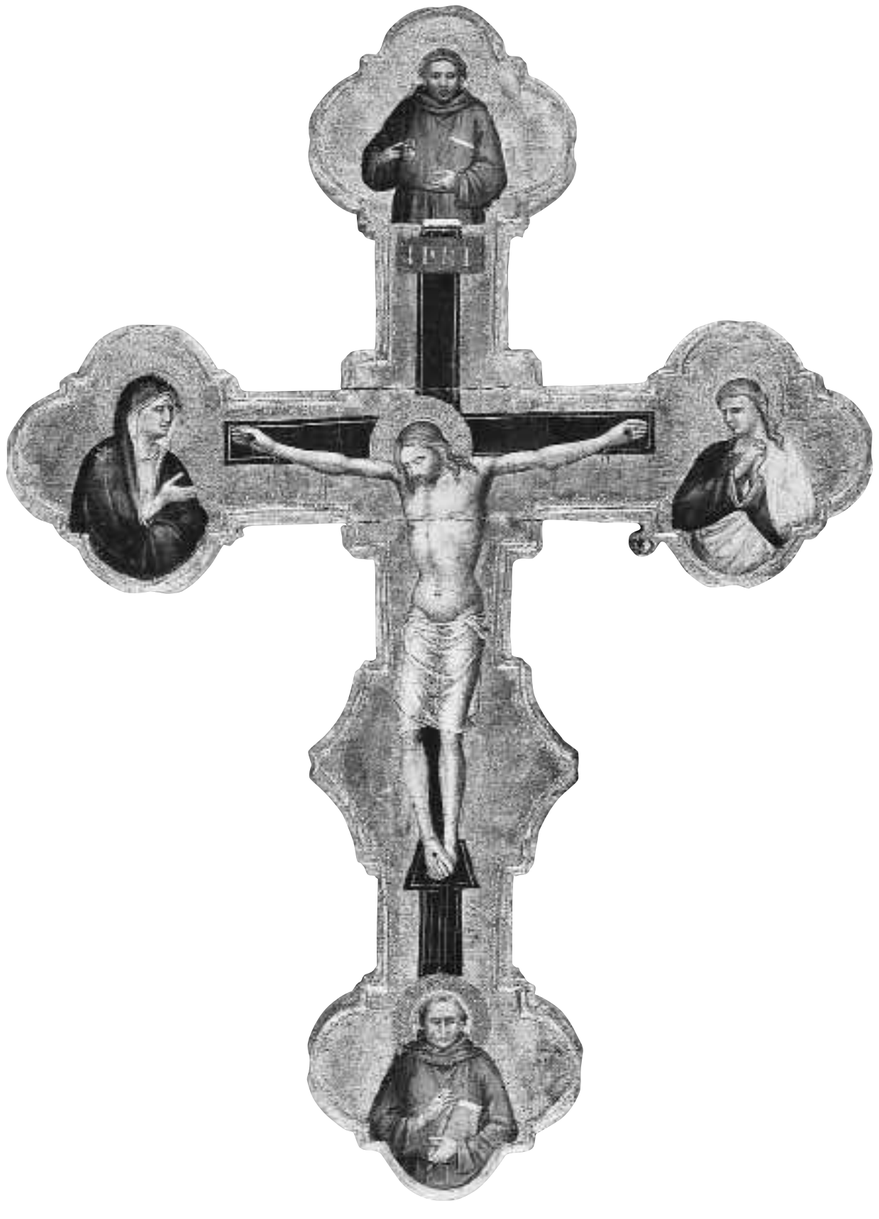
1 The Franciscan Saint represented in the terminal at the foot of the cross could be identified either with St. Anthony of Padua or with St. Bonaventura da Bagnoregio. In the former case the identification is suggested by the figure's correspondence with the peculiarities of the iconography of this Saint (Kaftal, 1952, 77-88), as also demonstrated by comparison with the figure painted by Taddeo Gaddi at the foot of the cross in the refectory of the convent of Santa Croce at Florence (Ladis, 1982, 171-182, fig. 23-11). The identification with St. Bonaventura, supported by Baetjer (1995, 8), is suggested by the placement of the Franciscan Saint in the trefoil at the foot of the cross, in which a reference to the reflections on the mystery of the crucifixion of Christ found in Bonaventura's writings can perhaps be found. In particular a precise reference to Bonaventura's thought can be found in the presentation of Francis as *alter Christus* (cf. *Legenda major*, XIII), a parallelism explicitly alluded to in the portrayal of the Saint in the trefoil at the top of the cross, who bears the evident signs of the stigmata on his hands and points with his right hand to the wound in his side. Though these details of the iconography would seem to support the identification of the Franciscan Saint represented at the foot of the cross with Bonaventura, the fact that he was not canonized till 12 April 1482 (but is given a halo in the Kress Crucifix) suggests some degree of caution (Kaftal, 1952, 216). It is true, on the other hand, that St. Bonaventura, even before his canonization, was sometimes represented as a Saint, e.g. in Pacino di Bonaguida's *Arbor Vitae* (Offner, *Corpus*, III/II, ed. by Boskovits, 1987, 82-121, pl. V; *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 199-205), where he appears at the foot of the cross, in the grotto of Golgotha. From the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, however, Blesseds are ever more frequently distinguished from Saints by the attribute of rays round their heads instead of haloes.

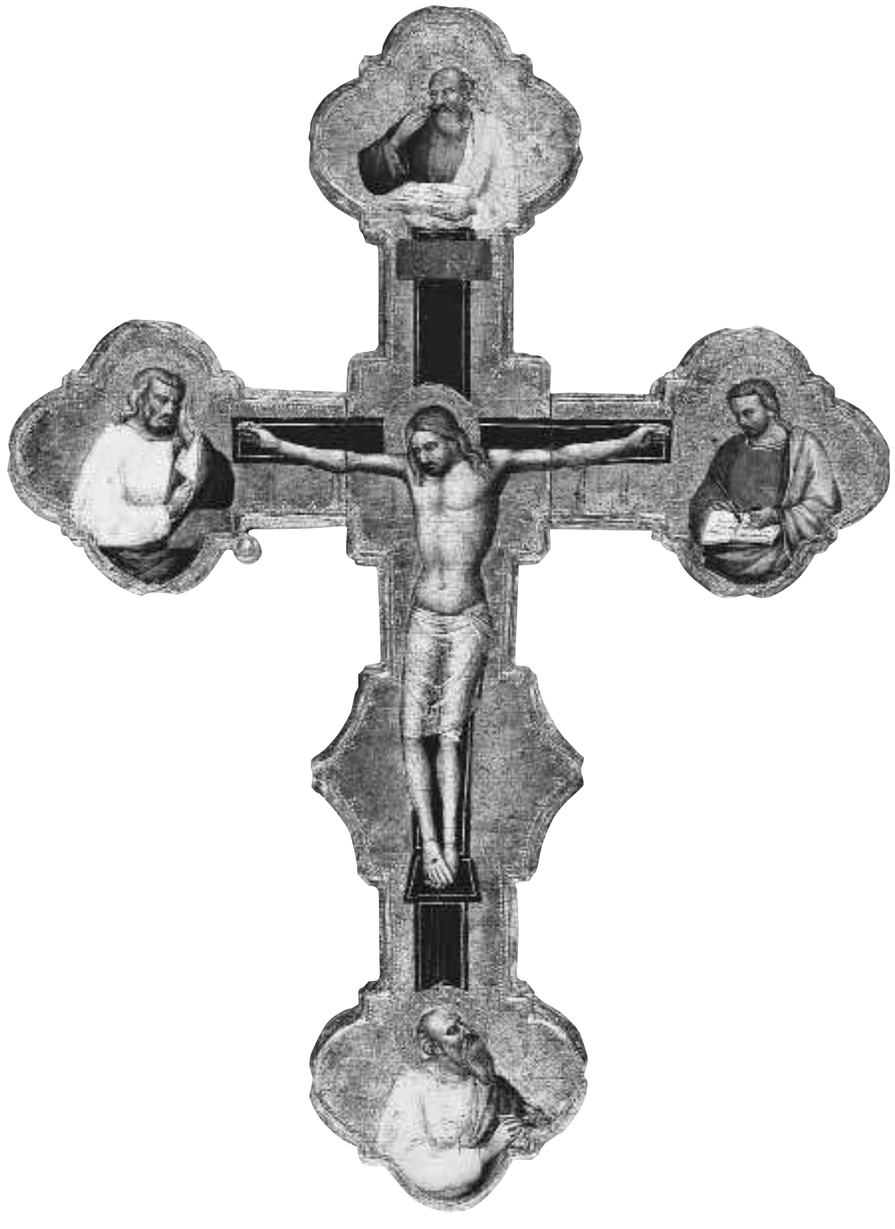
2 The identification of Luke and Matthew is corroborated by their correspondence with the physiognomic type peculiar to the iconography of these Saints (Kaftal, 1952, 651-652, 725-730); the identification of the other two Evangelists is more uncertain (Kaftal, 1952, 560-569, 677-680).

3 As Everett Fahy has kindly informed me, the restoration was carried out by George Bisacca (at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York).

PL. XI[1]



PL. XI[2]



hair and in his bust. The lower part of the habit of the Franciscan Saint in the lower trefoil is modern. On the *verso* the most conspicuous colour losses are in Saint Matthew's hair and on Saint Luke's shoulders, while the lower part of Saint Mark's garment is an integration of the recent restoration.

HISTORY
In 1926 the cross was in Rome, in the possession of the collector and dealer, Count Alessandro Contini Bonacossi. He sold it to Samuel H. Kress (1863-1955) in New York in the same year (b).[4] Kress donated it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1927 (a).
The presence of the two Franciscan Saints in the terminals of the cross on the main side implies that the Crucifix was originally executed for a community of the order of Friars Minor. The closeness in style to our Master's namepiece, the Madonna della Misericordia in the Galleria dell'Accademia (pl. XII in this volume), probably executed in turn for the Franciscan nuns of Santa Maria di Candeli, suggests that the cross might have been commissioned by for the same community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1928 LANSING, in BULL. MET. MUSEUM, XXIII, 91-92
(a) *Florentine of the fourteenth century; Roberto Longhi places it as early as* 1340 *to* 1350 *… given… by Samuel H. Kress*
1931 BURROUGHS, 183, No. 58-F5, 39
Italian School - Florentine… Dated 1340-1350 *by Roberto Longhi… Gift of Samuel H. Kress,* 1927
1940 WEHLE, 14, No. 27.231
Unknown Florentine Painter, Second half of the XIV Century… The style is that of the school of Orcagna… R. Offner (verbally, 1935*)* [refers it to a]*… follower of Orcagna who painted the Madonna of Mercy in the Accademia* (pl. XII in this volume) *G. Fiocco… (*1936*) calls it Florentine… about* 1300*… W. Suida…* (1936) *suggests attributing it to Maso and dates it about* 1330-1340*. A. Venturi…* (1936) *attributes it to a follower of Giotto. F. Mason Perkins…* (1936) *attributes it to an anonymous Florentine and dates it after* 1350
1954 ALLEN - GARDNER, 51 No. 27.231 A-B
Florentine, second half of XIV century
1956 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/VI, 166 n. 1
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia
1963 BERENSON, I, 216
Unidentified Florentine 1350-1420
1966 SHAPLEY, 38, figs. 89-90
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia… The date may be about 1390.
1967 ZERI, in BURL. MAG., CIX, 474
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia
1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6, LXXI, 74
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia
1971 ZERI - GARDNER, 38, figs. on pp. 36-37
(b) *Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia… It may be of the earliest of the known works of this artist, possibly painted about* 1380… *Ex coll.: Count Alessandro Contini Bonacossi, Roma,* 1926. The Franciscan Saint portrayed in the lower terminal of the cross (*recto*) is identified with Bonaventura da Bagnoregio.
1972 ZERI - FREDERICKSEN, 132
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia
1975 BOSKOVITS, 1975, 370
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375
1980 BAETJER, 120
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia
1981 OFFNER, 12
Master of the Virgin of Mercy
1995 BAETJER, 8-9
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[4] On Contini Bonacossi, his collection and his relations with Samuel Kress see Salmi, in *Boll.* Arte, LII, 1967, No. 4, 222-232; de' Giorgi, 1988.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE
GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA - *Inv. No. 8562 (formerly No. 277)* PL. XII

PANEL
Madonna of Mercy (*Madonna della Misericordia*);[1] *above*, Christ blessing and three praying angels in flight, a further two angels supporting the Virgin's open mantle, below which, divided into two symmetrical groups to either side of the standing Madonna, are twenty-three kneeling Franciscan Tertiary Sisters[2] and four smaller figures of kneeling lay donors; .63 x .34 m
[date: 1365-1370]

STATE
A vertical crack runs through the whole height of the panel to the left of the Madonna's halo; it has caused some losses, later retouched, in the gold ground and in the painted surface. During an old and undocumented restoration, the panel was fixed to a wooden support some 2 cm thick, with the aim of halting the further cracking of the wood. Fillets of wood have been attached along the outer edges of the panel, concealing the margins of the original frame. The pictorial surface is darkened by grime and shows some woodworm damage. The colour is rubbed in the Madonna's dress and in the habits of the kneeling nuns to the left. Integrations in the gold ground, due to damage, in part caused by the burning of candles, may be noted close to the Madonna's halo to the left, round the upper angel to the left and in the area of gold ground immediately below. Other small retouches may be noted here and there.

INSCRIPTIONS:
in the lower part of the painting, in a narrow oblong compartment set into the base of the frame: ADVOCATA UNIVERSITATIS.

HISTORY
The painting was withdrawn from the Augustinian monastery of Santa Maria di Candeli on 17 October 1808 following the suppression of religious congregations in Tuscany (b).[3] First kept in store at the church of San Marco in Florence (b), it was displayed in the Galleria dell'Accademia from 1854 (a). In the gallery's inventories before 1890 it bore the

[1] On the origins and diffusion of this iconography in Western art, apart from the pioneering study of Jean Perdrizet (1908), see also Belting - Ihn, 1976; Levin, 1983, 3 vols. (especially vol. 2, chap. IV, 435-545) and 2004; Hubbard, 1995 (especially pp. 1-9 for a critical résumé of the previous bibliography); Cieri Via, in *Ordini religiosi,* 1998, 77-87.
[2] The grey habit and mantle habit worn by the Sisters, with the black veil profiled in white, does not correspond to the completely black habit of Augustinian nuns to whom the monastery of Candeli belonged (Kaftal, 1952, 749-753, 1165). William Levin (II, 1983, 453) pointed out that the habit, in colour and form, would correspond to that of the Poor Clares (Kaftal, 1952, 313-319, 1166). But the form also corresponds to that of Franciscan Tertiary Sisters (Kaftal, 1952, c. 1166; *Rome Exh. Cat.* 2000, pp. 354-362) and Vallombrosan nuns, as shown by comparison with Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece of the *Beata Umiltà* (Volpe, 1989, 45-48, 174-186; Boskovits, 1988, figs. 137-139), painted for the monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista (also called monastery of the "donne di Faenza"). Some circumstances relating to the history of the monastery of Candeli suggest however than this detail of the iconography of our panel be interpreted in a Franciscan context. The monastery was in fact subject to the Augustinian Rule only from the later fifteenth century onwards, whereas previously, and hence in the period to which the present painting can be dated, it accommodated a community of Franciscan Tertiary Sisters (Valentini, 2003, 20-21) with whom the nuns painted by the Master of the Misericordia can be identified.
[3] Paatz (III, 1952, 180-181), suggesting the identification of the painting with the one that Giuseppe Richa (II, 1755, 294-295) and Follini - Rastrelli (IV, 1792, 32) report in the monastery as a work of Buonamico Buffalmacco, and conjecturing its original placement on the church's high altar. But given the reduced measurements of the painting

PL. XII

No. 277. The painting was probably located at the monastery of Candeli ever since it was painted, given that the grey habit worn by the nuns represented in it corresponds to that of the Franciscan Tertiary Sisters who lived there until the early years of the fifteenth century.

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1854 FLORENCE MUS. CAT. 31, n. 32 (1855, 31, n. 32; 1859, 37 n. 5)

(a) *Sainte Elisabeth, reine de Hongrie, recevant sous son manteau un grand nombre de Religieuses agenouillées*

1859 MASSELLI, ms., 160, n. 196
Ignoto

1883 PIERACCINI, 115, n. 272 (1884, 119, n. 58)
Ignoto del secolo XV. St. Elisabetta regina d'Ungheria

1890 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., ms., vol X, No. 8562
…seguace di Agnolo Gaddi… era creduta Elisabetta d'Ungheria

1907 LUTZ-PERDRIZET, 245 n. 2.
…tableau florentin archaique… la Vierge (et non… Sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie)

1908 PERDRIZET, 58
…giottesque ou siennois, de la fin du XIV^e^ ou du début du XV^e^ siècle…

1908 SIRÉN, 59-60, 92.
Opera giovanile di Agnolo Gaddi…

1910 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., Inventario No. 38

1910 GARNERI, 223, 272.
S. Elisabetta regina d'Ungheria; ignoto, XV sec.

1912 KHVOSHINSKY-SALMI, I, 45.
Agnolo Gaddi

1920 SIRÉN, in THIEME - BECKER, XIII, 27-28.
Agnolo Gaddi

1921 SIRÉN, in L'ARTE, XXIV, I, 98.
Agnolo Gaddi, or perhaps *qualche artista che abbia lavorato sotto l'influenza di Agnolo nella sua bottega*

1923 SUIDA, in BELVEDERE, III, 27.
Maler des Bigallo Triptychons[4]

1924 GARNERI, 448.
Agnolo Gaddi

1924 van MARLE, III, 545.
… among the best of Agnolo Gaddi's earlier creations

1924 VITZHTUM-VOLBACH, 311.
Agnolo Gaddi

1926 GOMBOSI, 117.
Von Agnolos Frühzeit gibt uns eine Reihe von kleinen Tafelbilden eine Vorstellung [however, as the attributions are not better motivated]… *sehe ich nicht ein, warum diese Werke nicht seinem… Bruder Giovanni… ange-hören sollten*

1928 LUMACHI, 316
Scuola fiorentina del XIV secolo, attribuita ad Agnolo Gaddi

1929 BERTARELLI, 141
Agnolo Gaddi

1929 SUSSMANN, in MARB. JAHR. KUNST., V, 347.
E[nde] 14. Jh. oder A[nfang] 15. Jh.

1932 BERENSON, 273 (1936, 235; 1963, 104)
Jacopo di Cione

1934a SALVINI, in RIV. ARTE, XVI, 31-33.
Youthful work of Agnolo Gaddi, with *notevoli ricordi di Taddeo Gaddi e… punti di contatto con Giovanni da Milano*

1934b SALVINI, in RIV. ARTE, XVI, pp. 218-220.
…una delle cose più tipiche della prima

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of the Master of the Misericordia, the present writer thanks it more probable that the panel reported by Richa and Follini-Rastrelli is to be identified instead with the imposing dossal painted by the Magdalen Master and Grifo di Tancredi, it too with a provenance from the monastery of Candeli and now in the museum of San Diego in California (*San Diego Cat. Museum*, 1996, 35-41).

[4] This is the tabernacle with hinged shutters representing the *Madonna and Child enthroned* at the centre, flanked by the *Nativity, Crucifixion, Stories of St. Nicholas of Bari and Saints*, painted by Bernardo Daddi in 1333 and now in the Museo del Bigallo in Florence. See Offner, *Corpus*, III/III, 1930, pl. VII.

maniera di Agnolo…

1935 SALMI, in RIV. IST. ARCH. ST. ARTE, V, 126 n. 36
C[orrado] *Ricci, … crede riminese la bella Madonna della Misericordia nella Galleria dell'Accademia a Firenze, per la quale non riesco a trovare nulla di più persuasivo della ascrizione ufficiale a Agnolo Gaddi*

1936 PROCACCI, 22
Maniera di Agnolo Gaddi… proviene dal convento delle monache di Candeli in Firenze; le religiose rappresentate nel dipinto sembrano appunto dell'ordine agostiniano

1936 SALVINI, 7-11, 18-19, n. 1, 183
tra le prime eseguite da Agnolo Gaddi… [ma] è *innegabile fra questa e le opere sicure del nostro una certa distanza stilistica… certe durezze di segno di lontano ricordo orcagnesco*

1936 SANDBERG-VAVALA', in ART BULL., XVIII, 423.
Agnolo Gaddi… The restitution of certain works formerly conceded to him, but recently doubted, such as the Madonna of Mercy… seems to be logical

1947 ANTAL, 203, 228, n. 163.
Agnolo Gaddi… *painted for the Augustinian convent of S. Maria dei Candeli, is particulary interesting as an indication that this democratic theme… now become topical in Florence also*

1950 TCI FIRENZE, 208 (1964, 259; 1974, 238)
Maniera di Agnolo Gaddi

1951 PROCACCI, 22
Maniera di Agnolo Gaddi… l'Offner ritiene il quadretto di uno scolaro dell'Orcagna

1952 PAATZ, III, 180-181.
Manner of Agnolo Gaddi, end of XIV century. Hypothesis on where the panel originally stood.[5]

1956 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, III/VI, 62 n. 2 (CORPUS, III/VIII, 1958, 188 n. 5, 203)
… late Orcagnesque panel… by the Master of the Virgin of Mercy…

1962 KAUFFMANN, 100.
… in der Art des Agnolo Gaddi

1965 (b) MARCUCCI, 133-135, n. 95.
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia o Maestro di Sant'Eligio… artista superiore a Agnolo Gaddi… Per certe sottigliezze ed eleganze calligrafiche, nonché per il delicato trattamento del colore… dimostra di aver praticato anche la miniatura… La Madonna della Misericordia probabilmente va datata verso l'Ottanta

1967 BOSKOVITS, in MITTEILUNGEN KIF, XIII, 41.
Meister der orcagnesken Misericordia

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B-ARTS, s. 6, LXXIV, n. 95.
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia o Maestro di Sant'Eligio

1974 WAGNER, 69, 128
Meister der Madonna Misericordia

1975 BOSKOVITS, 64, 368
Maestro della Misericordia… 1375-1380… [marks the end of the phase influenced by Giottino and the start] *di un fare più corsivo e dinamico*

1977 COLE, 71
Master of the Orcagneque Misericordia

1981 OFFNER, 9
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1983 LEVIN, II, 453
Associated stylistically with the work of Agnolo Gaddi

1987 BONSANTI, 1987, 66
Pittore fiorentino della seconda metà del XIV secolo

1988 BOSKOVITS, 134
"Maestro della Misericordia". Perhaps to be identified with Giovanni Gaddi

1996 TARTUFERI, in ANT. VIVA, XXXV, Nos. 4, 3
Maestro della Misericordia

1999 FALLETTI - ANGLANI, 98
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia (Giovanni Gaddi?)… 1380 ca.

2003 VALENTINI, 43-44
Maestro della Misericordia

2005 CHIODO, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 45
Maestro della Misericordia

2006 TADDEI, in PEKING EXH. CAT., 284
Maestro della Misericordia

2010 CHIODO, in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 81-85
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia… entro il settimo decennio

PHOTOGRAPHS

Alinari, Florence, 46366; Reali, Florence (negatives at the National Gallery of Art, Washington), 425-426; SSPMF, 5067; 515965, 533813, 1962 (ex art. 15), 516067 (fotocolor).

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4 See 00, n. 3 in this volume.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE
GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA - *Inv. No. 1890.437* PL. XIII

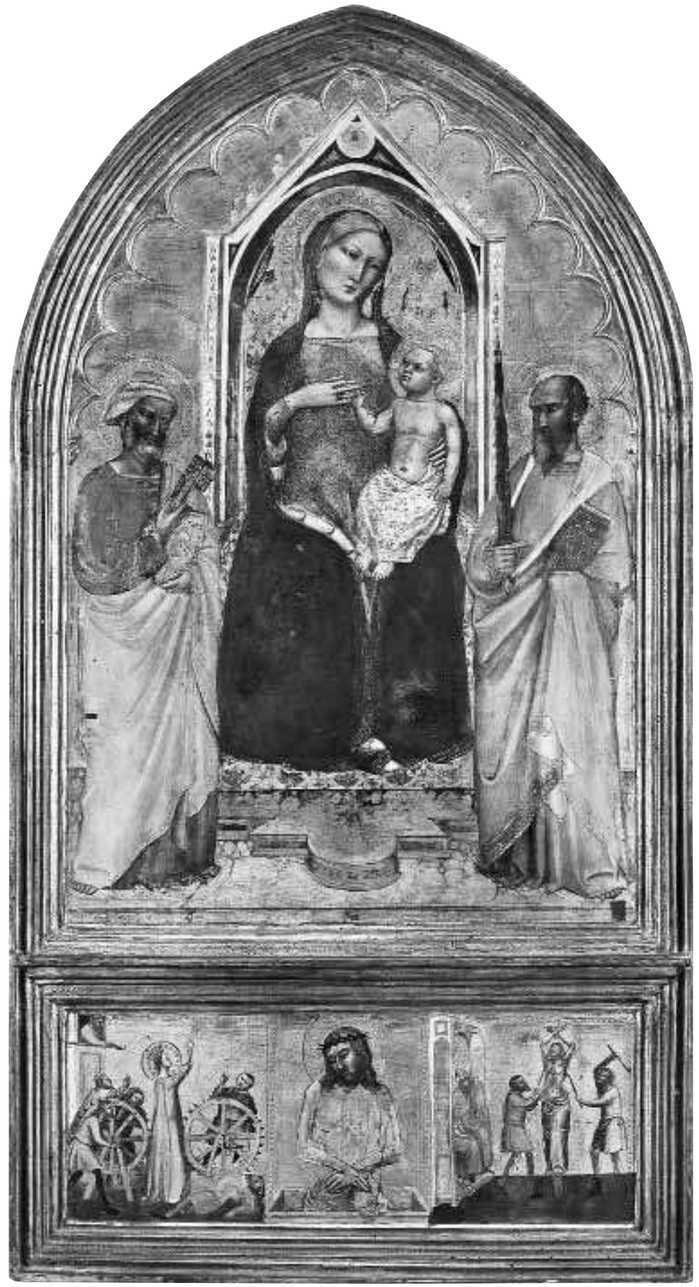
PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned between Saints Peter and Paul. *In the predella: at the centre* "Vir dolorum",[1] *in the laterals, to the left* Martyrdom of Saint Catherine,[2] *to the right* Martyrdom of Saint Agatha;[3] 1.16 x .62 m *entire*, .784 x .52 m *upper part*, .195 x .52 m *predella*.
[date: 1360-1365]

STATE
The panel is vertically grained and reinforced on the back with two horizontal buttens. The painting was restored by Augusto Vermehren and Anna Brigida in 1960-1962.[4] Before this date the pictorial surface was obscured by a thick layer of grime and overpainting, while the gold ground had been in part renewed. After the cleaning the colour is worn in several points, especially in the face of St. Paul, on the right sleeve of St. Peter's tunic, on the Virgin's mantle and in the figure of the Man of Sorrows. Substantial damage is also detectable in the two scenes of martyrdom, where the areas of colour loss are concentrated along the contours of the figures due to the lesser adherence of the pigment to the underlying gold leaf. Small retouches are scattered all over the surface.
On the back of the panel is a label with a handwritten inscription reading: "10 giugno 1782 dalla / Camera di Comm(ercio) / dell'Orcagna". The inventory number "1890.437" and a label of the Gabinetto Restauri della Soprintendenza with the number "3241" are also present on the back of the panel.

HISTORY
The painting entered the Uffizi from the Camera di Commercio on 10 June 1782 (a). This provenance would suggest it came from the seat of one of the Florentine guilds, perhaps that of the Beccai (butchers), given that St. Peter, patron of this guild, is found represented to the right of the Virgin, in the place of honour.[5] The painting was displayed in the Galleria dell'Uffizi at least since 1792 (b). It was ceded to the Galleria dell'Accademia in 1933,[6] where it remained until 1968. Consigned to the storerooms of Palazzo Pitti from 1968 to 1972, it was then exhibited in the Museo di Palazzo Davanzati from 1972 to 1988. Since the latter year it has once again been back in the Galleria dell'Accademia.[7]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1782 LANZI, 70.
...di Orcagna, o della sua scuola un tabernacolino co' SS. Pietro e Paolo, e storie di Santa Caterina

1 On the iconography of the *Vir dolorum* see Belting, 1981, 149-210 and Ridderbos, 1998, 146-181.
2 Kaftal, 1952, 233.
3 Kaftal, 1952, 8.
4 OPD, Archive GR. No. 3241.
5 Another painting, also with a provenance from the Camera di Commercio, is presumed to come from the seat of the Arte dei Beccai due to the presence of St. Peter to the Virgin's right, and is now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (Inv. No. 1890.8614). The altarpiece representing the *Madonna and Child enthroned between Saints Peter, Anthony Abbot, John the Baptist and Julian* has given its name to the still anonymous painter, provisionally dubbed the Master of 1416, due to the presence of an inscription with this date (Zeri, in Boll. Arte, XLIX, 1964, 48; Topi, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCVI, 2008, 427-428, fig. 14).
6 Florence, Archivio dell'Accademia, minute of the transfer to the Galleria dell'Accademia of 3 January 1933.
7 Florence, SSPMF, Ufficio Catalogo, file OA 00281851 , L. Brunori - E. Biagi, 1987-1989.



1783 ZACCHIROLI, 104
La Sainte Vierge, ayant l'enfant Jésus dans les bras entre Saint Pierre & Saint Paul; par Andrée Orcagna.
1784 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., ms., I, 295, No. 650
(a) *Andrea Orcagna*
1792 ZACCHIROLI , 290
Andrea Orcagna
1825 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., ms. I, classe I, pitture tomo I, No. 39
Andrea Orcagna
1863 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 8 No. 16.
Ignoto quattrocentista.
1878 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 8 No. 16.
Peintre inconnu de XIVme siécle.
1880- FLORENCE MUS. CAT., cat. I, No. 12
1881 *Ignoto toscano sec. XIV*
1881 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 79 No. 16.
Ignoto quattrocentista.
1890 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., No. 437
Ignoto toscano sec. XIV
1891 RIGONI, 82 No. 7.
Ignoto Toscano del Secolo XIV.
1901 PIERACCINI, 99 No. 7 (1910, 100 No.7; 1912, 78 No. 7)
Tuscan school. XIV Cent.
1907 CRUTTWELL, 5
Florentine School, XIV^th century
1928 LUMACHI, 310
Scuola fiorentina del XIV secolo, Taddeo Gaddi
1936 PROCACCI, 27 (1951, 28)
(b) *Ignoto fiorentino circa la metà del secolo XIV, con influenza di Nardo di Cione e orcagnesche*
1963 MARCUCCI, in JAHRB. BERLINER MUS., V, 32
Matteo Pacini… intorno al '60… mostra di avere assimilato lo stile di Giottino nel passaggio da quello masesco più sostenuto a quello più morbido del tabernacolo di via del Leone
1965 MARCUCCI, 93
Matteo Pacini. È indubbia nell'autore dell'operetta una componente orcagnesca, specialmente nella direzione di Nardo di Cione. Ma persistono talmente in lui ricordi sia di Bernardo Daddi sia di Taddeo Gaddi, che lo collegano con lo stile di Maso… I medesimi caratteri si incontrano nell'unica opera nota di Matteo Pacini, il trittico con l'Incoronazione della Vergine già in collezione Stroganov a Roma[8] *… assai vicina a una Madonna fra Santi conservata nel museo di Copenhagen*[9]
1975 BOSKOVITS, 63, 368, fig. 210
Maestro della Misericordia, 1355-1360… Perhaps slightly earlier than the polyptych divided between Parma-Worcester-Maastricht-wherabouts unknown (pls. II[1-5] in this volume)
1979 BELLOSI in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 354
Master of the Misericordia… *è proprio nelle raffigurazioni della predella che appare evidente il rapporto col Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia…*
1994 SKAUG, I, 191-192; II 6.13, Nos. 402, 557, 614
Matteo di Pacino… post 1363
1999 FALLETTI - ANGLANI, 98
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia (Giovanni Gaddi?)
2010 CHIODO, in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 2010, 90-92, pl. XIV, fig. 40
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia… 1360-1365… effetti di naturalezza e nuova attenzione alla resa dei sentimenti sull'esempio di Giottino e Giovanni da Milano

PHOTOGRAPHS
Brogi, Florence, 24345-24346-24347; Alinari, Florence, 30507; SSPMF, Florence, 122715-122716-122717-122718-122719 (after cleaning); 454476 (back), 515966-515967, 516063-516064 (colour photo); ex art. 15, 6077-6078, 10491 (colour slides).

[8] Bellosi, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XVII, 1973, 179-182.
[9] The painting is now attributed to Andrea Bonaiuti (Statens Museum for Kunst, No. 3479) (Tripps, *Corpus*, IV/VII-1, 1996, pl. II).

—1 RIGO

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MILAN
PINACOTECA DI BRERA
Lamberto Vitali Bequest
PL. XIV

PANEL (fragment)
Saint Luke the Evangelist and another fragmentary figure;[1] .77 x .355 m
[date: 1365-1370]

STATE
The panel, fragment of a larger composition, has been cut on all sides. Photographs taken in the late 1960s show the colour damaged by scratches and small colour losses, in part due to woodworm tunnelling, while an extensive overpainting could be noted in the upper right. A later restoration revealed the presence below this latter of part of the headless bust of a figure holding a book in his hands, while only the hem of a garment of another figure, it too lost, could be distinguished in the lower left. The condition of the pictorial surface is now somewhat impaired: small integrations of colour can be noted in the beard over the chin of the Saint and in the lower right of his mantle. More significant are the integrations aimed at restoring the profile of the fragmentary figure in the upper right.

INSCRIPTIONS: [D]UO EX / DISCIPUL[IS] / YH[ES]U (Lk 24: 13).

HISTORY
In 1964 the painting was reported in a private Italian collection.[2] In the following year it is documented in a Milanese collection (a); this was probably the collection of Lamberto Vitali, in which Miklós Boskovits saw the work in c. 1970. As part of the Vitali collection, the painting was donated to the Pinacoteca di Brera by the collector's heirs (in accordance with his testamentary provision) in 1992 (b).

Exhibitions: London, 1965; Milan, 2001.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[3]
1965 LONGHI, in PARAGONE, XVI, No. 183,
(a) 14, fig. 8 (ed. Opere Complete, VII, 1974, 180, pl. 234)
… bellissima tavola di collezione milanese… opera tipica di Antonio Veneziano… il formicolio preciso degli ornati alla certosina nel leggìo

[1] The identification of the Evangelist is based on analysis of the text written in the folio placed on his writing-desk. Miklós Boskovits (1975, 215 n. 78) identified the Saint as John the Evangelist, arguing that the inscription should be transcribed as follows: U[N]O EX DISCIPUL[IS] YH[ES]U, corresponding to John 13: 23 ("One of his disciples, whom Jesus loved"), and referring to John's status as the favourite disciple of Jesus. On the other hand, the absence of any sign of abbreviation above the letters "UO", and the fact that there is a space between the margin of the folio and the beginning of the inscription, would seem to imply the loss of a letter of its incipit. In this case the text could be reconstructed as "[D]UO EX DISCIPUL[IS] YH[ES]U" corresponding to Luke 24: 13, relating to the episode of Christ's meeting with two of his disciples on the road to Emmaus, narrated at length only by this Evangelist who, according to tradition, was one of the two disciples in question (Cross, 1958, 829). This identification is also supported by the facial features of the Saint, compatible with those most frequently encountered in representations of the Evangelist Luke; see Kaftal, 1952, 651-652.
The identification of the other figures is more difficult. The presence of the Virgin at Luke's side, as inspirer of the Gospel, should however be noted; this iconography is otherwise documented from the fifteenth century on, for example in the fresco on the ceiling of the choir in the church of San Francesco at Arezzo, painted by Bicci di Lorenzo (1373-1452) (Nante, in *Padova Exh. Cat.*, 2000, 190). See also in this volume oo.
[2] Information derived from the archive in the Fondazione Federico Zeri (Bologna).
[3] The sale catalogue of the collection of the Rev. John Sanford mentions a painting, which it attributes to Andrea Orcagna, representing *St. Jerome writing in a chamber, three monks standing in the entrance* (London, Sale Cat. 1839, March

PL. XIV

e nel seggio, le mani grasse e tenere che s'indugiano con penna e raschietto sullo scritto… sono ricordi… indotti dai modi di Giovanni da Milano…; ma la testa dal profilo patetico… è tutta cosa d'Antonio non lungi dagli affreschi pisani

1975 BOSKOVITS, 64, 370
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375… the characteristics of the design, *le mani tenere e carnose e lo stesso tipo fisionomico testimoniano abbastanza chiaramente la paternità del nostro pittore,* ma *l'immagine è priva di quell'aura di beata e dignitosa tranquillità che caratterizzava le fatiche precedenti del maestro*

1993 FERRETTI, in ANTICHI MAESTRI, 53
Antonio Veneziano on the basis of comparison with the Madonna del Parto at Montefiesole[4]

1995 SKERL DEL CONTE, 79, 111 n. 28
Antonio Veneziano

2001 MILAN EXH. CAT., 93
(b) *Maestro della Misericordia (Giovanni Gaddi?)… ultima fase dell'attività del pittore… frammento di una composizione maggiore di rara e ancora non spiegata iconografia*

2005 CHIODO, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 45-45
Maestro della Misericordia. Perhaps to be identified with the panel representing Saint Luke recorded in a document of 1366 of the Arte dei Giudici e Notai.[5]

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici, Artistici et Etnoantropologici, Milan, No. 097835/L.

9, 8, No. 106). That this description might refer to the present painting prior to its decurtation should not, perhaps, be completely ruled out, given the frequent misunderstandings during this period in the descriptions of the subject matter of old master paintings (oral communication from Miklós Boskovits).

4 The Madonna del Parto at Montefiesole, cited as a work of the "scuola fiorentina tardo-gotica" in *TCI Toscana*, 1974, 348, was attributed to the Master of the Misericordia by Boskovits, 1975, 370 and, subsequently, recognized as a work of Antonio Veneziano by James Czarnecki, in *Burl. Mag.*, CXIX, 1977, 188-191, postdating the artist's Pisan period, "sometime after 1393".

5 See also 00-00 in this volume.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

VENICE
ART MARKET

PL. XV

PANEL
Madonna of Humility; 1.17 x .585 m
[date: 1365-1370]

STATE
The painting retains fragments of its original frame to the sides and along the profile of the gable. The gold ground and the painted surface are worn and damaged by dense craquelure. The cracks in the support and areas of colour loss have been extensively reintegrated in the garments. Retouches can also be noted in the Madonna's left hand and in the Child's face.

HISTORY
The painting was presented for sale in Venice in 2007 (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
2007 VENICE SALE CAT., July 1st, lot 81
(a) *Maestro della Misericordia*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Venice, San Marco Case d'Asta.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

SAINT PETERSBURG
HERMITAGE MUSEUM - *Inv. No. GE7485* PL. XVI

PANEL
Madonna of Humility; .69 x .45 m
[date: 1365-1370]

STATE
The original painting was smaller; it consisted of a fragment .312 m wide. At a later date, presumably during a nineteenth-century remodelling and reframing of the panel, it was widened on the sides with the addition of two narrow vertical planks (respectively .09 and .13 m wide) to obtain the existing profile. The original panel was also cropped below. During this operation the gold ground was also renovated and the contours of the Virgin's mantle redefined. The original pictorial surface, damaged by a vertical crack that runs down from the top to Mary's right shoulder, is abraded and damaged by small colour losses. Retouches can be noted in the face and dress of the Virgin, while her blue mantle is extensively repainted.

HISTORY
An inscription on the rear of the panel reports its provenance from the collection of Prince N. S. Shcherbachov (Moscow), who had probably acquired it following the misleading nineteenth-century restoration described above (b). Having entered the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow following the Revolution in 1917, it was transferred to the Hermitage in St. Petersburg in 1934 (a, b).

Exhibition: Saint Petersburg, 1989.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1958 SAINT PETERSBURG MUS. CAT., 90
(a) *Giovanni da Milano*
1975 BOSKOVITS, 63, 369, fig. 216
Maestro della Misericordia... 1365-1370... *volto un po' raddolcito da un pennello ottocentesco... si tratta... di un momento di particolare avvicinamento ai modi e gusti di Giovanni da Milano*
1976 SAINT PETERSBURG MUS. CAT., 89
Giovanni da Milano
1989 KUSTODIEVA, 64-65 No. 28
Maestro della Misericordia
1994 KUSTODIEVA, 285-286
(b) *Master of the Miserere* (sic) ... *The Child of the Hermitage picture is the same as in the Master's Madonna and Child in... Parma* (pl. II² in this volume)

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photo.

PL. XVII[1]

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE KREUZLINGEN - NEW YORK - LONDON - WORCESTER POLYPTHYCH

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

KREUZLINGEN (Switzerland)
KISTERS COLLECTION

PL. XVII[2]

PANEL
Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine;[1] 1.20 x .73 m
[date: 1365-1370]

STATE
The panel preserves, at least in part, its original frame wwith cusped arch. A photograph taken in the 1920s or 1930s shows the pictorial surface darkened by grime and traversed by vertical cracks, stuccoed and retouched during an early restoration. In a later photograph, taken roughly in the middle of the last century, the cracks that ran through the face and mantle of Mary and the head of the Child seem to have re-opened and numerous small colour losses can be noted. Subsequently the panel seem to have been restored once again and the pictorial surface cleaned. Retouches especially affect the garments of the Madonna and the Saint, whereas the flesh parts are well preserved.

HISTORY
The painting was bought on the florentine art market by Delfino Cinelli about 1910 (a, b).[2] Later, in the years around 1952-1953, it was reported in the Dombrowski collection in the Castello at Vincigliata (near Fiesole).[3] In 1960 the panel passed into a private collection in Lucerne.[4] It had entered the collection of Heinz Kisters at Kreuzlingen (Switzerland) by 1969 (b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1930 BERENSON, in DEDALO, XI, 1058
-1931 *Seguace di Jacopo di Cione… è simpatico per la sua modestia*
1947 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/V, 228 n. 1[5]

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1 For the iconography of the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine of Alexandria see Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 1947, 228 n. 1; Meiss, 1951, 107-113; Deimling, in Pasquinucci-Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 194 n. 1. The iconographic theme of the altarpiece, of which our panel would have formed the centrepiece, focused on Saint Catherine. This suggests its provenance from an altar or church dedicated to the Saint of Alexandria. At the time the Master of the Misericordia painted it, three religious buildings were dedicated to this Saint in Florence: the monastery of Santa Caterina al Mugnone, the *spedale* of Santa Caterina dei Talani and the oratory of Santa Caterina at Ponte alle Grazie (Cocchi, 1903, 9; Paatz, I, 1940, 427-441).[5] The documentary sources at our disposal permit us to establish no immediate links with any of these religious institutions; on the other hand, the events surrounding the foundation of the hospital of Santa Caterina dei Talani provide some modest support that would justify further research in this direction. The Spedale was in fact founded in execution of the last will of Alessandro di Talano dei Filipetri who, in his testament dated 15 June 1349, had bequeathed a sum of 1500 gold florins for the construction of a hospital named after Saint Catherine of Alexandria. After various difficulties, the construction of the new building began in 1361 on a site close to the Porta San Gallo; the first invalids began to be received in it in c. 1370 (Passerini, 1853, 648-658). The fact that this date, which evidently marked the conclusion of the work with the supply of the necessary furnishings, coincides with that suggested by the analysis of our panel's figurative style permits us at least to conjecture, with all due caution, that the triptych of the Master of the Misericordia, to which Kisters panel belongs, might originally have come from Santa Caterina dei Talani.

2 According to Cinellis oral communication to Richard Offner in 1933.

3 Corpus, Archive. A handwritten annotation by Richard Offner on the back of the photograph specifies the presence of the painting at Vincigliata in 1952. According to a further annotation in the hand of Klara Steinweg the painting was still there in the following year.

4 Corpus, Archive. Handwritten annotation by Klara Steinweg on the back of the photograph.

5 In a communication to the owner dated 15 September 1947 (now among the papers of the Kisters family) Richard

PL. XVII²

(a) *Florence, Sig. Delfino Cinelli, Cionesque* Remarks on the iconography

1967 KLESSE, 326, No. 257
Orcagnesker Meister unter Einfluss Agnolo Gaddis… letzer Viertel des 14. *Jahrhunderts… Standort unbekannt.* The decorative motif of the cloth of honour is not identified in other paintings.

1967 ZERI, in BURL. MAG., CIX, 474
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia. Affinities with the Madonna and Child formerly in the Kress collection and now in the museum in Ponce (Puerto Rico) (pl. XLVIII² in this volume). By the same master is also the processional cross painted on two sides in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (pls. XI¹⁻² in this volume).

1975 BOSKOVITS, 64, 369, fig. 217

(b) *Maestro della Misericordia…* 1370-1375… *Kreuzlingen…, in precedenza Firenze, Coll. Cinelli).* Affinities with the Madonna in the museum of Ponce in Puerto Rico (pl. XLVIII² in this volume); both inspired by the Madonna of the street-tabernacle on the Via Leone di Giottino.[6]

1981 OFFNER, 10
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1987 POPE-HENNESSY, 65
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia

2000 DEIMLING, in PASQUINUCCI-DEIMLING, CORPUS, IV/VIII, 194 n. 1
Master of the Misericordia. Kinship pointed out with two paintings of the same subject respectively by Puccio di Simone[7] and Tommaso del Mazza.[8]

PHOTOGRAPHS
Reali, Florence (negatives at the National Gallery of Art, Washington); Rovelli (1953) in the Corpus, Archive; Friedrich Kisters, Kreuzlingen.

Offner related the painting to the circle of Andrea and Nardo di Cione, indicating affinities with the triptych in the Corsi collection (dated 1358), the Madonna and Child in the church of San Lorenzo at Coppiano and four figures of Saints in the Hutton collection, now attributed to the painter known under the provisional name of Master of Barberino (Zeri, in Gaz. B.-A., XLVIII, 1963, 245-247).

6 Cf. Boskovits, 1975, pl. 42 (now Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia), Bellosi, in Prospettiva, 2001, No. 101, 22-24.

7 Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 1947, pl. LIII.

8 Pasquinucci-Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 194-196.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

LONDON
ART MARKET (formerly) PL. XVII[3]

PREDELLA COMPARTMENT
Disputation of Saint Catherine with Pagan Philosophers;[1] .19 x .645 m
[date: 1365-1370]

STATE
The painting has been cut along its lower margin and cropped along its upper edge. The pictorial surface is worn and compromised by numerous retouches; in particular the faces of the soldiers to the far right of the scene and the third last figure on the same side have been entirely repainted, as also has the face of the bald and bearded philosopher at the centre of the scene and that of Maxentius on his throne. The profile of St. Catherine has also been retouched.

HISTORY[2]
The painting, according to information provided by a label on the rear of the panel (b, c), belonged to the collection of William Young Ottley (1771-1836).[3] Acquired by the Rev. Walter Davenport Bromley (1787-1863) (Wootton Hall, Staffordshire) before 1847[4] as a work of Neri di Bicci, it was offered for sale in London in 1863 (a). The painting was entrusted to a dealer (Campanari) to handle its sale (c), but it remained with Walter's son, William Davenport Bromley[5] and then transferred to Capesthorne Hall in Cheshire after his purchase of this estate in 1867 (c). Offered for sale in 1991 (c).

Exhibitions: Manchester, 1958 (b); Manchester, 1960 (b).

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1863 LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 13 June, lot 92
(a) *Neri di Bicci*
1958 MANCHESTER EXH. CAT., 12, No. 78 *Lorenzo di Niccolò... attribution by Dr Hans Gronau 1949.*
1960 MANCHESTER EXH. CAT., No. 29
(b) *Niccolò di Pietro Gerini... The present attribution is due to the late Hans Gronau and was confirmed by Berenson.*
1963 BERENSON, 158 *Niccolò di Pietro Gerini*
1975 BOSKOVITS, 63, 368, fig. 209 *Maestro della Misericordia...* 1360-1365.

[1] For this episode in the biography of Saint Catherine of Alexandria see Kaftal, 1952, 232. A few years before the Master of the Misericordia executed this painting, a cycle of scenes from the life of the Saint had been frescoed on the walls of the chapel of the Oratory of Santa Caterina all'Antella on the outskirts of Florence by the Barberino Master and Pietro Nelli. To the latter is attributable the scene with the same subject as the painting being discussed here; and the Master of the Misericordia seems to have been inspired by it for the composition of his figures. See Boskovits and Labriola, in *Oratorio*, 1998, 47-59.

[2] See in this volume oo (entry for Kreuzlingen)

[3] On William Young Ottley and his collection see Previtali, in *Paragone*, IX, 1959, No. 113, 3-32; *ibid.*, XIII, 1962, 149, 32-51; Waterhouse, in *Italian Studies*, 1962, 272-280; Sutton, in *Apollo*, CXXII, 1985, 84-86; Rodgers, in *Dict. of Art*, 1996, 634 and Cinelli, in *Studi K.I.F.*, 1996, 409-414. See also oo and pl. L in this volume (Hampton Court).

[4] The collection of William Young Ottley was in part sold by his heirs in London in 1847 (Foster, 26-30 June, in Waterhouse, in *Italian Studies*, 1962, 276-280). Since the painting now given to the Master of the Misericordia is not mentioned in the sale catalogue, its transfer to the Davenport collection could have taken place before this date.

[5] For the collection of the Rev. Walter Davenport Bromley cf. Waagen, 1854, III, 371-380; Sutton, in *Apollo*, CXXII, 1985, 88; London, Christie's Sale Catalogue, 24 May 1991, 60-61. William Davenport Bromley changed his surname to Bromley Davenport in 1868.

Other compartments from the same multi-part altarpiece in the Lehman collection (New York, Metropolitan Museum) (pl. XVII[4] in this volume) and in the Worcester Art Museum (pl. XVII[5] in this volume). Perhaps slightly earlier than the Parma-Worcester-Maastricht-whereabouts unknown polyptych (pls. II[1-6] in this volume).

1981 OFFNER, 9
Master of the Virgin of Mercy… companion to New York, Lehman Coll. and Worcester 1940.30 (pl. XVII[4-5] in this volume)

1987 POPE-HENNESSY, 64-65, No. 30
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia… part of a predella devoted to the life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria. It is possible that the central panel of the altarpiece beneath which this predella stood is the "Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine' now in the Heinz Kisters collection (pl. XVII[2] in this volume).

1991 LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 24 May, lot 35

(c) *Master of the Misericordia.* Some information on the history of the painting.

2001 FREULER, in FEHLMANN FREULER, 101
Meister der Misericordia Madonna. References to the figurative language of Bernardo Daddi.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Entwistle, Thorpe & Co., Manchester, C34089; Christie's, London.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

NEW YORK
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
ROBERT LEHMAN COLLECTION *Inv. No. 1975.1.62* PL. XVII[4]

PREDELLA COMPARTMENT
Vision of Saint Catherine of Alexandria;[1] .21 x .342 m, .20 x .328 m *painted surface*; .031 m *thickness*.
[date: 1365-1370]

STATE
The panel, horizontal in format, has been stripped of its engaged frame, exposing the edges of the wooden support along the borders of the panel. The pictorial surface is slightly worn in a uniform manner. A narrow strip of the pictorial surface, c. 1.3 cm wide, comprising the feet of the Child and the lower part of the Virgin's dress, has been integrated in modern times; other small retouches can be noted in the architectural setting in which the scene is placed and in the profile and dress of the kneeling Saint Catherine (b).

HISTORY[2]
The painting was with the dealer Loebl in Paris in the 1920s. There it was purchased by Philip Lehman in 1924. After the death of the collector's son, Robert, in 1975, the painting entered the Metropolitan Museum as part of the Lehman bequest (b).

Exhibition: Cincinnati 1929 (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1928 LEHMAN, pl. 9
School of Agnolo Gaddi… a second panel… another scene of the life of Saint Catherine… now in possession of the art-dealer Trotti, Paris (pl. XVII[5] in this volume)

1932 BERENSON, 239 (1936, 205)
Giotteschi (Florentine)… after 1350… following of Giovanni da Milano

1959 CINCINNATI EXH. CAT., No. 61

(a) *Agnolo Gaddi*

1963 BERENSON, I, 216
Unidentified Florentine 1350-1420… Follower of Giovanni da Milano… (companion to Worcester 1940.30)

1975 BOSKOVITS, 63, 370, fig. 208
Maestro della Misericordia… 1360-1365. Other compartments of the same altarpiece in the Bromley Davenport collection (Capesthorne Hall) (pl. XVII[3] in this volume) and in the Worcester Art Museum (pl. XVIII[5] in this volume). To be dated slightly earlier than the Parma-Worcester-Maastricht-whereabouts unknown polyptych (pls. II[1-5] in this volume).

1975 SZABO, 30, No. 29
Follower of Agnolo Gaddi

1981 OFFNER, 12
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1987 POPE-HENNESSY, 64-65, No. 30

(b) *Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia... part of a predella devoted to the life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, of which other panels are in the Bromley Davenport collection... and the Worcester Art Museum... It is possible that the central panel of the altarpiece beneath which this predella stood is the 'Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine' now in the Heinz Kisters collection* (pl. XVII[2] in this volume)

1991 LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 24 May, lot 35
Master of the Misericordia.

1995 BAETJER, 9
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia

2001 SCHMIDT, in VISION OF HOLINESS, 27 fig. 5
Master of the Misericordia

2005 SCHMIDT, 23-24, fig. 9
Master of the Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Metropolitan Museum of Art

[1] On the iconography of this episode – the Saint's contemplation of the image of the Christ Child in the Virgin's arms – in the biography of Saint Catherine, see Schmidt, 2005, 10-30, in particular 18-25.
[2] See in this volume 00 (previous entry).

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MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

WORCESTER
WORCESTER ART MUSEUM *Inv. No. 1940.30* PL. XVII[5]

PREDELLA COMPARTMENT
Martyrdom of Saint Catherine; .217 x .339 m, .202 x .320 *painted surface.*
[date: 1365-1370]

STATE
The panel has been thinned and attached to another support. Marks relating to the period when the painting was in France and a coat of arms impressed in sealing wax are visible on the back of the panel.[1] The pictorial surface, though darkened by grime, seems fairly well preserved. The gold ground is slightly rubbed. The profiles of the soldier with the sword and the Emperor Maxentius have been redrawn, while an over-painted passage can be detected in the figure of the soldier with the lance, close to his right eye. Retouches can also be noted along the lower margin of the painting.

HISTORY
The claimed provenance from the collection of W. Fuller Maitland, Stanstead Hall (Essex) (b) is unsubstantiated, given its absence from the catalogues of this collection.[2] Its identification with a predella panel reported on the Parisian art market (Trotti) in 1928 seems more certain (a). In 1932 the painting belonged to Robert Langton Douglas[3] (c), by whom it was sold to Theodore T. Ellis in the same year;[4] in 1940 it was donated to the Worcester Art Museum with other works from the same collection (b) as a work of Nardo di Cione.[5]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1928 LEHMAN, No. 9
(a) *School of Agnolo Gaddi… scene of the life of Saint Catherine… now in possession of the art-dealer Trotti, Paris*
1941 COTT, in WORCESTER A. M. A., IV, 8, fig. 2
(b) *… must be dated about* 1370 *according to Madame Vavalà who, however, is unable to suggest a definite artist. She notes that it is related in a general way to the work of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and may be compared with the late frescoes by this artist and assistants in the Convent of St. Francis at Prato…* Details of its provenance
1963 BERENSON, I, 216
Unidentified Florentine 1350-1420… *Follower of Giovanni da Milano.* From the

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1 The coat of arms has not been identified. It is also found however on the back of the predella panel by Lorenzo Monaco, with *Episodes of the Life of St. Benedict,* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (Volbach, 1987, 35-36, figs. 71-74) since 1908, and formerly in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Museo Sacro (on the formation of this collection see the catalogue entry relating to pl. XXXII[2-3] in this volume).

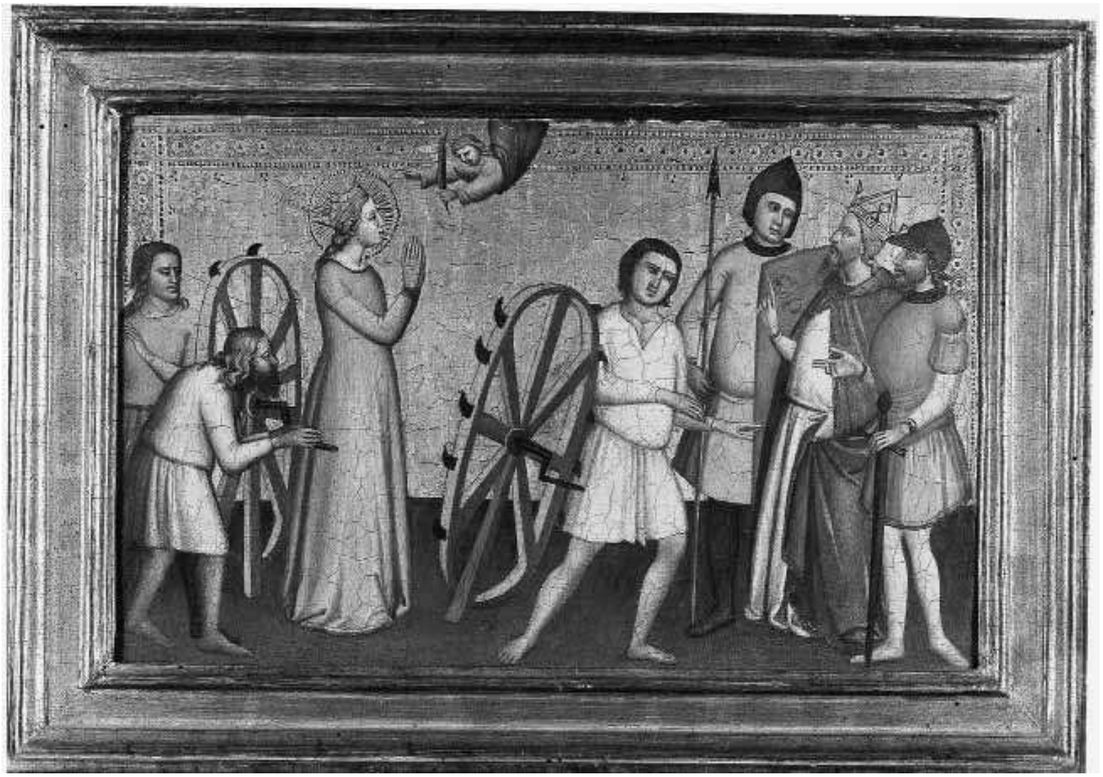
2 Cf. Davies, in *Worcester Cat. Museum*, 1974, 358. The painting can be identified neither in the summary list of paintings in the collection published by Waagen (1854, III, 1-5), nor in subsequent catalogues of the same collection (Stansted Hall Cat. Collection 1872) and of its sale (London Sale Cat., 1922, Christie's, 14 July). According to Davies, therefore, the presence of the painting in the Stanstead Hall collection, reported by Cott (b), could derive from an erroneous "a posteriori" identification with a painting in the Fuller Maitland collection, correctly recognized in the literature as a predella panel by Bernardo Daddi, representing "Saint Catherine before the Emperor" (Offner, *Corpus*, III/IV, 1934, 165, 174; III/III, 2nd ed. 1991, 280-281).

3 Sutton, in *Apollo*, CIX, 1979, 248-315, 334-393, 412-475; CX, 1980, 2-55.

4 The Ellis collection was formed between c. 1917 and 1933 (b). The painting is cited in a list of paintings in the collection dated 12 July 1934 (c).

5 Classification documented by a label on the back of the panel.

XVII[5]



same polyptych as the compartment in the Lehman collection (pl. XVII[4] in this volume)

1972 FREDERICKSEN - ZERI, 220, 385, 651
Florence 14th cent.

1974 (c) WORCESTER MUS. CAT., 357-358
Florentine School. … at one time ascribed to Nardo… (in a list of paintings of the Ellis collection dated 12 July 1934). Information on its condition and provenance

1975 BOSKOVITS, 63, 372, fig. 207
Maestro della Misericordia… 1360-1365. Other compartments from the same polyptych in the Bromley Davemport collection (Capesthorne Hall) (pl. XVII[3] in this volume). Perhaps slightly earlier than the Parma-Worcester-Maastricht-whereabouts unknown polyptych (pls. II[1-6] in this volume).

1981 OFFNER, 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy… companion to New York, Lehman Collection and Capesthorne Hall

1987 POPE-HENNESSY, 64-65, No. 30
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia… part of a predella devoted to the life of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, of which other panels are in the Bromley Davenport collection… and the Worcester Art Museum… It is possible that the central panel of the altarpiece beneath which this predella stood is the "Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine' now in the Heinz Kisters collection (pl. XVII[2] in this volume)

1991 LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 24 May, lot 35
Master of the Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Museum Photo.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

NEW YORK
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
BELLE AND JACK LINSKY COLLECTION - *Inv. No. 1981.365.2* PL. XVIII

PANEL[1]
The *Volto Santo* supported above by two angels;[2] .295 x .206 m *with the frame*, .244 x .156 m *painted surface*.
[date: 1370-1375]

STATE
The painting, which retains its original frame, is in fair condition. At the centre of Christ's forehead can be noted a circular blemish caused by the movement of a knot in the underlying wood. Small losses, in part retouched, may be noted along the margins and in the gold ground. The original geometric decoration is preserved on the back of the panel, albeit with many small colour losses, only in part re-integrated.

Inscriptions: PACEM MEAM DO VOBIS (John 14: 27) (on the neck-band of Christ's dress).
On the back, in sixteenth/seventeenth century script: 120 / *dalla Camera dato da Sua Gratia*

HISTORY
In 1912 the painting was in the collection of Elia Volpi (Palazzo Davanzati) in Florence (b).[3] In 1940 it was reported in the Jacob Reder collection in Brussels, which was transferred to New York during the Second World War.[4] Later it was reported in the New York collection of Ernst Schwarz, who died in 1957 and whose heirs retained it until 1959, when it was sold in London as part of that collection (a). Purchased by Jack Linsky,[5] it remained in the collection of Jack and Belle Linsky in New York from 1959 to 1980. In 1981 it was donated by the Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation to the Metropolitan Museum in New York.[6]
The inscription on the back of the painting could allude to a donation made by a member of the Medici family through the Camera del Granduca (1610-1710) or Camera Granducale (1769-1808).

Exhibitions: Hartford, 1965 (a); New York, 1968.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1951 MEISS, 35-37, fig. 42
Hitherto unpublished… made around 1380,

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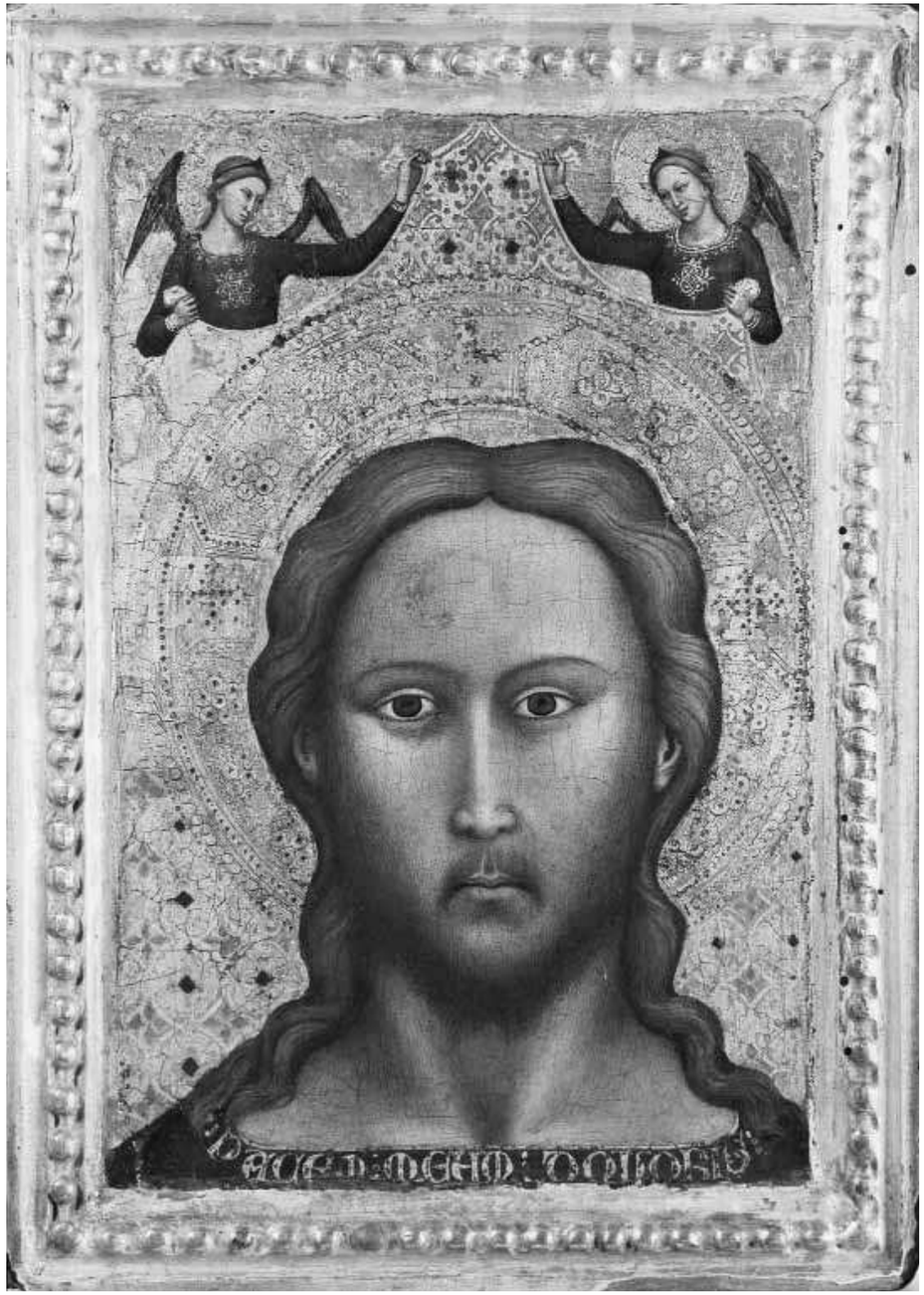
1 As also suggested by the inscription, the panel is a pax or *tabula pacis ad osculatorium*; see Braun, 1932, 557-572.
2 For the iconography of the *Volto Santo* or *Holy Face*; an imprint of the face of Jesus on a towel (*Mandylion*), see Wolf, in *Roma Exh. Cat.*, 2000, 103-114.
3 Elia Volpi purchased the Palazzo Davanzati in 1904 and immediately began its restoration and interior decoration with the aim of recreating the ambience of a Florentine house of the Renaissance. Already in 1911 however Volpi was forced to sell part of his collection to pay tax arrears; his financial difficulties continued to be relieved with further sales in the following years, until he eventually sold the Palazzo Davanzati itself to the merchant Leopoldo Bengujat in 1924. See Savolini, in Apollo, LXXXI-2, 1965, 302-305 and Berti, in *Il Museo*, 1971, 5-19.
4 Corpus, Archive. Manuscript notes by Richard Offner. This was probably the collection of Jacob Reder, a Belgian collector, who fled as a political refugee to the USA during the Second World War. To the same collection also belonged a tabernacle attributed to the Master of Cross No. 434 in the Uffizi, donated to the Museum of Princeton in 1958; see Boskovits, *Corpus*, I/I, 1993, 432.=
5 The panel was purchased at the Christie's sale by a certain Mr. Leadbeater, who was probably acting as Jack Linsky's agent.
6 Belle and Jack Linsky, a New York stapler manufacturer, began to collect works of art in the mid-1950s. After the death of Jack Linsky (1980), part of the collection was transferred to the "Jack and Belle Linsky Foundation". In 1982 Belle Linsky and the Foundation, jointly, donated a large part of the collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where the "Jack and Belle Linsky Galleries" were inaugurated in 1984. See *New York, Coll. Cat.* 1984. The present painting however, formed part of a previous donation.



perhaps by a Pistoiese master. His style is deeply dependent upon the Cioni… likeness of one of the miraculous images of the "sacra facies" that were venerated in Rome in the later Middle Ages… may have served as a pax

1959 LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 26 June, 17, lot 47

(a) *Bernardo Daddi… the back painted in imitation of marble*

1965 HARTFORD EXH. CAT., 19 No. 16

(b) *Possibly by a Master from Pistoia, strongly influenced by the Cioni… c.* 1380… *Coll. Elia Volpi, c.* 1912... *Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Jack Linsky*

1968 BOSKOVITS, in BURL. MAG., 211
Agnolo Gaddi… can at any rate easily be imagined as a product of the artist from around 1370

1968 GOMEZ MORENO, No. 13
Italian, Tuscan about 1380…

1975 BOSKOVITS, 370
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375

1981 OFFNER, 12
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1995 BAETJER, 8
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

VATICAN CITY
PINACOTECA VATICANA - *Inv. No. 104* PL. XIX

PANEL
Annunciation; .205 x .145 x .003 m
[date: 1370-1375]

STATE
The panel has been cut along all sides and probably thinned to its existing thickness (0.3 mm) (f). In 1929 (d) it was inserted in a modern frame and showed extensive retouching, which especially concealed a large area of colour loss in the lower right. The retouches were removed during a later restoration, during which the frame was eliminated. The pictorial surface is now rather worn and damaged by craquelure and small colour losses.
Inscriptions: ECC/E –V/IR/GO (Is. 7.14; on the Virgin's book); SANAGLA (sic, on the pavement between the Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel). On the back is the monogram $\frac{T}{A}$ D + C and, below it, the date 1705, both written in pen (f).

HISTORY
In 1867 the painting was in the Museo Cristiano annexed to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, where it is recorded first with the No. 326[1] (a), then with the No. 232 (c). Since 1909 it has been in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (b, c) where it was exposed with the No. 47 (c) and then, after the rearrangement of the Pinacoteca in 1932, with the No. 104 (e).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1867 BARBIER DE MONTAULT, 75 No. 326

(a) *Gracieux tableaux de l'école italienne, … XIV^e siècle*

1909 BERNARDINI, in RASS. ARTE, IX, 6, 94

(b) *Scuola fiorentina*

1913 VATICAN CITY MUS. CAT., 21 No. 47

(c) *Scuola fiorentina (fine sec. XIV)… Dal Museo Cristiano (fuori vetrina), n. 232*

1929 D'ACHIARDI, 8

(d) *Scuola fiorentina (forse sec. XIV)*

1933 VATICAN CITY MUS. CAT., 24 No. 104

(e) *Scuola fiorentina (sec. XIV)*

1939 PRAMPOLINI, 19 fig. 19
Scuola fiorentina del sec. XIV

1978 MILLS, in HALI, I.2, 243
Unknown Florentine, late XIV c.

1981 OFFNER, 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy… milieu of

1987 VOLBACH, 21, fig. 27

(f) *Scuola fiorentina… La composizione… segue un modello inaugurato da Maso di Banco a Santa Lucia al Prato a Firenze[2]… ed è… assai vicina a quella della tavola di Jacopo di Cione in Santo Spirito a Prato[3]… Lo stile dell'opera è vicino ai modi di Cenni di Francesco*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Anderson, Florence, 24014; Vatican Museums, Vatican City, XXV, 21-65.

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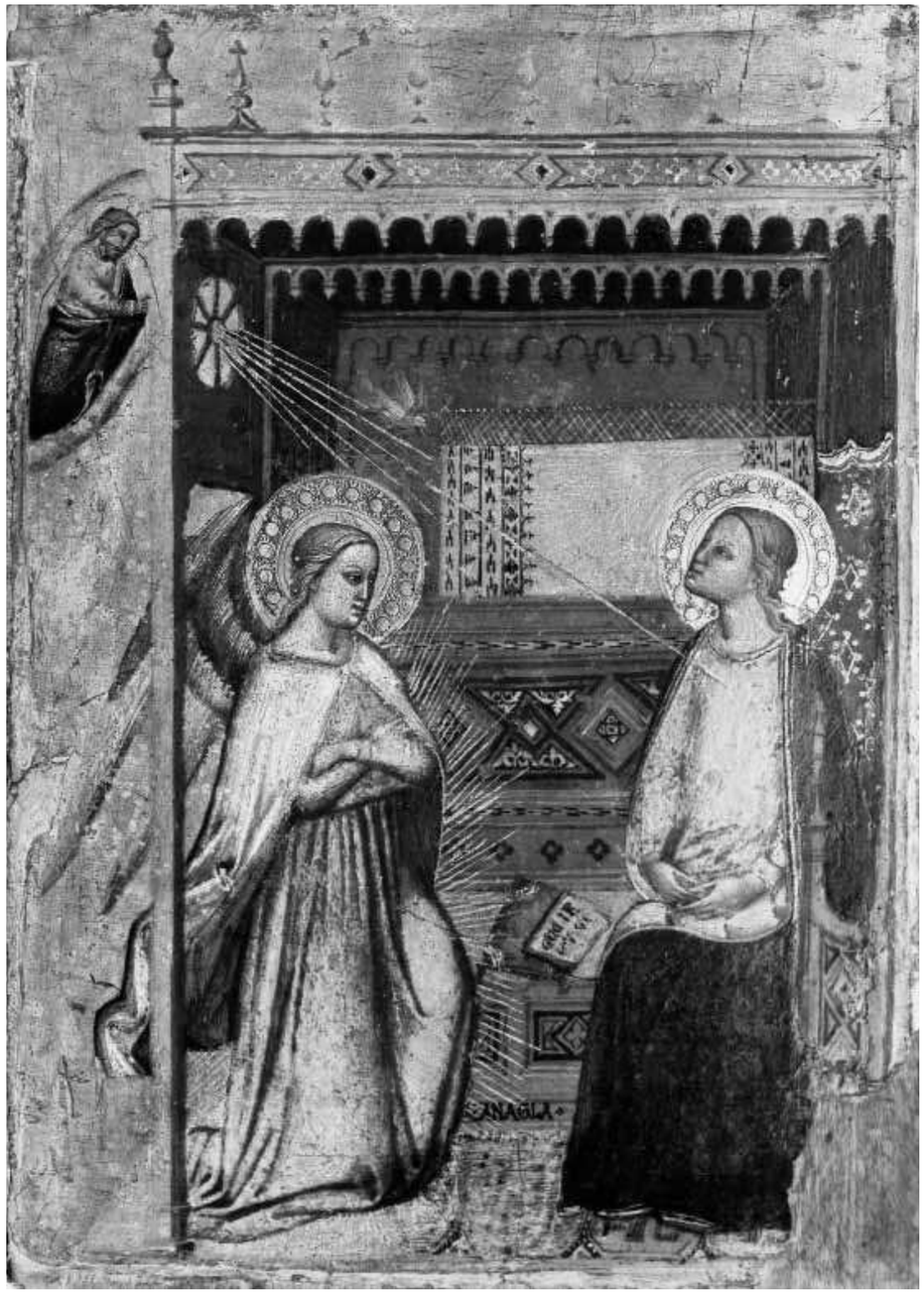
1 On the formation of the Museo Cristiano, see ∞ in this volume.

2 Fresco attributed to Maso di Banco by Berenson (1932, 337), see ∞ in this volume.

3 Panel representing the Annunciation and, in the predella, Stories of the Life of Christ. Richard Offner and Klara Steinweg (Corpus, IV/III, 1965, 137 n. 2; Offner, A Legacy, 1981, 49-50) attributed it to a follower of Jacopo di Cione, whom they designated with the provisional name of "Master of the Prato Annunciation". Later Miklós Boskovits proposed to recognize in this anonymous master a phase of the activity of Jacopo di Cione himself, though noting in the stories of the predella and in the little figures of Saints in the main panel the intervention of the Master of the Ashmolean Predella (Boskovits, 1975, 96-97, 329, pl. 89/b)

PL. XIX



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE,
GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA
Inv. 1890 No. 8565

PLS. XX[1-2]

PANEL
Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata, .438 x .252 m;[1] *Nativity,* .437 x .254 m; *Conversion of St. Paul,*[2] .437 x .254. m; .50 x .94 m *entire panel.*
[date: 1370-1375]

STATE
The panel is formed of three vertically grained boards, respectively .295, .28 and .31 m wide. The joints between the boards fall inside the painted surface (in the *Stigmata* the joint actually runs through the friar who witnesses the miracle, while in the *Conversion of St. Paul* it runs close to the left margin of the scene); this implies that the current sequence of the three episodes is the original one.
The vertical grain of the wood would also seem to exclude the panel's belonging to a predella, as has been assumed in the past (c, d). On the other hand, the presence of original stucco painted russet (below a more recent brown) along the lateral margins of the frame and along the upper margin would suggest that in these areas the painting has not been modified, whereas its lower edge shows signs of having been cut.
The panel was subjected to an undocumented restoration, probably in the 1940s, during which the joints between the boards were reinforced with butterfly splines and then stuccoed. During a later restoration[3] a vertical crack that ran through the panel from top to bottom was closed with the insertion of a spline, while on the recto colour losses along the joint between the boards, close to the left margin of the *Nativity*, were retouched. The pictorial surface is in general fairly well preserved, in spite of small scattered colour losses, later retouched. More substantial damage can be identified in the *Stigmata* close to the Saint's left hand, in the face of the Madonna in the *Nativity* and in the *Conversion of St. Paul* where the figure of Christ and of the soldier on horseback furthest to the right are particularly worn.

INSCRIPTIONS
On the scroll held in Christ's left hand: SAULE SA/ULE QUID / ME P(E)RSEQ/(U)ERIS DU/RUM EST / TIBI CON/TRA / MULTUM C/ALCITRARE (Acts 9: 4-5)
Close to Saul's mouth: DOMINE QUID ME VIS FACERE (Acts 9: 6)
On the back of the panel is the inscription "Verif(ica)to / 8 giugno 1905", written in ink on the wood in the upper left; two labels at the centre read respectively "No. 25 / Estratti dal Convento di Monticelli di / Firenze" and "Regia Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze / Inv. 1910 No. 63";"No. 195" is written in ink on the wood in the lower right. Another inscription documents an inventory control in 1906.

HISTORY
An early label on the back specifies the panel's provenance from the monastery of Santa Maria a Monticelli, of the order of the Poor Clares (b).[4] The painting's display in the Gal-

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1 A very similar version of the *Stigmata*, perhaps even a derivation from it, has been attributed to the Master of San Jacopo at Mucciana and is now in the W. R. Nelson Art Gallery in Kansas City (Boskovits, 1975, fig. 406).
2 The iconography of the scene is based on the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 9: 4-6). See Kaftal, 1952, 784-789.
3 Carried out by "Studio 4 s.r.l." in Florence between 1991 and 1992 (SSPMF, UR 2325).
4 The monastery, already founded in the first quarter of the thirteenth century in the area outside Porta Romana,

PL. XX[1-2]

leria dell'Accademia is documented from 1847 (a). While it is possible that the painting entered the Florentine Galleries following the suppression of religious orders between 1808 and 1810 (c), it is not listed among the works of art removed from thence and placed in store at San Marco (d).

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1847 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 29, n. 28 (1854, 31 n. 33; 1855, 31 n. 33; 1859, 44 n. 64)
(a) *Attribué a Angiolo Gaddi.*
1859 MASSELLI, 159, n. 195
Agnolo Gaddi
1884 PIERACCINI, 120 n. 59
(b) *Gaddi Angelo (attribuito a) La Nascita di Gesù e due Santi… Proviene dal soppresso Convento di Monticelli presso Firenze ove abitavano monache Francescane.*
1884 OSTOYA, 14
Agnolo Gaddi
1890 SSPMF, Inventario, 8565
Agnolo Gaddi. No. 63 *dell'Inventario dell'Accademia* (later script).
1908 SIRÉN, 92.
Agnolo Gaddi
1914 KHVOSHINSKY - SALMI, II, 45.
Agnolo Gaddi
1920 SIRÉN, in THIEME - BECKER, XIII, 27.
Agnolo Gaddi
1924 van MARLE, III, 551.
Agnolo Gaddi
1934a SALVINI, in RIV. ARTE, 32.
Agnolo Gaddi
1936 PROCACCI, 23 (1951, 24)
Scuola di Agnolo Gaddi… dal Convento di Monticelli.
1936 SALVINI, 20-25, 27, 29-30, n. 17, 183.
Primo periodo dell'attività artistica di Agnolo Gaddi. … Nel narrare Agnolo doveva essere qui alle sue prime armi… così ci fa ritenere anche il palese appoggiarsi in queste storiette allo stile paterno.
1947 ANTAL, 228 n. 163.
early works of Agnolo
1952 PAATZ, IV, 338.
Werkstatt des Agnolo Gaddi, Ende 14 *Jahrh.*
1956 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/VI, 62 n. 2
Master of the Virgin of Mercy
1965 MARCUCCI, 135-136.
(c) Master of the Misericordia. *Il modo limpido, ma un poco timido di comporre o di narrare e gli evidenti ricordi stilistici e, per le Stigmate e la Natività, iconografici da Taddeo Gaddi… fanno pensare a un prodotto giovanile… Il Longhi (comun. orale) riconosce nelle tre tavolette dell'Accademia lo stesso autore della Mater Misericordiae* (pl. XII in this volume) *e delle storie di Sant'Eligio in collezione Cambò a Barcellona* (pls. III[1-3] in this volume)… *il "Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia"… la predella dovrebbe essere anteriore, non più tarda del '75.*
1968 BOSKOVITS, in BURL. MAG., 209, n. 5.
Maestro della Misericordia
1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6, LXXI, 75
Assolutamente certa… l'appartenenza al Maestro della Misericordia
1975 BOSKOVITS, 64, 368, figs. 229-230.
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375; testifies to the shift in the painter's style from the *beata e dignitosa tranquillità che caratterizzava le fatiche precedenti del maestro… a un ritmo finora ignoto, dagli accenti quasi drammatici.*
1977 COLE, 72
Unidentified Florentine ca. 1370*?*
1987 BONSANTI, 66
Maestro della Misericordia (Firenze?, seconda metà del XIV secolo).
1992 THOMAS, in RIV. ARTE, s. IV, VIII, 325
Anonymous artist of the late 14*th century.*
1994 SKAUG, I, 259; II, 8.1 No. 152
Master of the Misericordia
1999 FALLETTI - ANGLANI, 98
Maestro della Misericordia (Giovanni Gaddi?)
2010 CHIODO, in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 85-89
(d) *Maestro della Misericordia… tra settimo e ottavo decennio del Trecento*

PHOTOGRAPHS

Brogi, Florence, 24241, 24242, 24243; Frick Art Reference Library (Sansoni), New York, S-6416; SSPMF, Florence, 376084, 376085, 376086, 533812 (back); ex. Art. 15, 1904 (color slide); Rabatti&Domingie Photography, Florence (fotocolor).

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was the earliest community in Florence of the order founded by Saint Clare, and preserved some important relics, including the mantle of St. Francis. During the siege of the city in 1529 it was destroyed and the nuns moved to another convent within the circle of walls, on the Via de' Malcontenti, where they remained until the suppression of religious congregations ordered by the Napoleonic government in 1808. See Richa, II, 1755, 176-201; Lazzeri, 1912; Paatz, 1952, IV, 334-343.

According to a recent but unconvincing proposal by Anabel Thomas (in *Riv. Arte,* XLIV, 1992, 325) , the three compartments painted by the Master of the Misericordia formed part of the "altare del diserto", for which Neri di Bicci painted an altar-frontal representing "Saint Francis founding Santa Maria degli Angeli" in 1488.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

POZNAŃ (Poland)
MUZEUM NARODOWE - *Inv. Nos. MO-546-547* PLS. XXI[1-2]

TWO FRAGMENTS FROM A PANEL
Six Apostles *in each fragment of a panel that originally represented* Pentecost;[1] .535 x .77 m each
[date: 1370-1375]

STATE
The two fragments are all that remains of a painting of unusually large dimensions, reduced to its current state already at an early date. It is probable that the paintings originally represented full-length figures of the Apostles, as suggested by Skubiszewska (b), while the centre of the panel – which would have been surmounted by a triangular gable – would have been filled by a standing figure of the Virgin Mary (a fragment of her mantle still remains visible along the right margin of the panel to the left). An inscription on the rear of both fragments records a restoration carried out by Andrzej Sidorov in St. Petersburg in 1894 (c, d), during which the wooden support was demolished and the paint film transferred to canvas. In 1951-1952 the two fragments were once again restored, this time at the Pracowni Konserwacij Zabytków studio in Warsaw, under the supervision of Bohdan Marconi (c, d). During this restoration, the canvas was replaced by a more durable plywood support (d), and the old darkened varnishes and the many retouches that covered the pictorial surface were in part eliminated, leaving visible the damage it had suffered.
The current state of conservation is mediocre: the gold is heavily abraded and damaged by craquelure, while the colour is impoverished especially in the figure of the Apostle furthest to the left in the fragment No. MO-546 and in the figures closest to the centre in the other fragment.

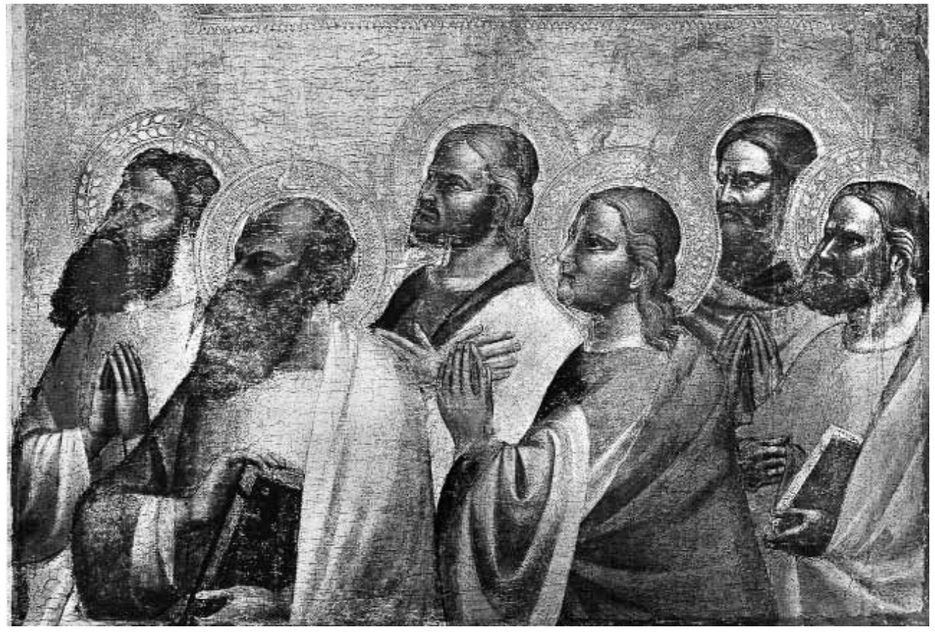
HISTORY
In 1894 the two fragments were in St. Petersburg, where they were restored (c, d). In 1951 they were purchased by the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art as works with a provenance from the Swiatopolk-Czetwertyński collection.[2] They have been in the National Museum of Poznań since 1952 (a, c).

Exhibition: Krakow, 1961.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1959 POZNAŃ MUS. CAT., fasc. 1
Sienese school of the fourteenth century 1961
(a) ROZYCKA-BRYZEK, in CRAKOW EXH. CAT., 46 No. 23
Atélier de Niccolò di Pietro Gerini… possible qu'ils furent exécutés par des collaborateurs de Gerini d'après son dessins… parte centrale manque… Acquis en 1951 *de la collection Czetwertyn'ski à Varso-*

[1] For the iconography see Offner, *Corpus*, IV/I, 1962, 74 n. 2. Among the Saints looking to the right we can recognize Peter and Andrew in the foreground; in the other panel the figure closest to the centre [hands crossed over his breast] is, presumably, Saint Bartholomew.
[2] The Princes Switopolk-Czetwertyński were illustrious members of the Polish nobility (their dynastic princely title in Poland and Lithuania can be traced back to 1569). That the paintings entered the family collection after 1917 seems improbable: its members were arrested and deported first to Russian, then to German concentration camps, while those who survived the Second World War found refuge in Belgium. See www.britannica.com (2009); www.czetwertynski.net (2009).



vie. Compared with Andrea Orcagna's Pentecost polyptych in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence[3]

1961 SKUBISZEWSKA, in BIUL. HIST. SZTUKI, XXIII, 33-38, 42

(b) *atélier de Niccolò di Pietro Gerini… vers la fin du XIVe siècle…* Proposes a reconstruction of the profile and proportions of the original polyptych on the basis of comparison with that of Andrea Orcagna with the same subject.[3]

1961 MARCONI, in BIUL. HIST. SZTUKI, XXIII, 306-307

(c) Information on the restoration

1962 OFFNER, CORPUS, IV/I, 73 n. 1
Orcagnesque Master of the Virgin of Mercy and workshop

1962 ROZYCKA - BRYZEK, in L'ARTE, LXI, 117
Follower of Niccolò Gerini

1967 BOSKOVITS, in MITTEILUNGEN KIF, XIII, 41
Meister der orcagnesken Misericordia

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6, LXXI, 74
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia

1975 BOSKOVITS, 103, 371, pl. 105
Maestro della Misericordia… 1380-1385… sembrano usciti dallo stesso stampo del Santo Vescovo del museo di Worcester (pl. II[4] in this volume)

1978 GARDNER VON TEUFFEL, in ZEITSCHR. KUNSTGESCH., XLI, 20
Orcagnesque

1981 OFFNER, A Legacy, 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy… and workshop

1995 SKUBISZEWSKA, 111-115

(d) *Maestro della Misericordia … typical examples of the archaic tendency in late Trecento Florentine painting.* Details about the state of conservation

2003 WEPPELMANN, 225 n. 330
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Museum Photo.

[3] Kreytenberg, 2000, 158-162, pls. 44-45.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

BERN
KUNSTMUSEUM - *Inv. No. 876*[1] PL. XXII

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin, flanked by Saint Lucy *to the left*, Saint Nicholas of Bari *to the right*, and, *in the foreground*, two kneeling angels respectively playing the rebec and the psaltery; .413 x .308 *with the frame*, .35 m *thickness with the frame*, .25m *thickness without the frame*.
[date: 1370-1375]

STATE
The painting retains, at least in part, its original frame and presents on the rear a dark red layer of pigment. The pictorial surface, evidently subjected to energetic cleaning, presumably *before* the time it was in the Stürler collection,[2] is now heavily abraded and damaged by scratches and several areas where the pigment has entirely flaked away. The largest areas of colour loss are in Mary's dress, that of St. Lucy and in the pluvial of St. Nicholas; other smaller areas of loss are detectable in the faces and in the tunic of Jesus.

HISTORY
In the second half of the nineteenth century the painting was in the collection of Adolf von Stürler (1802-1881) in Bern.[3] Stürler had probably acquired it during his long period of residence in Florence between 1829 and 1853 (c). It entered the Kunstmuseum in the Swiss capital in 1902, following the death of the collector's son, Alfred Emanuel (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1922 BERN MUS. CAT., 20
Richtung des Orcagna

1936 BERN MUS. CAT., 15 No. 10

(a) *Aus dem Umkreis des Agnolo Gaddi… Legat Adolf von Stürler (1902)*

1950 OERTEL, 27 No. 36
Florentinisch um 1370-1380… *Nachfolge des Andrea Orcagna, dem Stil des Jacopo di Cione nahestehend… rechteckiger, vergoldeter und bemalter Originalrahmen*

1960 BERN MUS. CAT., pl. 21
Florentinisch um 1370-1380

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s.6, LXXI, 72

(b) *È probabile… che si tratti della valva destra"* of the diptych of which No. 878 in the same museum formed part *"decurtata e manomessa in epoca posteriore… non sembra appartenere alla stessa mano,*[4] *sebbene l'incorniciatura nell'oro sia identica.*

1974 WAGNER, 67-69

(c) *Meister der Madonna della Misericordia*[5]…

[1] The painting for some reason was not included by the editor in the posthumously published list of attributions made by Richard Offner (1981) to the Master of the Misericordia, but appears in Offner's draft catalogue of the painter that is preserved in manuscript form in the Archive of the Corpus of Florentine Painting (Florence). In his entry on the Bern Coronation, moreover, Offner accepted the hypothesis, suggested by Federico Zeri (b), that the lateral compartments Nos. 878-888, also preserved in the Kunstmuseum in Bern, belonged to the same tabernacle. These latters are now attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolò; see Wagner, 1974, 75-80; Tartuferi, in Boskovits, 1987, 39-41; Chiodo, in *Dipinti*, 2000, 76-79; Freuler, in Fehlmann-Freuler, 2001, 106-111.

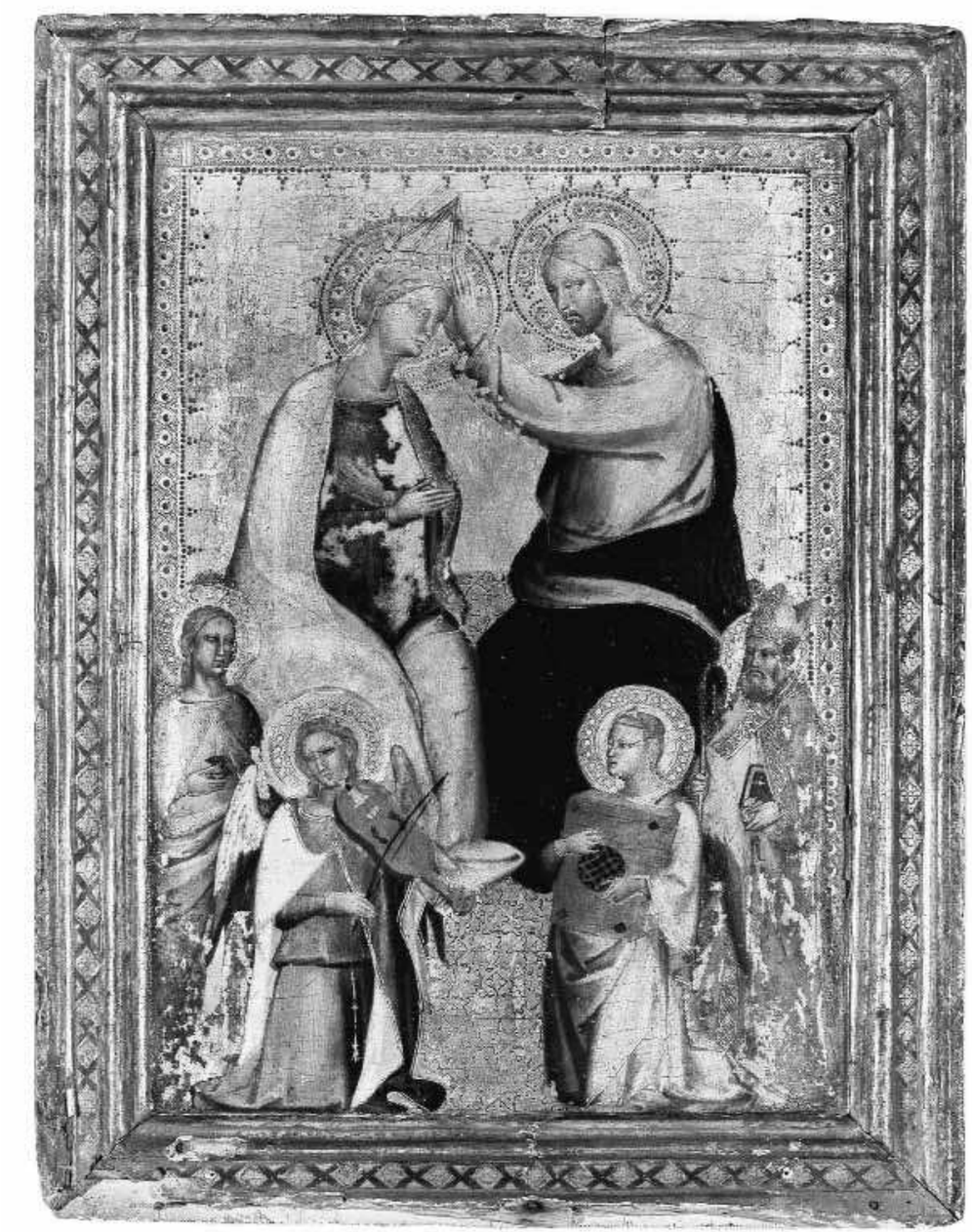
[2] Richard Offner, in a handwritten annotation on the back of the photograph in the archive of the Corpus of Florentine Painting, notes: "Stürler pictures all unrestored deserve a monument to the good taste of this collector".

[3] Marchini, in *Festschrift Hahnloser*, 1961, 405-411; Fehlmann - Freuler, 2001.

[4] Zeri identifies this second artist as the "Maestro del Cristo docente" or "Maestro Francesco", on whom see Boskovits, 1975, 236-237 n. 161. See n. 1.

[5] The attribution was based on the opinion of Richard Offner. In fact, as the author explains, he had occasion to consult Offner's manuscript catalogue of the painter's works (see n. 1).

PL. XXII



Die kleine Tafel, die noch den originalen Rahmen aufweist, ist um 1380 *in Florenz entstanden*. By the same master are also the paintings of the same subject in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge (MA) (pl. XXXV in this volume), the version formerly at Locko Park (Derbyshire) (pl. XXIV in this volume) and that in the Oskar Reinhart collection at Winterthur (pl. XXXVI in this volume). Reports the handwritten communication of Lionello Venturi to the museum, dated 1935, in which the scholar attributed the painting to Agnolo Gaddi.

1975 BOSKOVITS, 367
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375

1975 KOELLA, 74
Meister der Misericordia

1983 KUTHY, 16, No. 11
Maestro della Misericordia

1991 LUGANO EXH. CAT., 294-295, fig. 36
Maestro della Madonna della Misericordia

1994 SKAUG, I, 259; II, 8.1
Master of the Misericordia. The same rosette punch (on the frame) recurs in an *Adoration of the Magi* in Venice, Ca d'Oro, which the author thinks was also painted by the Master of the Misericordia.[6]

1998 FRINTA, 399, Jc10
Florentine. Recognises the same punch in the *Coronation of the Virgin* in Cambridge (MA.) (pl. XXXV in this volume) and in the former Carlo De Carlo collection *Crucifixion* in Florence (pl.IV in this volume).

2001 FREULER, in FEHLMANN-FREULER, 98-101
Meister der Misericordia Madonna… mit einer zweiten Tafel ein Diptychon formte. The works with the closest affinities are the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard (1962.301) (pl. XXXV in this volume) and the version of the same subject at Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart collection "Am Römerholz" (pl. XXXVI in this volume)... in the angel to the right detects dependence on models of Bernardo Daddi... *gegen* 1370 *entstanden*.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photo.

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[6] This is the fragmentary shutter of a tabernacle, formerly attributed to Niccolò di Tommaso by Berenson (1932, 398); a *Crucifixion* formerly in a private collection in Florence also belonged to the same tabernacle (Boskovits, 1975, 203 n. 108).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MÜNSTER
STADTMUSEUM *Inv. No. 144824 (formerly)* PL. XXIII

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin between Saints John the Baptist and Paul, *to the left*, Bartholomew and another male Saint, *to the right*; two kneeling angels in the foreground, respectively playing the rebec and the psaltery; *in the predella*, Bishop Saint in the central quatrefoil, flanked by the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate; *in the gable*, the blessing Redeemer .863 x .435 m
[date: 1370-1375]

STATE
The panel, shorn of its original frame, rests on a nineteenth-century stepped base, and is surmounted by a triangular gable with the bust of the blessing Redeemer set into the trefoil at its centre. The ground has been regilded and the Saints to the right seem to be altered by presumably nineteenth-century retouches, perhaps concealing areas of more severe paint loss. Retouches can also be noted in the cloth of honour, in the other figures and in the inscription.

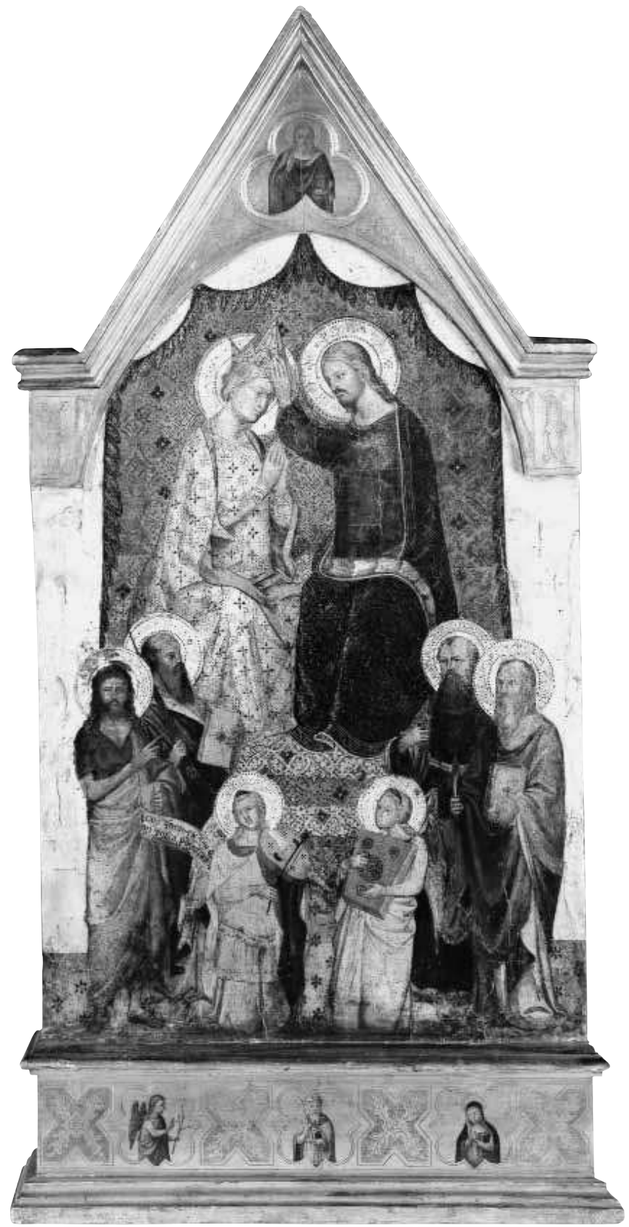
INSCRIPTION
On Saint John the Baptist's scroll ECCE ANGNUS DEI Q/VITOLLIT PECCHATA (John 1: 29)

HISTORY
In the nineteenth century the painting was in Münster in the possession of a priest named Böddinghaus, who bequeathed it to the city in 1903 (a). Deposited on loan to the Westfälisches Landesmuseum until the end of the 1980s, it was then transferred to the Stadtmuseum in Münster in 1989,[1] but was soon afterwards deaccessioned and sold at auction at Christie's in London in 1992 (b). Present whereabouts unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1986 PIEPER, 536 n. 267
(a) *Siena, Zweite Hälfte des* 14. *Jahrhunderts*
1992 LONDON, SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 10 July, 66
(b) *Jacopo di Cione;* attribution suggested by Everett Fahy

PHOTOGRAPHS
Münster, Tomasz Samek; London, Christie's.

[1] Information kindly furnished to the Corpus of Florentine Painting by the Stadtmuseum in Münster (Dr. Schollmeier) on 19 February 1998.



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA[1]

LOCKO PARK (Derbyshire) (formerly)
DRURY LOWE COLLECTION PL. XXIV

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin[2] between Saints Onophrius[3] and Bartholomew, four music-making angels kneeling in the foreground and six angels supporting the cloth of honour. *In the lunette*: Blessing Redeemer between two seraphim; panel as a whole .895 x .48 m; main compartment .46 x .425 m; lunette .255 x .375 m [date: 1370-1375]

STATE
In a photograph taken in 1953[4] the pictorial surface already appeared significantly abraded, altered by extensive retouches, damaged by marked craquelure, and defaced by residues of darkened varnish. The painting was probably restored at the time of its sale in 1995. During this restoration the repaintings were toned down, especially in the figures of Saint Onophrius to the left, and of Saint Bartholomew on the other side. On the other hand, it was felt necessary at this time, given the loss of the original colour, to make further retouches, especially to the figure of the blessing Redeemer in the lunette and to the music-making angels in the foreground.

HISTORY
Having entered the collection of William Drury Lowe (1802-1877), at Locko Park in Derbyshire between 1840 and 1869 (d), it formed part of this collection until its sale in 1995 (f). Its present whereabouts are unknown.

Exhibitions: London, 1884 (a); Birmingham 1953 (b); Nottingham, 1968 (c); Nottingham, 1982 (e); Nottingham, 1986 (f); Sheffield, Graves Art Gallery, on loan 1992-1994 (f).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1884 LONDON EXH. CAT., 46 No. 227
(a) *Andrea Orcagna... William Drury-Lowe*
1901 RICHTER, 10 No. 28
It has been ascribed, with good reason, to Andrea Orcagna..
1953 BIRMINGHAM EXH. CAT., 31 No. 166
(b) *Orcagna, Manner of... Lent by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Packe Drury-Lowe*
1968 NICOLSON, in BURL. MAG., CX, 163
...by or from the circle of Giovanni del Biondo...
1968 NOTTINGHAM EXH. CAT., No. 6
(c) *Giovanni del Biondo*
1968 SMART, in APOLLO, LXXXVII, 206
(d) Many attributions in the exhibition were made by P. Pouncey, among them... *the little Coronation of the Virgin, once ascribed to Andrea Orcagna, has rightly been associated with the name of Giovanni del Biondo...*
1968 VERTOVA, in ANT.VIVA, VII, No. 3, 26
...Il catalogo della mostra propone, sempre sulla scia di P. Pouncey, la nuova attribuzione a Giovanni del Biondo di un'Incoronazione di scuola dell'Orcagna (n. 6; Richter n. 28). È una tavola molto sciupata negli Angeli inferiori, con Cristo e Serafini nella lunetta

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1 Attributed with question mark by Klara Steinweg (handwritten note on the back of the photograph in the archive of the Corpus of Florentine Painting).
2 For the iconography of the Coronation see Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 1947, 243-250, 2nd ed., 2001, 531-539.
3 For the iconography of St. Onophrius see Offner, *Corpus*, III/VIII, 1958, 120 unnumbered note. In the catalogue of Jean Paul Richter (1901) the Saint is identified as Anthony Abbot.
4 Corpus, Archive.

tutta ridipinta, con vaste integrazioni nelle figure della Vergine e dell'Angelo dietro a lei; ma anche tenuto conto dei restauri, non vediamo tali affinità con l'opera di Giovanni del Biondo da azzardarsi a toglierla dall'anonimato.

1974 WAGNER, 69, 129
Meister der Madonna della Misericordia

1976 CALVOCORESSI, in THE CONNOISSEUR, CXCII, fig. 8
...attributed to Giovanni del Biondo...

1982 NOTTINGHAM EXH. CAT., No. 7

(e) *Attributed to Giovanni del Biondo* but the attribution placed in doubt by Millard Meiss in a private communication to the owner.

1995 LONDON SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 6 December, lot 15

(f) *Attributed to Giovanni del Biondo... strongly influenced by the prevailing style of the Orcagna brothers, and Nardo di Cione in particular*

1996 TARTUFERI, in ANT. VIVA, No. 4, 3, fig. 1
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive (1953); Sotheby's, London, No. 041532.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

UNITED KINGDOM
Private collection

PL. XXV

PANEL
Christ crucified between two angels in flight and, at the foot of the cross, the kneeling Mary Magdalene and two groups of standing Saints. *To the left* Saint Catherine of Alexandria, the Virgin Mary and a Bishop Saint; *to the right* another Bishop Saint, Saints John the Evangelist and Julian; *in the predella* Madonna and Child (half figure), between Saints Eugenius and Crescentius (half figure);[1] .837 x .451 m, *with the frame and the base* 87.8 x 50.
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The round-arched panel, probably ever since the fifteenth century, was inserted in a frame dating to that period, in part gilded, in part with a painted frieze decorated with alternating motifs of stars and flowers. The frame rests on a base dating to the second half of the Quattrocento with *Stories of the Passion of Christ*. In a photograph taken in the first half of the last century[2] the painted surface appeared darkened by grime and discoloured varnishes, while the gold ground was so worn that at various points the underlying preparatory bole was showing through. Subsequently the painting was lightly cleaned; the treatment confirmed the essentially fine conservation of the painted surface.
A vertical crack runs through the panel, probably along the joint between the planks of the support; it runs through Christ's face and the figure of Mary Magdalene. Small retouches can especially be noted in the gold ground.

INSCRIPTIONS
To the sides of the busts of the Deacon Saints in the predella: S(ANCTUS) UG/IENI (to the left); S(ANCTUS) CRES/CIENÇI (to the right). A label glued to the verso of the panel reads: "Pupil of Giottino" (b).

HISTORY
Purchased by Lord Alexander William Lindsay[3] from William Spence[4] in Florence on 3 January 1865 (b, c). Subsequently with Lindsay's heirs (Crawford Collection, Balcarres) (a).

Exhibition: Edinburgh, 2000.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1917 SIRÉN, I, 277
The painting, described as incorporated in a fifteenth-century tabernacle, is attributed to Jacopo di Cione

1924 van MARLE, III, 508 n. 1
Jacopo di Cione

1936 BERENSON, 205

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1 The presence in the predella of Saints Eugenius and Crescentius, deacons at the time of St. Zenobius and venerated in Santa Maria del Fiore, Cathedral of Florence, lends credence to the identification of the Bishop to the left of the cross, behind the kneeling Magdalene, with this latter Saint; Zenobius is generally portrayed with a beard, as he is here (Kaftal, 1952, 1035-1044).

2 The photograph in the Corpus archive bears on its back the stamp of the photographic studio "Henry Dixon & Son" in London, active down to c. 1950, see Hannavy, 2008, 422.

3 On Alexander William Lindsay (1812-1880), 25th Duke of Crawford, 8th of Balcarres and 33rd Lord Lindsay of Crawford, author of the *Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, published in 1847, see *Edinburgh Exh. Cat.*, 2000. Lord Lindsay began to collect old masters in 1829, in the course of frequent trips to Italy and to Florence in particular. He bought the Villa Palmieri at Fiesole where he lived between 1860 and 1870.

4 On William Spence (1812-1900) see Fleming, in *Burl. Mag.*, 1979, 500-503, 568-580.

PL. XXV

(a) *Londra, collezione conte Crawford. Crocifissione (vicino a Lorenzo di Niccolò). (Madonna e Santi in predella di mano più tarda).*

1963 BERENSON, I, 213
Earl of C. and B., Crocifissione (close to Lorenzo di Niccolò). Predella: Madonna and Child with two Saints (by a later hand). (Unidentified Florentines, ca. 1350-1420)

1975 BOSKOVITS, 367, fig. 221
Maestro della Misericordia. 1380-1385

1979 FLEMING, in BURL. MAG., CXXI, 579

(b) *Jacopo di Cione.* Sold by William Spence to Lord Lindsay in 1865 as a work of Giottino.

1981 OFFNER, 8
Master og the Virgin of Mercy

2000 BRIGSTOCKE, in EDINBURGH EXH. CAT., 46-46 No. 6

(c) *Master of the Misericordia.* Information on provenance.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive (Henry Dixon & Sons, London).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

VENICE
Art Market

PL. XXVI

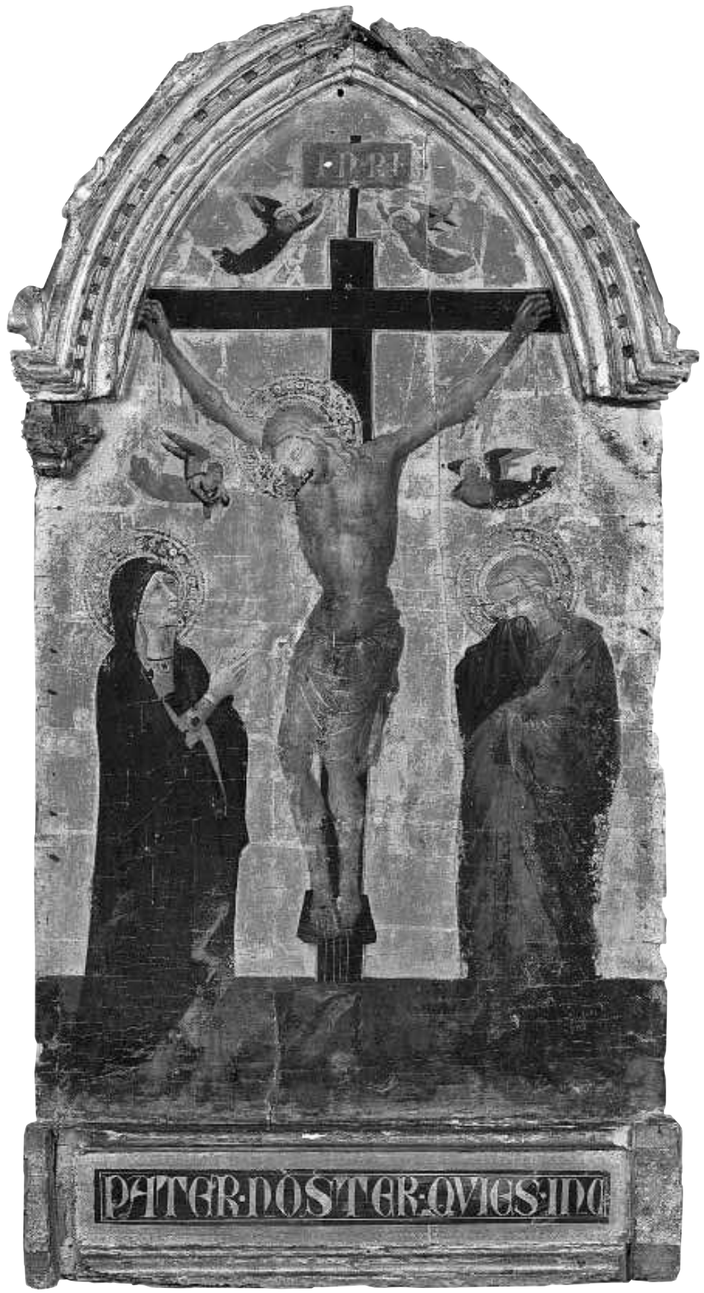
PANEL
Christ on the cross, flanked by the mourning Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist; four angels in flight; .80 x .40 m
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The painting retains in substance its original measurements and fragments of its original frame (the moulded arch and base). The gold ground is heavily abraded, allowing extensive areas of the underlying bole to show through. Due to over-drastic cleaning, the face of Christ is almost completely cancelled and that of Saint John is also much impoverished. An uneven cleaning no doubt lies at the origin of the dark stains in the body of Jesus and in the figures of the angels. At the present time, however, the painting seems devoid of modern integrations.

HISTORY
The painting was offered for sale in Venice in 2007 (a). Present whereabouts unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
2007 VENICE, SALE CAT., SAN MARCO, October 21, lot 85
(a) *Maestro della Misericordia*

PHOTOGRAPHS
San Marco Casa d'Aste, Venice.



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MILAN
PRIVATE COLLECTION PL. XXVII

PANEL
Christ on the Cross, between the mourning Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist and four angels in flight; .725 x .44 m
[date: 1375-1380]

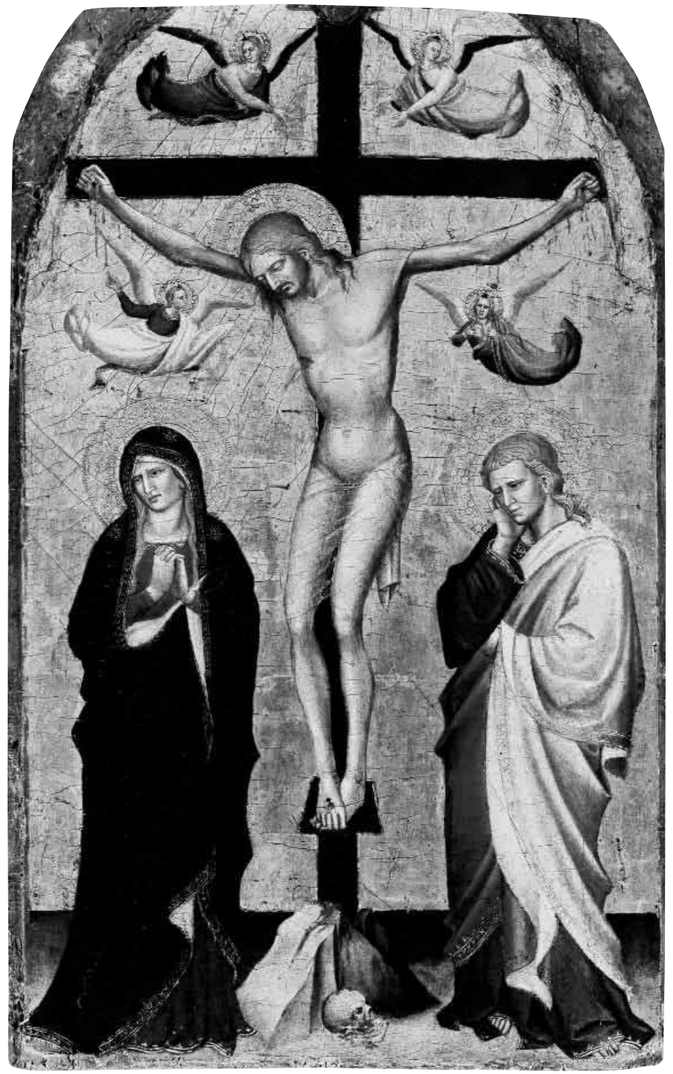
STATE
The painting, shorn of its original frame, has been trimmed on all sides. The termination of its upper gable is missing. Unpainted strips, originally covered by the lost engaged frame, remain along the vertical sides flanking the terminal arch. The pictorial surface is heavily abraded as a result of over-energetic cleaning in the past. A recent restoration has arbitrarily reconstructed Christ's loincloth and integrated or retouched various areas of color loss or abrasion (b). Retouches can be noted in the faces of the lower angel to the left and the upper one to the right, in the hand of St. John and along the contours, where these are superimposed over the gold ground. The rubbing away of the gold ground has led, at various points, to the re-emergence of the preparatory layer of bole.

HISTORY
The painting was reported in New York in 1928, as part of the collection of the French-born American banker, philanthropist and art collector Jules Bache (1861-1944).[1] It appeared on the art market in Milan in 1996 (a). It was with the Galleria Moretti in Florence in 1999 (b) and later passed into a Milanese private collection.[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1996 MILANO, SALE CAT., FINARTE, 11 june, lot 57
(a) *Maestro della Misericordia (Giovanni Gaddi)… ottimo stato di conservazione… L'attribuzione è confermata da Filippo Todini*
1999 BENATI, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 46-47
(b) *Maestro della Misericordia (Giovanni Gaddi?)… la resa stilizzata delle figure è… la stessa che compare nella tavoletta già Agnew* (PL. XXXII[5-6] in this volume)
2001 DE MARCHI, 109-110, fig. XVIII
Maestro della Misericordia… Notes the presence on the market of modern replicas derived from this composition.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Perotti, Milano c/7277 (before the recent restoration); Fratelli Manzotti, Piacenza.

[1] The photograph in the Biblioteca Berenson (Florence, Villa I Tatti), in the 'Niccolò Gerini' folder, bears the following autograph note by Bernard Berenson: "Niccolò di Piero, sent by Bache, Sept. 4. 1928".
[2] Corpus, Archive.



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts)
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
FOGG ART MUSEUM - *Inv. No. 1959.130* PL. XXVIII

PANEL
Betrothal of the Virgin; .229 x .375 m
[date: 1370-1375]

STATE
The pictorial surface is slightly veiled by dust, but on the whole in fine condition. Small scattered colour losses, not retouched, are due to woodworm damage. Small retouches may be noted in the garments of the female figures to the right and in that of St. Joseph.

HISTORY
In 1885 the painting was offered for sale in London as part of the collection of the Henry George Bohn (North End House, Twickenham)[1] (a). Subsequently it was in the Robert Benson collection (London) (b) with which it was sold to Duveen Brothers (New York-London) in 1927. Long circulating on the New York art market, it was reported with Henry Schwiewind, then with Arnold and George Seligman in New York (January 1955) and later with Knoedler's in the same city in 1957.[2] The panel was donated to the Harvard Art Museum by Lillian Malcove in 1959 (d).

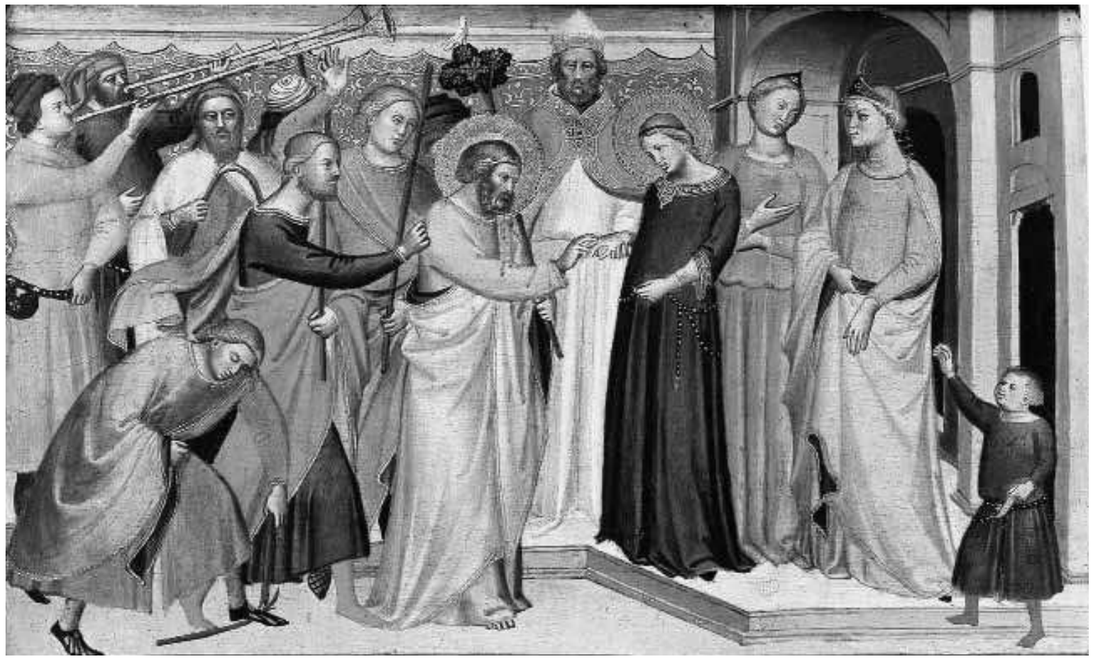
Exhibitions: London, Burlington House, 1887 (b); London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1919 (July); Manchester, 1927; St. Louis, October 2008-October 2009.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1885 LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, March 19
(a) *Agnolo Gaddi*
1914 BENSON, 29
(b) *Attributed to Agnolo Gaddi… from the Bohn Collection (1885)… also… attributed to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini… Exhibited at Burlington House,* 1887
1919 PHILLIPS, in BURL. MAG., XXXIV, 210
… too early in style, too Giottesque, for Agnolo Gaddi… I should be disposed to attribute Mr. Benson's picture to Taddeo Gaddi
1919 LONDON EXH. CAT., 1919 (July), 19 n. 11
Agnolo Gaddi
1920 SIRÉN, in THIEME-BECKER, XIII, 466
Gerini, Niccolò di Pietro
1927 MANCHESTER EXH. CAT., 30 n. 114
Agnolo Gaddi (attributed to)
1934b SALVINI, in RIV. ARTE, XVI, 222
(c) *Maestro Vaticano*[3]*… già nella coll. Benson*
1936 SALVINI, 185
Maestro Vaticano

[1] The prolific mid-Victorian publisher of standard editions Henry George Bohn (1796-1884), son of a German bookbinder who had settled in England, inaugurated the Bohn Libraries (766 volumes in all) in 1846; he collected paintings, china and ivories.

[2] Handwritten annotation on the back of the photo in the Biblioteca Berenson (Florence, Villa I Tatti), in the "Jacopo di Cione" folder. The presence of the painting in the Seligmann gallery in New York is confirmed by the information on provenance contained in the museum archive (and kindly furnished to the Corpus of Florentine Painting by the direction of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University). The painting's later presence in the stock of another New York dealer, Knoedler's, is reported by an annotation by Richard Offner on the back of a photo in the Corpus Archive. Roy Fisher, in a letter to the Museum (1981), also reported an early provenance, not otherwise documented, from the collection of "? du Jollie". According to Georges Seligman, an early handwritten label attached to the reverse of the panel cited "sale, n.d., lot No. 28; painting ascribed to Fra Angelico".

[3] An anonymous master reconstructed by Roberto Salvini, whose provisional name was derived from the *Madonna*



1963 (d) CAMBRIDGE EXH. CAT., 83
Agnolo Gaddi… Gift of Dr. Lillian Malcove

1972 FREDERICKSEN - ZERI, 81
Gerini, Niccolò di Pietro (school)

1975 BOSKOVITS, 367, fig. 223
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375

1981 OFFNER, 78
Cited among "*Later and Remoter Gerineschi*"

1985 BROWN, 276, No. 344
Reproduced

1990 BOWRON, 118, 287
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photo.

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del Parto in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (Inv. No. 520, cf. Volbach, 1987, No. 520), now attributed to Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni (Boskovits, in *Zeitschr. für Kunst.*, 1968, 290 n. 4; *Idem*, 1975, 292).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

LONDON
ART MARKET

PL. XXIX[1]

PANEL
Young Prophet; .327 x .21 m
[date: 1370-1375]

STATE
The panel is the fragment of a larger work of which two other fragments are known (pls. XXIX[2-3] in this volume). Remains of the punched decorative borders that would have divided the rectangular compartment from other similar ones above and below are visible along the lower and upper margins. This circumstance, as well as the vertical graining of the wood of the support, would seem to rule out the supposition that our panel is part of a predella. Its provenance from the lateral pier of an altarpiece or from a painted Crucifix[1] seems more probable. On the left side the decoration is limited to a row of dots executed with a punch, while on the other side the punched decoration takes the form of a row of miniscule five-petal flowers, perhaps identifiable with one of those classified by Mojmir Frinta.[2] The pictorial surface is now somewhat impoverished. The gold of the ground is rather worn, allowing the underlying bole to show through. Colour losses can be noted in the red lining of the prophet's mantle in the lower right and in his left hand.

HISTORY
Between 1832 and 1842 the painting was in Florence, when copied by Johann Anton Ramboux who thought it was part of a predella.[3] An inscription on the back of the panel refers to a sale at Christie's in London (10 June 1864, 189m), but there is no mention of the painting in the sale catalogue in question. In 1897 the work was in London, where it was offered for sale as part of the collection of the Rev. Montague Taylor (a). At this sale the painting was purchased by the art dealer Philpot.[4] Subsequently it entered the collection of Hans Gronau (1904-1951); it then passed to his heirs, on behalf of whom it was offered for sale at New York in 2006 (b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1897 LONDON, SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S 19 May, lot 140
(a) *Early Italian School*

2006 NEW YORK, SALE CAT., HAZLITT, GOODEN and FOX, April 5-13, lot 10
(b) *Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia… attribution… is due to Professor Boskovits.*

2008 LONDON, SALE CAT., CHRISTIES, 3 December, lot 220
Master of the Misericordia

2011 UTARI, in LA CROCE, 79-80
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Boskovits Archive (photo Hans Gronau); Corpus, Archive.

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1 This latter hypothesis would seem to be supported by comparison with such works as the Crucifix of Bernardo Daddi in the Museo Bardini in Florence (Corpus, III/IV, 368-376, pls. XLIX[1-6]).

2 Frinta, 1998, 115-116 (Da 3b).

3 For Johann Anton Ramboux see Merzenich in *Lust und Verlust*, 1995, 303-314 and *Lust und Verlust II*, 1998, 536-605. For Ramboux's drawing see fig. 22b and Hueck, in *Prospettiva*, 1980, 3, 5, fig. 9. The drawing is now in Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (Fr. IV, S. 4 u.), and bears in the upper right an annotation by the author, citing the attribution of the painting from which it comes to Gaddo Gaddi. At the foot of the same sheet is found the following inscription: "Von einer Predella in Tempera zu Florenz".

4 Information on the sale was kindly furnished by the auction house Christie's.

PL. XXIX[1]

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

PARIS
WILDENSTEIN GALLERIES (in 1930) PLS. XXIX[2-3]

PANELS
A Prophet and an Evangelist; .314 x .219 m each [date: 1370-1375]

STATE
The panels, which originally formed part of a work of which only one other compartment has been identified (pl. XXIX[1]), have been cut along the sides. The gold ground seems worn, especially close to the vertical margins.

HISTORY
Between 1832 and 1842 the two compartments were in Florence, where the panel with the older *Prophet* was copied by Johann Anton Ramboux (pl. XXIX[4]).[1] In 1930, according to a handwritten annotation accompanying the photograph in the Photo Library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, the two panels were then in the Wildenstein Galleries in Paris (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1980 HUECK, in PROSPETTIVA, No. 23, 3, figs. 10-11
(a) *Vicine all'ambiente daddesco*
2006 NEW YORK, SALE CAT., HAZLITT, GOODEN and FOX, April 5th - 13th, lot 10
Possibly not… to be given to the Orcagnesque Master
2008 LONDON, SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, December 3, lot 220
Master of the Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, Photo Library Neg. 13622-3.

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[1] For Johann Anton Ramboux see Merzenich in *Lust und Verlust*, 1995, 303-314 and *Lust und Verlust II*, 1998, 536-605. Ramboux's drawing is in Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (Fr. IV, S. 4 o.); in its upper left the sheet in question has an annotation in the author's hand citing an attribution to Gaddo Gaddi; see Hueck, in *Prospettiva*, 1980, 3, 5, fig. 8.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

BALTIMORE (Maryland)
WALTERS ART GALLERY - *Inv. Ms. W 153* PL. XXX

ILLUMINATED INITIAL IN AN ANTIPHONARY AND GRADUAL[1]

Fol. 35v, initial N;[2] in the upper register: Saint Peter sitting on a faldstool flanked by two curtain-supporting angels; in the lower register: Saint Peter freed from prison; 290 x 270 mm[3] [date: 1370-1380]

STATE
The condition of the miniature is good. Small losses can be noted along the contours of the

[1] Parchment codex of 56 folios. Folio measurements: 608 x 418 mm (e, f). Fasciculation: I-VII[8] + 1 folio at the beginning of the MS added after 1563. Blank folios: 1r, 34v, 35r, 57r-v. Arab numeration on the verso, at the centre of the right margin of folios 1-56, added subsequent to the completion of the MS. Modern binding (nineteenth century). The cutting relating to the MS from the sale catalogue of the Firmin-Didot collection (a) is glued onto the front free endpaper.
Stave notation, 4 lines/stave; 6 staves/page. Signatures at the end of each fascicule.
Contents: antiphonary of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June) (fols. 1v-22r); antiphonary of the feast of St. Peter in Chains (San Pietro in Vincoli) (fols. 22r-26r); antiphonary of the feast of St. Peter in cathedra (fols. 26v-27r); antiphonary of the feast of St. Nicholas of Bari (6 December) (fols. 27v- 32v); antiphonary of the feast of St. Ambrose (7 December) (fol. 33r); antiphonary of the octave of Saints Peter and Paul (fols. 33v-34r); gradual of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (fols. 35v-39r); gradual of the feast of St. Nicholas (fols. 39r-43r); common gradual of Saints (fols. 43v-51v); gradual of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (fols. 51r-55r); gradual of St. Andrew (fols. 55r-56v); gradual of Saints Simon and Judas Thaddeus (fol. 56v).
The MS, apart from that illuminated by the Master of the Misericordia, contains also the following seven historiated initials, executed, accordin to Miklós Boskovits (oral communication) by a Florentine illuminator close to the Master of the Bargello (Boskovits, in *New York, Coll. Cat.* 1992, 116-119) and by Cenni di Francesco:
(fol. 3r.) Florentine illuminator close to the Master of the Bargello, initial T (*Tu es pastor ovium*) with St. Peter on a faldstool holding the keys and an open book; antiphon of the magnificat of the first vesper for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (29 June). 80 x 90 mm. On the iconography of St. Peter see Kaftal, 1952, 799-816 and *Lex. Christl. Ikon.*, 8. 1976, 158-174. On the representation of St. Peter in cathedra see Offner - Steinweg, IV/III, 1965, 58 n. 1;
(fol. 4v.) Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, initial S (*Symon Petre antequam de navi vocarem*) with Christ giving the keys to St. Peter; responsorium of the first nocturn for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul; 155 x 125 mm;
(fol. 13v.) Florentine illuminator close to the Master of the Maestro del Bargello, initial P (*Petrus et Iohannes ascendebant*) with St. Peter accompanied by St. John the Evangelist healing a cripple; first antiphon of lauds for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul; 220 x 170 mm;
(fol. 16v.) Florentine illuminator close to the Master of the Bargello, initial I (*Iuravit Dominus et non penitebit eum*) with St. Peter standing with the eucharistic chalice and the keys, Christ in half figure in the upper left; first antiphon of second vespers for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul; 210 x 90 mm;
(fol. 19v.) Florentine illuminator close to the Master of the Bargello, initial H (*Hodie Symon Petrus ascendit crucis*), St. Peter crucified between two angels who bear the palm of martyrdom and the crown of thorns; the soul of St. Peter transported to heaven by two angels and received by the Redeemer; 110 x 110 mm;
(fol. 27v.) Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, initial M (*Muneribus datis necesit iuvenes innocenter*) with St. Nicholas of Bari halting the execution of three innocent youths; first antiphon of vespers for the feast of St. Nicholas of Bari; 140 x 150 mm;
(fol. 39v.) Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, initial B (*Beatus Nicholaus urbis mire.*) with the blessing Redeemer (above) and St. Nicholas of Bari enthroned supporting the pastoral staff and three golden balls (below); introit to the mass for the feast of St. Nicholas of Bari); 215 x 165 mm.

[2] *Nunc scio vere quia misit dominus angelum suum et eripuit me de manu Herodis*; introit to the mass for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul.

PL. XXX

figures, in the areas where the colour is superimposed over the underlying gold leaf.

HISTORY
Formerly in the collection of Ambroise Firmin-Didot (1790-1876) in Paris, the MS was sold at auction in the same city in 1884 (Hotel Druot, c.p. M. Delestre, lot 8) (a). Later it was reported in the Marshal C. Lefferts collection in New York (c). From 1901-1902 (d) in the Henry Walters collection, together with which it was donated to the city of Baltimore in 1931(b).
On the basis of the characteristics of the text and its miniatures, a provenance of the choirbook from the female Benedictine monastery of San Pier Maggiore in Florence has been assumed.[3]

Exhibitions: Baltimore, 1949; Buffalo, 1953; Baltimore, 1962; Baltimore, 1984; New York, 1994; Florence, 2008.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1884 PARIS SALE CAT., 10-14 June, c.p. M. Delestre, 11-12, 49 lot 8
(a) *Sienne au XIV^e siècle* In the miniature on fol. 35v *la majestueuse figure de saint Pierre est d'un grand caractère: …chef-d'oeuvre d'expression et d'attitude.* It is considered that two cut-out miniatures belonged to the same manuscript : one with the Last Supper (initial "O", 240 x 245 mm) and the other with the Ascension (initial "U", 240 x 245 mm), as well as a decorated border (365 x 100 mm) *de la main du même artiste La bordure… est curieusement historiée.*[4]
1935-37 DE RICCI - WILSON, I, 780, No. 148
(b) *XIV^th… written in Italy (Siena?)*
1949 BALTIMORE, EXH. CAT., 60, No. 162, pl. LXIII (fol. 35v)
(c) *Italy (Florence), ca. 1375* the miniatures are attributable to… *three artists… followers of Orcagna*
1953 BUFFALO, EXH. CAT, unnumbered pages
Italy (Florence)
1958 DIRINGER, pl. VI-16c (fol. 35v)
Reproduction only, without comment
1962 BALTIMORE, EXH. CAT., 75, No. 73, pl. LXVII (fol. 35v)
(d) *Italy (Florence), last quarter of the 14^th century… miniatures by three different artists… followers of Orcagna. Dr. Offner once suggested that they could have a general resemblance to the kind of work produced by Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza. A fine series of cut-out initials in a related style is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M 478)*[5]
1962 LEVI D'ANCONA, 76
… vi sono almeno tre mani: la principale, quella responsabile per il San Pietro in trono, sembrerebbe opera di pittore e potrebbe essere opera di Cenni who is documented as a painter of miniatures at San Pier Maggiore in 1376 and can perhaps be identified with Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni.[6] *Un'altra sembrerebbe Paolo Soldini*[7]
1975 BOSKOVITS, 78, 220 n. 128, 285, 367
Maestro della Misericordia (fol. 35v), *Cenni di Francesco* (fols. 4v, 27v), *…due*

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3 See in this volume 00.
4 The present location of these miniatures is unknown.
5 Attributed to Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci by Levi D'Ancona (in *Riv. Arte*, XXXII, 1957, 21 n. 17, 28-29. See Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997, 487-500.
6 ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, 65 San Pier Maggiore, vol. 50, Ricordanze e fatti del monastero, 1365-1380, fol. 29v (Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 76)
7 Identified as the illuminator of two Psalters in the Museo di San Marco with a provenance from Santa Maria Novella (Nos. 559-560) to which, according to Levi d'Ancona, a payment to Paolo Soldini in 1379 refers (ASF, Santa Maria Nuova, 5035, fol. 12: *A Paolo di Soldo migniatore dillibri di Santa Maria Novella…*; Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 219). The hypothesis is considered improbable by Boskovits (1972, 43), who has therefore proposed, as the author of the miniatures in the two Psalters, the provisional name "Master of the Santa Maria Novella Psalters"; Boskovits considers this

diverse mani (ff. 13v. e 16v., ff. 3v e 19 v rispettivamente). Sono incerto se attribuire o meno la miniatura del f. 39v. a Cenni; in essa si mescolano caratteri suoi con elementi dello stile del Maestro della Misericordia…
1375-1380

1979 LEVI D'ANCONA, in MINIATURA ITALIANA, 463-466, 476-487, figs. 9 (fol. 35v), 11
Paolo Soldini … Maestro della Misericordia (here identified with Tommaso del Mazza) *e Cenni di Francesco*[8]*… eseguito a San Pier Maggiore per la famiglia Alessandri degli Albizzi…* between 1378 and 1381 on the basis of arguments linked to the iconography of the miniatures and their political significance.

1984 BALTIMORE EXH. CAT., pl. 22 (fol. 35v)
Italy (Florence), ca. 1378-1381

1994 KANTER, in NEW YORK EXH. CAT., 178-182

(e) *Cenni di Francesco (fols. 4v, 27v, 35v, 39v)… their designs may not be attributable entirely to him. The punch tools used to decorate the gold ground in all four of his initials are those of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, as are the patterns in which they are deployed… Two of the initial letters (fols. 35v, 39v) are also typical of Don Silvestro's designs… The design of these initials and of the painted scenes they contain most closely recalls Don Silvestro's illuminations in Cod. Cor. 9 from Santa Maria degli Angeli (after 1385),*[9] *and a date sometime in the 1380s, close to Cenni's work on the San Donato in Polverosa frescoes (1383),*[10] *seems appropriate…*

1997 FREULER, CORPUS, IV/VII, 432
The figure of S. Nicholas in Baltimore… might have been painted by the Master of the Misericordia (Giovanni Gaddi?)
… it is interesting to note that Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, who painted all the initials of this antiphonary (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Corale No. 6),[11] *shows clear stylistic affinities with the illuminators of the San Pier Maggiore choir-books, such as the one now in Baltimore, Ms. W.* 153.

1999 LABRIOLA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, LXXXVII, 190, 199 n. 18
Cited in connection with the activities of Cenni di Francesco… *databile alla fine dell'ottavo decennio*

2004 HOOVER, 35, 204-224 in particular

(f) *The different methods of illusionistic relief and texture suggest… the work of more than one illuminator, and the consistent use of white to paint the figure of Christ may prove a convention among the various artists…* In fols. 3r and 13v *same artist*. Iconographic analysis of the miniatures. Execution between the eighth and ninth decade of the Trecento.

2004 PARENTI in DIZ. MIN. ITAL., 150
sembrano spettare a Cenni (di Francesco) *le iniziali miniate ai ff. 4v, 27v, 35v, 39v*

2008b BAGNOLI, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 232-233
Cenni di Francesco… The influence of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci is revealed *nel disegno di alcune iniziali, quale per esempio quella con San Pietro in trono e dalla presenza dei suoi punzoni negli sfondi d'oro.* Comparison with the miniature representing St. Agnes, cutting from Choir-Book (Corale) 2 in the Biblioteca Laurenziana and now in Geneva (Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Fonds Comites Latentes)[12]… *La data della commissione dei corali di Santa Maria degli Angeli,* 1383*, quindi serve da riferimento anche per l'Antifonario/Graduale di Baltimora.*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum photo.

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master an "artista di formazione e di stile non dissimili da quelli del giovane Mariotto di Nardo" and also attributes to him the decoration of Codices III and IV in the Propositura di Santa Croce sull'Arno and the miniature of St. Leonard enthroned (fol. 212r) from an antiphonary in the church of San Leonardo at Cerreto Guidi. The author of the miniatures of antiphonaries III and IV of Santa Croce sull'Arno and the Psalter from Santa Maria Novella was later identified by the same scholar with Tommaso del Mazza, formerly Master of Santa Verdiana (in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 211 n. 6, 221 n. 14).
The attribution of the miniature in the antiphonary of Cerreto Guidi to Mariotto di Nardo, suggested by Luciano Bellosi (in *San Miniato Exh. Cat.* 1969, 162-164), still seems however the most convincing hypothesis. The initial "P" in the MS at Cerreto Guidi has also been attributed to this artist by Annamaria Ducci (in Ducci - Badalassi, 1999, 114-115 and 125-126 in particular), who considers the miniatures in choir books IV and V at Santa Croce sull'Arno to be by the same hand.

8 The identification of the Master of the Misericordia with Tommaso del Mazza here proposed by Levi d'Ancona is based on an illuminator called "Maso", who is annotated in the registers of San Pier Maggiore under the year 1373 (*eadem*, 1962, 182). The hypothesis was later discarded following the identification of Tommaso del Mazza with the painter hitherto known as the Master of Santa Verdiana (Boskovits, 1975, 229 n. 90 bis, 230 n. 96; Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 136-143). Payments to another illuminator called "Cenni", identified by Levi d'Ancona with Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, are found instead in the registers of San Pier Maggiore under the year 1377.

9 Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII, part II, 1997, 431-436, pls. XLIX[1-5].

10 Bellosi, in *Paragone*, XVII, 1966, No. 201, 79; Boskovits, in *Zeitschr. Kunstgesch.*, XXXI, 1968, 290 n. 3; *Idem*, 1975, 127, 287, pl. 137.

11 Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997, 444-449, pls. LI[1]-LI[3].

12 Freuler, *Corpus*, IV/VII-2, 1997, 376, pl. XLI[28].

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

RENNES
MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS - *Inv. No. 894.34.3* PL. XXXI

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned between Saint Paul and a Deacon Saint *to the left*, Saints Andrew and Peter *to the right*; .87 x .50 m
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The pictorial surface is damaged by flaked pigment, grime, abrasion, yellowing varnish and craquelure, but nonetheless retains much of its original character. The panel is traversed by a vertical crack that runs from the lower edge of the panel through the base of the throne and the lower part of Mary's mantle, as far as the left foot of the Child. A horizontal crack also ran right through the entire width of the panel, through the figure of the Child, but this was retouched during an early restoration. Probably on the same occasion the painting was inserted in the non-original moulded frame that it still retains and the marginal zones of the ground were regilded. The pictorial surface is now impoverished in various points; small colour losses can be noted in the Virgin's brocaded dress.

INSCRIPTION
In the lower part of the frame: AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DOMINUS

HISTORY
The painting entered the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rennes in 1894 following a legacy in the last will of Paul Lucas (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1975 BOSKOVITS, 371, fig. 227
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375
1996 RENNES MUS. CAT., 33
(a) *Maître de la Misericorde… vers 1370-1375*
2003 ALLANO, 10
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photo.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

PARIS
MUSÉE MARMOTTAN MONET - *Inv. No. 452* PL. XXXII[1]

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned, flanked by two angels in adoration, two angels supporting the staves of a baldachin, Saints John the Baptist and Catherine of Alexandria *to the left*, Saints Anthony Abbot and James Major *to the right*; .40 x .28 m
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The panel has been cut along all four sides, giving a round-arched format to the upper part. During this operation parts of the figures of the two Saints on the outer sides and almost all of those of the baldachin-supporting angels were lost. Two diagonal incisions behind the angels in prayer perhaps indicate the intended position of the inner edge that the later reframing was supposed to take. At the top of the panel a part of the punch-decorated horizontal frieze (with beading along its upper edge) is preserved; the fragment of a motif, present also in other works of the painter, can be recognized in it (to the far right).[1] This horizontal partition of the panel suggests that originally the composition was surmounted by another representation. The pictorial surface, damaged by many small scratches, is slightly worn in a uniform manner, while more serious damage can be noted in the figures of the Madonna and Child and in that of St. James. Numerous small darkened retouches scattered all over.

INSCRIPTION
On the scroll held in the Baptist's hand: ECCE/ ANGN/US DEI/E[CCE QUI]/TOL(L)I(T) P/ (E)CHAT/A MUN/DI MISE/RERE.

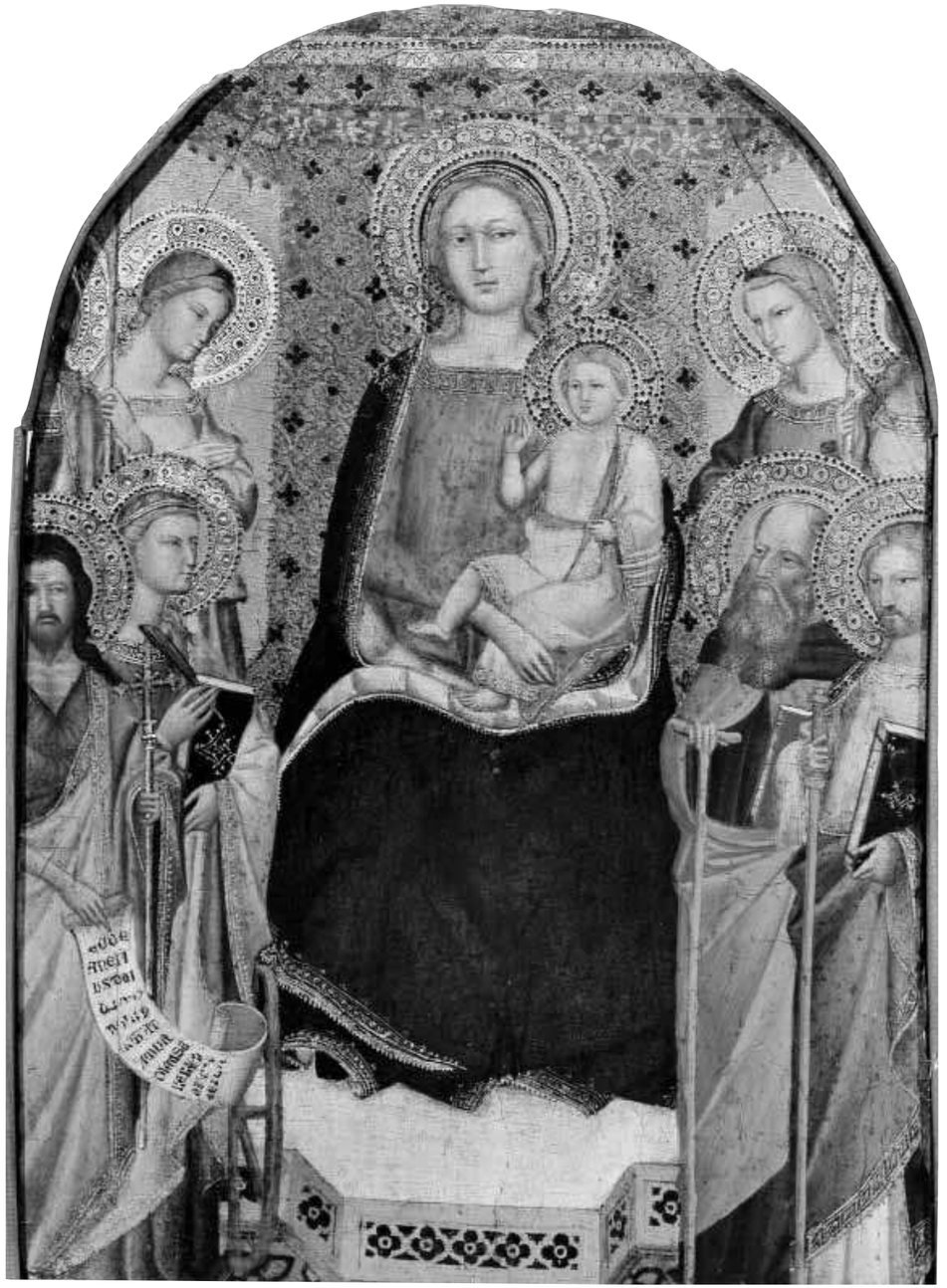
HISTORY
The painting is said to have a provenance from the collection of J. A. Rameaux (a) whom the current curators of the museum propose to identify with J. A. Ramboux.[2] It later entered the collection first of Jules Marmottan and then of Paul Marmottan. In 1932 it was bequeathed by the latter to the Institut de France together with the collection that was destined to form the original core of the Musée Marmottan Monet.

Exhibition: 1949, Paris, Galerie Charpentier.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1934 LEFUEL, 18, No. 43
(a) *École florentine milieu du XIVe siécle… No. 321 de la vente J. A. Rameaux (?)*
1975 BOSKOVITS, 371, fig. 228
Maestro della Misericordia… 1380-1385

PHOTOGRAPHS
Routhier, Paris.

[1] Skaug, 1994, II, 8.1, No. 370.
[2] On the German Nazarene painter, draughtsman, collector and museum curator Johann Anton Ramboux (1790-1866) see Merzenich in *Lust und Verlust*, 1995, 303-314 and *Lust und Verlust*, II, 1998, 536-605. The painting, however, is identifiable neither in the catalogue of this collection (Ramboux, 1862) nor in the list of those presented for sale (Cologne Sale Catalogue, 1867).



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

VATICAN CITY
PINACOTECA VATICANA - *Inv. No. 114* PLS. XXXII[2-3]

TABERNACLE SHUTTER (fragment)
Christ Risen[1] and, *on the rear*, bust of Angel in quatrefoil inserted in a geometric decoration; .382 x .262 m
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The painting, cut along the upper and lower margins, and trimmed to the right, was part of the right side shutter of a small tabernacle, of which one other component, it too fragmentary, is known (pl. XXXII[3] in this volume). The pictorial surface is darkened by grime. Many small colour losses, later reintegrated with retouches that have since darkened, are scattered all over the surface. Many colour losses, un-retouched, are also to be found on the *verso*.

HISTORY
In the nineteenth century the painting was in the Museo Cristiano (showcase E, IX, No. 48) annexed to the Biblioteca Vaticana (a, b). It has been in the Pinacoteca Vaticana since 1909 (b).[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1867 BARBIER DE MONTAULT, 143
(a) *Fin du XIV siècle* (IV armadio, No. 6)
1909 BERNARDINI, in RASS. ARTE, IX, 6, 94
Scuola fiorentina
1913 VATICAN CITY MUS. CAT., 23, No. 53
(b) *Scuola fiorentina (fine sec. XIV)… Dalla Biblioteca Vaticana, Vetrina E, IX, n. 48*
1921 SIRÉN, 97
se sia stato dipinto da Agnolo [Gaddi] *o da qualche "compagno" appare… incerto*
1929 D'ACHIARDI, 3, pl. VIII/b
Florentine painter, XIV cen.
1933 VATICAN CITY MUS. CAT., 26
Scuola fiorentina (sec. XIV)
1934a SALVINI, in RIV. ARTE, XVI, 32
Agnolo Gaddi, youthful work
1936 SALVINI, 16-20, 29
Agnolo Gaddi… influenzato dall'affresco del medesimo soggetto di Niccolò Gerini nella sagrestia di Santa Croce[3]
1936 CARLI, in ANNALI PISA, s. II, vol. V, 4, 299
…il Salvini, facendo il nome di Agnolo, taglia corto ai dubbi del Sirén
1964 FRANCIA, fig. 14
Scuola fiorentina. Sec. XIV
1965 MARCUCCI, 132
Giovanni Bonsi citing the verbal opinion of Roberto Longhi
1968 BOSKOVITS, in BURL. MAG., CX, 210
Late Orcagnesque artist

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1 On the iconographic theme see in this volume 00.

2 The Museo Cristiano, or Museum of Christian Antiquities, derived its origin from the acquisition by Benedict XIV (Prospero Lambertini, Bologna 1675 - Rome 1758) of the Buonarroti, Carpegna and Vittori collections (Barbier de Montault, 1867). These collections had formed an annex to the Biblioteca Apostolica prior to the foundation of the Museo Cristiano in 1837 by Monsignor Gabriele Laureani († 14 October 1849), whom Gregory XVI (1765-1846) appointed the first custodian of the Vatican Library. Laureani amassed works from all over Italy in the rooms of the newly founded Museo Cristiano, but sold those of artists already well represented in the Vatican's other collections to the well-known Roman collector Giulio Sterbini. Many attributions of paintings in the museum were made by Carlo Lasinio. See *Vatican City Mus. Cat.*, 1913, VII-XI. On the formation of the Museo Cristiano and on the transfer of paintings in it to the Pinacoteca Vaticana see Morello, in *Monumenti Bollettino*, II, 1981, 53-89; Mancinelli, in *Apollo*, CXVII, 1983, 347-357.

3 This fresco (on which see Boskovits, 1975, 406) is datable, according to the author, to 1370, while Agnolo's panel is slightly later.

PL. XXXII[3]

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s.VI, LXXI, 73
Rejects the attribution to Giovanni Bonsi

1975 BOSKOVITS, 371
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375… Il busto di un angelo, dipinto sul tergo, spetta ad Agnolo Gaddi. Cites Federico Zeri's oral attribution to the Master of the Misericordia, and his recognition that the fragment formerly in London, Christie's (pl. XXXII[4] in this volume) belongs to the same tabernacle.

1977 COLE, 23
Near Lorenzo di Niccolò

1981 OFFNER, 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy (milieu of)

1987 VOLBACH, 22-23, figs. 32-33

(c) *Maestro della Misericordia e Agnolo Gaddi… 1370-1375… parte alta di uno sportello cuspidato di un trittico*

1994 SKAUG, I, 258; II, 8.1
Master of the Misericordia. Identifies punches present also in other works of the painter.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Anderson, Firenze, 24028; Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, Nos. XXXIV-22-85/1-2.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

LONDON
Art Market

PLS. XXXII[4-5]

TABERNACLE SHUTTER (fragment)
Christ on the Cross between the mourning Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist and St. Mary Magdalene, two angels collecting Christ's blood; *on the rear* Angel (bust) in grisaille; .427 x .275 m
[date: 1375-1380]

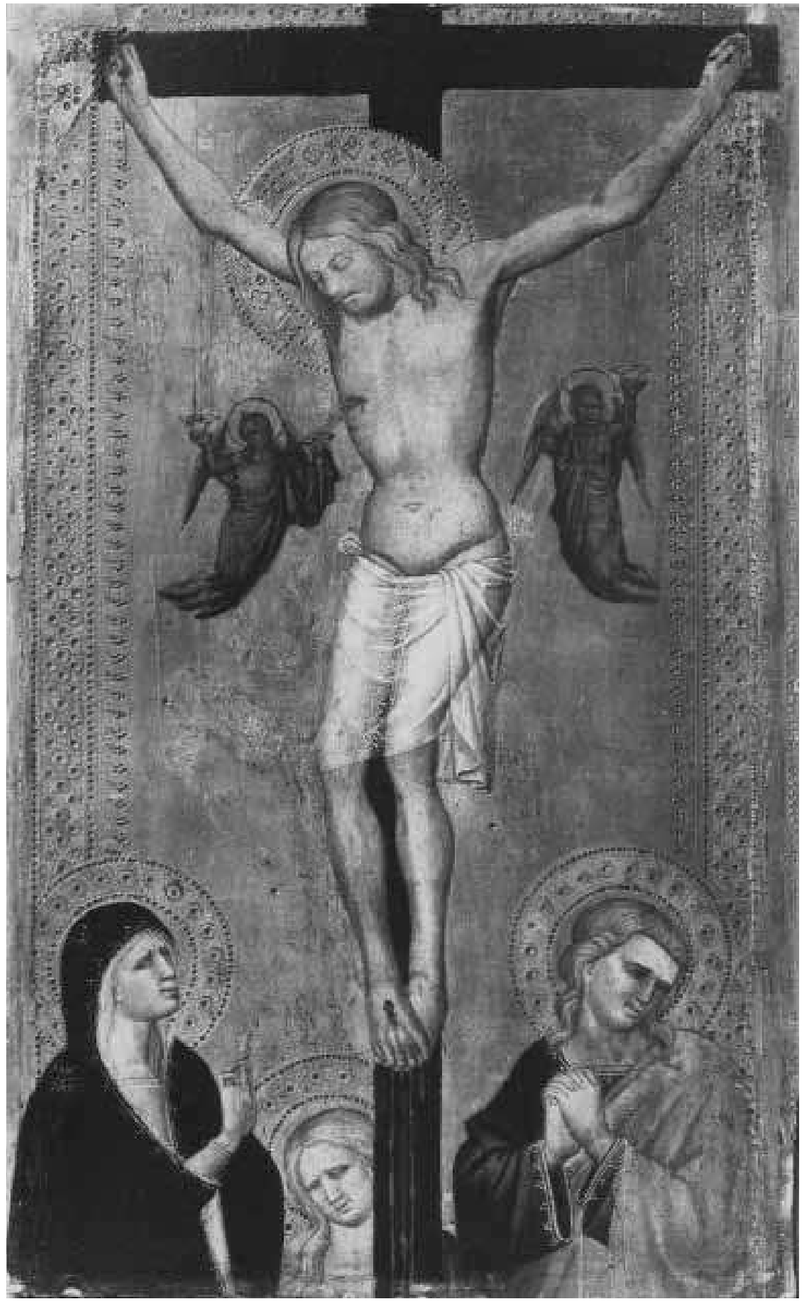
STATE
The panel, shortened by some twenty centimetres above and below, is the fragment of the right shutter of a tabernacle, of which another fragment is now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pls. XXXII[3-4] in this volume) (d). Early twentieth-century photographs show an addition to the wooden support in the upper left-hand corner, while the gold ground appeared heavily rubbed in various points, and damaged by scratches and later integrations. The colour appeared rubbed especially in the face of Christ and in the figure of St. John and subsequently integrated with many retouches.
On the *verso* of the panel numerous colour losses, in part reintegrated, were visible.

HISTORY
In 1920 the painting was in New York, in the collection of Belle da Costa Greene (1879-1950)[1] (a). Having entered the Pierpont Morgan Library after her death, it was sold in 1958 (b). Purchased by the London dealer Thomas Agnew & Sons (c, d),[2] it entered the Manassei collection in London in the same year,[3] but her collection was untraceable in 1965.[4] It was offered for sale at Christie's in London in 1976 and again in 1977 (e, f).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1920 (a) WYER, in ART IN AMERICA, VIII, 211
as Spinello Aretino… Miss Belle da Costa Greene New York
1924 van MARLE, III, 606 n. 1
Might be attributed… to Spinello
1958 (b) LONDON SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 14 May, 13 lot 62
Florentine School, circa 1400… From the collection of the late Miss Belle da Costa Greene
1968 (c) ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6, LXXI, 74 n. 95
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia… Londra, già Agnew (1958), Crocifissione, (sportello frammentario di tabernacolo).
1975 (d) BOSKOVITS, 369, fig. 224
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375. Londra, collezione Agnew (nel 1958; già nella Pierpont Morgan Library a New York)… Per un altro elemento del complesso cfr. sotto Roma, Pinacoteca Vaticana (pls. XXXII[2-3] in this volume)
1976 (e) LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, July 2, lot 65
Maestro della Misericordia
1977 (f) LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, July 15, 14 fig. 4
Maestro della Misericordia
1981 OFFNER, 11

[1] Belle da Costa Greene was librarian at the Pierpont Morgan Library from 1908 to 1948. See *The Morgan Library*, 2000, 23-26.
[2] Communication from Thomas Agnew & Sons to Richard Offner, now in the Corpus Archive.
[3] Information reported on the photograph in the Biblioteca Berenson at the Villa I Tatti, Florence.
[4] Annotation by Klara Steinweg on the back of the photograph in the Corpus Archive.



PL. XXXII[5]

Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia… London, countess Manassei (ex)… (questionable)

1987 VOLBACH, 23
Maestro della Misericordia e Agnolo Gaddi… 1370-1375 circa. Part of the same tabernacle is the shutter fragment in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pls. XXXII[2-3] in this volume)

1992 SKAUG, I, 258; II, 8.1

Master of the Misericordia. Recognizes one of the punches used in the panel in the fragment in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pls. XXXII[2-3] in this volume) and in other works of the painter

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive (Sidney W. Newbery, London, 88369); Christie's, London.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MOSCOW
PUŠKIN MUSEUM - *Inv. No. 230* PL. XXXIII

TABERNACLE
Madonna and Child enthroned between four angels, Saints Catherine (?),[1] Anthony Abbot, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist *to the left*, a young Apostle, Saints Andrew, Peter, and Judas Thaddeus[2] *to the right*, with the blessing Redeemer *in the trefoil inserted in the gable*. The painting forms the centrepiece of a portable triptych whose shutters were executed by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini[3] with the Nativity surmounted by the Angel of the Annunciation *to the left*; and the Crucifixion surmounted by the Virgin Annunciate *to the right*; .75 x .65 m *tabernacle as a whole when open*; .57 x .145 m *each shutter*.
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The triptych is inserted in a modern frame. Another panel has been glued to the back of the central compartment (c). Old photographs show the painted surface darkened by grime and old varnishes, and compromised by small retouched colour losses. The pictorial surface in the gable was traversed by a vertical crack in the wood and damaged by wormholes. In 1972 (c) the Puskin Museum undertook the painting's restoration (V. N. Zinov'eva); its painted surface was cleaned and its darkened varnishes were eliminated.

INSCRIPTIONS
AVE MARIA GRATIA PLEN[A]

HISTORY
In the mid-nineteenth century the tabernacle was in the collection of the Princes Vyazemskij-Sceremetievi at Ostafyevo, in the environs of Moscow.[4] It entered the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow in 1924 (a). In 1932 this institution took the name of Museum of Figurative Arts, to which the title A.S. Puškin was added in 1937.
The coat of arms visible to the left of the base (saltire or on azure shield) has been identified as that of the Florentine Viti family, while that to the right (red Latin cross on white shield surrounded by orange and blue profile) has been identified as that of the *Comune* of Florence (a). On the basics of this heraldic evidence, it has been suggested that the tabernacle was commissioned by Giovanni di Vita, cuirass-maker, more than once elected to important public positions in Florence in the period between 1356 and 1373, or by a member of his family

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1 The attribute of the book would suggest Saint Catherine of Alexandria, the learned Saint *par excellence* (Kaftal, 1952, 225-234)
2 Kaftal, 1952, 965-966.
3 On the division of hands in the tabernacle between the Master of the Misericordia and Niccolò Gerini see oo in this volume.
4 The Ostafyevo estate was purchased by Prince Aleksey Vyazemskiy in 1792. In the first half of the nineteenth century Prince Pavel Vyazemskiy amassed an important collection of works of art. In 1899, Count Sheremetev, at the time the owner of the castle as a result of his marriage with Princess Yekaterina Vyazemskiy, decided that Ostafyevo should become a public museum. In 1929 the museum was closed and the works of art contained in it were distributed between various museums in Moscow and its environs. On the collecting of 'primitives' in Russia between the nineteenth and twentieth century see Markova, in Gazzetta Antiquaria, 1992, 15, 20-31.
5 In the period between 1356 and 1373 Giovanni di Vita held various important posts in the government of the Florentine Republic: he was elected one of the 12 Buonomini, in 1355 and again in 1372 (ASF, Tratte, Tre Maggiori,

(a).[5] Later integrations to the pictorial surface don't permit, however, a sure identification of the two coats of arms. In particular, the identification of the coat of arms to the right as that of the Florentine Republic raises doubts, since it does not entirely correspond to its heraldic characteristics; moreover, its presence in a work of private character would also be rather unusual.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1948 MOSCOW MUS. CAT., 34 No. 230
Circle of Nardo di Cione
1957 MOSCOW MUS. CAT., 62 No. 230 (1961, 88, No. 230)
Maître italien du XIV siècle
1959 LAZAREV, 295
Scuola di Jacopo di Cione
1975 BOSKOVITS, 370
Maestro della Misericordia… 1375-1380
1981 OFFNER, 12
Master of the Virgin of Mercy
1986 MOSCOW MUS. CAT., 179, No. 230
(a) Florentine painter, mid-fourteenth century. The painting entered the museum from the castle of Ostafyevo in 1924.
1989 MOSCOW MUS. CAT., No. 94
(b) Florentine painter of the fourteenth century
1992 MARKOVA, 60-61 No. 230
Maestro della Misericordia
1994 SKAUG, I, 259; II, 8.1
Master of the Misericordia. Decorated with a punch recognizable in other of the Master's works.
1995 MOSCOW MUS. CAT., 105, No. 230
Master of the Accademia Misericordia, c. 1380
2002 MARKOVA, 46-48
(c) *Master of Misericordia*. Very close to the Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints in Frankfurt (pl. XXXIV in this volume). The person for whom the tabernacle was painted may be identified as Giovanni di Vita, or a member of his family. The coat of arms on the other side of the base identified as that of the *Comune* of Florence.
2005 CHIODO, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 48-49, figs. 11-12
Il Maestro della Misericordia è intervenuto nella parte centrale… negli sportelli il disegno ha invece tratti rigidi e brusche spezzature… con effetti analoghi a quelli che si notano anche nell'Adorazione dei Magi dipinta dal Gerini entro il 1383.[7]

PHOTOGRAPHS
Moscow, Puškin Museum.

749, fol. 49; *ibid.*, 763, fol. 70); Prior in 1356 and 1373 (*ibid.*, 750, fol. 31; *ibid.*, 764, fol. 57); and Gonfaloniere di Compagnia in 1368 (*ibid.*, 759, fol. 76). On the Viti family see also Ciabani, 1992, I, 203.

7 The reference is to the predella of the polyptych now in the Florentine church of Santi Apostoli (Marcucci, 1965, 122-123, fig. 83). The date 1383 is deduced from an inscription at the foot of the central compartment of the polyptych, copied in 1514 from an earlier inscription during a partial renovation of the original carpentry of the frame.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FRANKFURT AM MAIN
HEDWIG ULLMANN COLLECTION (formerly) PL. XXXIV

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned, flanked by Saints Paul and John the Baptist *to the left*, and Saints Peter and Thomas *to the right*; *in the foreground* two kneeling musician angels; *in the predella* Man of Sorrows between the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist and two female Saints; .88 x .468 m
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The only known photographs of the painting, dating to the 1920s, show the pictorial surface darkened by grime and with the gold ground worn and retouched. Small darkened retouches can also be noted on the main part of the painting, though this does on the whole seem fairly well preserved. More substantial damages are visible in the predella where the faces of the figures have been entirely repainted, while extensive colour losses can be noted in the garments of the two female Saints on the far sides.

HISTORY
The painting was purchased by Hedwig Frida Ullmann (Frankfurt, 1872 - Melbourne, 1945) from the dealer Julius Böhler in Munich in 1919.[1] In 1926 it was still exhibited in Frankfurt as the property of the Ullmann family (b), in whose possession it was recorded by Offner in 1947. The Ullmann family, of Jewish origin, however, had already left Germany in the mid-1930s.[2]

Exhibition: Frankfurt, 1925 (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1925 FRANKFURT EXH. CAT., 17, No. 68
(a) (1926, 23, No. 68)
Florentiner Meister des 14. Jahrhunderts.
1947 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/V, 249
(b) *Cionesque*[3]*… same hand* as the tabernacle with the *Coronation of the Virgin and Saints* in the Crawford collection, Balcarres (pl. XXV in this volume)
1975 BOSKOVITS, 368, fig. 212
Maestro della Misericordia… 1380-1385
1981 OFFNER, 10, fig. 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.

1 Corpus, Archive. Handwritten note by Richard Offner.

2 Hedwig Frida Ullmann, née Nathan, moved to Milan in c. 1935, before emigrating to Melbourne (Australia) in 1939. Already by the early 1930s the family estate had been entrusted to a Swiss Foundation.

3 Erroneously cited as a Coronation of the Virgin.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

CAMBRIDGE (MA)
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
THE FOGG ART MUSEUM - *Inv. No. 1962.301*

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin,[1] flanked by Saints Paul, Peter, John the Baptist and James Major *to the left*, Saint Catherine, a female Saint, a Deacon Saint and an Apostle Saint[2] *to the right*: in the upper part, a cherub and seraph, and two angels supporting the baldachin; *in the foreground*, two music-making angels respectively with bagpipes and rebec kneeling at the centre. *In the predella*: Man of Sorrows, between the mourning Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, half-figure, *to the sides* two coats of arms;[3] .882 x 509 x .05 m *panel as a whole*; .711 x .419 m *main compartment*, .077 x .46 m *predella*.
[date: post 1376-1380]

STATE
The reproduction published in 1917 shows the painting covered by extensive retouches (b); these were removed by the restoration conducted by John Washeba in 1952.[4] The intervention revealed the serious abrasion of the pictorial surface, due no doubt to an over-drastic cleaning in the past, as well as some cracking of the wooden support which had caused extensive colour losses along the joint between the two vertical planks, running through the figure of Jesus and the kneeling musician angel at his feet. The areas of paint loss were clumsily integrated with over-conspicuous hatching in 1952, as evident in the angels supporting the baldachin and in the group of figures below, as also in the busts of Mary and Jesus. The gold ground, and the gold of the halos, is in large part lost, and together with it much of the figure of the seraph to the right, painted with transparent lacquer directly over the gold. The figures in the predella are also heavily rubbed and restored.

HISTORY
In 1914 the painting was sold by Giuseppe Salvadori (Florence) to the Kleinberger Galleries in New York (a). Purchased by Arthur Kingsley Porter in 1917(c), it was donated to the Fogg Museum by Lucy Wallace Porter in 1962.[5]

Exhibitions: New York, 1917 (a); Boston, 1939 (c).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1917 SIRÉN, I, 277
(a) *Jacopo di Cione… New York, Kleinberger*

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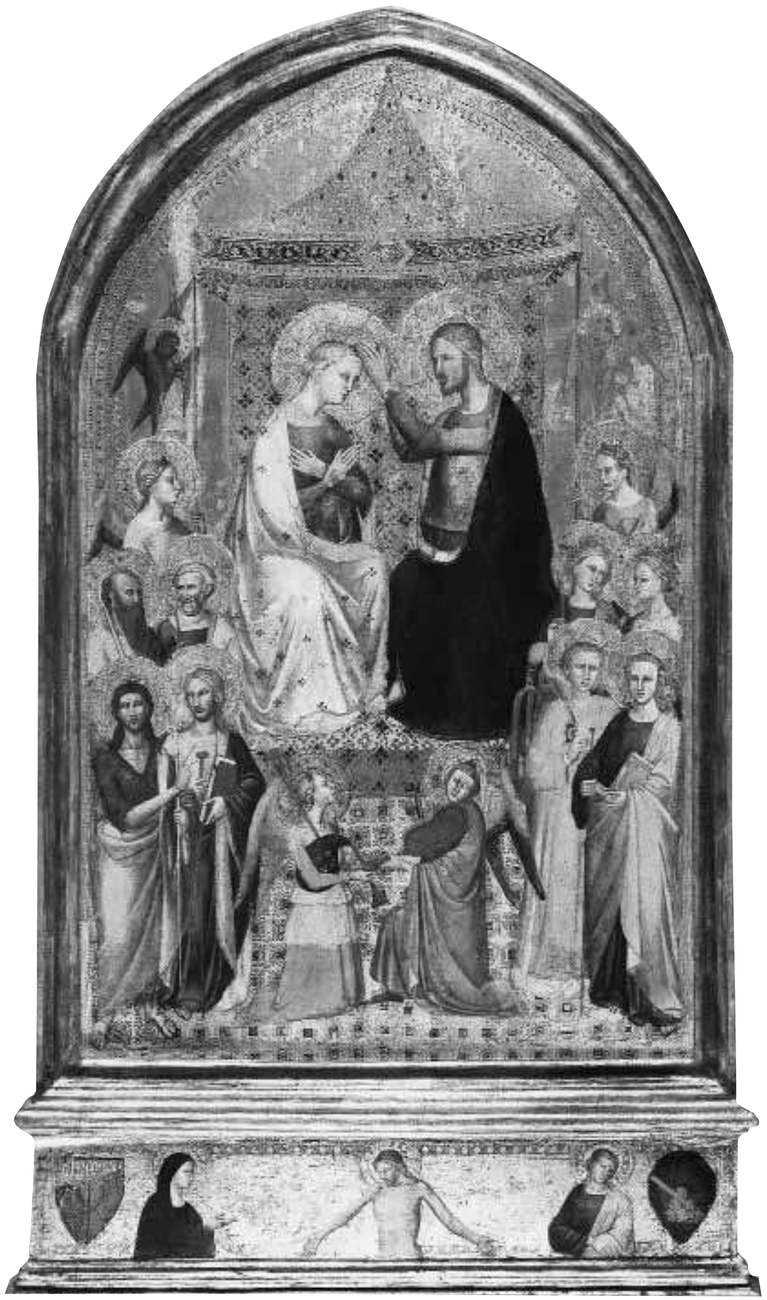
1 For the iconography of the *Coronation of the Virgin* see Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 1947, 243-259.
2 A more precise identification of the young Apostle is hampered both by the circumstance that the pilgrim's staff that the Saint holds in his left hand is in large measure the result of the restorer's intervention and the fact that this attribute more properly belongs to Saint James, who is portrayed in the foreground on the other side of the painting. On the other hand, it is likely that the club held by the Apostle was in fact a lance, a circumstance that would allow the latter's identification with Judes Thaddeus (Kaftal, 1952, 965-968).
3 The coats of arms have in part been repainted. The only original fragment that remains is the upper part of the shield to the left, where the word "LIBERTA" can be deciphered. In Florentine heraldry the presence of this motto corresponds to a privilege granted by the Republic in 1376 to the citizens who had filled the post of the Otto di Guerra (see in this volume oo; see further Ciabani, IV, 1992, 1177; Orsini De Marzo, 2005, 292.498). So this date represents an important *terminus post quem* for the execution of the painting. Probably on the basis of traces of the original painting, the shield to the right has also been repainted (azure, sextuple mountain traversed by bend); the elements of this coat of arms recur in the emblems of many Florentine families, including that of the Ridolfi.
4 Corpus, Archive, handwritten notes of Richard Offner.
5 Information kindly provided by the museum.

PL. XXXV



Galleries

1917 (b) SIRÉN - BROCKWELL, 26 No. 7
Jacopo di Cione… Lent by A. Kingsley Porter, Esq.

1924 van MARLE, III, 508 n. 1
Attributed to Jacopo di Cione

1939 (c) BOSTON EXH. CAT., 20 No. 17
Jacopo di Cione… late… Lent by Mrs. A. Kingsley Porter, Cambridge… Bought from Kleinberger, N.Y., 1917

1969 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, IV/V, 61 n. 1
Master of the Virgin of Mercy. The baldachin motif considered an evolution of the earlier cloth of honour supported by angels.

1972 FREDERICKSEN - ZERI, 218, 308, 569
Florence, 14th century

1975 BOSKOVITS, 367
Maestro della Misericordia… 1375-1380

1975 KOELLA, 74
Meister der Misericordia

1981 OFFNER, 9
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1990 BOWRON, 119, No. 497
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1998 FRINTA, I, 399, Jc10
Florentine. Identified the same punch in other paintings of the Master of the Misericordia[6] and other Florentine painters in the second half of the Trecento.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photo.

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6 *Coronation of the Virgin*, Bern, Kunstmuseum (pl. XXII in this volume).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

WINTERTHUR (Switzerland)
OSKAR REINHART COLLECTION "AT RÖMERHOLZ" PL. XXXVI

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin[1] between Saints Paul and James Major *to the left*, Saints Peter and John the Baptist *to the right*; two angels supporting the baldachin, two music-making angels kneeling in the foreground [one playing the viol, the other the psaltery]; .75 x .495 m
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The panel, which originally had a pointed arch termination, has been truncated in its upper part to achieve a rectangular format and cropped along the sides. Part of the original profile of the gable can be seen in the upper corners. The areas between the margin of the painted surface and the edge of the wooden support have been repainted. The pictorial surface is slightly worn in some parts, but on the whole seems well preserved.

HISTORY
Around the mid-nineteenth century the work was in the collection of Lord Henry Labouchère Taunton (1798-1869). On the death of Lady Taunton (1892), it was inherited by her grandson Edward Arthur Vestley Stanley Taunton.[2] From the latter the painting was purchased by Robert Langton Douglas (a),[3] who sold it in turn in 1922 to Julius Böhler (Munich).[4] In the same year it was acquired by Oskar Reinhart (1885-1965) and since then was to be found in the Reinhart collection at Römerholz near Winterthur (Switzerland).[5] In 1958 the collection and the villa that contained it were bequeathed to the Swiss Government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1955 WINTERTHUR CAT. COLL., 23 No. 64
Florentiner Meister des ausgehenden 14. Jahrhunderts... Von Berenson der Umgebung des Niccolò di Pietro Gerini zugewiesen
1970 STÄHELIN, 25, No. 60
Florentiner Meister... Ende 14. Jahrhundert... Von... Berenson der Umgebung des Niccolò di Piero Gerini zugewiesen... ober nachträglich um Spitzbogen verkürzt
1975 BOSKOVITS, 371
Maestro della Misericordia... 1380-1385
1975 (a) KOELLA, 74-75, No. 22
Florentine Meister tätig am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts... um 1380. Reconstruction of provenance. Reports the attribution of Robert Langton Douglas: "*...um 1350... Arbeit von Jacopo di Cione (Mitteilung der Firma Böhler, im Archiv der Sammlung)*, attributed by Bernard Berenson to "*Umgebund des Niccolò di Pie-*

[1] For the iconography of the *Coronation of the Virgin* see Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 1947, 243-259.
[2] On the Lord Taunton collection see Waagen, 1854, I, 35; II, 287-288, 416-423, though here the painting being discussed is not mentioned. The collection of Lord Stanley Taunton was sold at Sotheby's in London on 14-15 July 1920, but the Master of Misericordia's painting was not among those offered for sale on this occasion.
[3] Corpus, Archive. The report is also confirmed by a communication from Robert Langton Douglas to Richard Offner. On Douglas, connoisseur and *merchant amateur* see Sutton, in *Apollo*, CIX, 1979, 248-315, 334-393, 412-475; CX, 1980, 2-55.
[4] Corpus, Archive. Notes of Richard Offner. The sale of the painting to Böhler is also reported by Koella, 1975, 74-75 though he does not indicate the date on which Böhler purchased it.
[5] Corpus, Archive. Notes of Richard Offner. Communication from Oskar Reinhart.

tro Gerini (Brief von Mary Berenson vom 30.10.1930 im Archiv der Sammlung) and by Richard Offner to the Master of the Virgin of Mercy.

1981 OFFNER, 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy… (fr.) (near to)

1991 LUGANO EXH. CAT., 294-296, fig. 37
Maestro della Madonna della Misericordia

1993 FREHNER, 23
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, zugeschrieben… um 1380… Eine Marienkrönung dieses Meisters im Montreal Museum of fine Arts steht unserem Bild sehr nahe.[6] *Charakteristische Merkmale wie die Art des Punzierung der Heiligenscheine und der Verzierungen des Kleides von Maria, die als decoratives Muster keine Rücksicht auf die plastische Modellierung des Faltenwurfs nehmen, sind bei beiden Tafeln weitagehend identisch.*

2001 FREULER, in FEHLMANN - FREULER, 98
Meister der Misericordia Madonna… eine klare Auseinandersetzung mit dem Florentiner Zeitgenossen Niccolò di Pietro Gerini zu erkennen

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Museum Photo.

[6] Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, *Coronation of the Virgin between six angels and four Saints*, Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. No. 1059. See Berenson, 1963, fig. 368. Reported as a work of Gerini also by Boskovits (1975, 411), who suggested a dating to the years 1380-1385.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA[1]

LONGLEAT (Wiltshire)
Collection of Alexander Thynn, 7th Marquess of Bath PL. XXXVII

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin, between Saints John the Baptist, Peter Apostle and Benedict *to the left*, Thomas Apostle, John the Evangelist and Ansano *to the right*, two curtain-supporting angels above and two music-making angels kneeling in the foreground; .84 x .48 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE[2]
The arched panel is inserted in a nineteenth-century frame. The panel retains its original thickness but is damaged by woodworm. On the back some cracks have been closed with wooden inserts, while the support in the lower left has been repaired with a piece of pinewood measuring c. 22 x 15 cm. These repairs could have been made during the restoration conducted by Holder & Sons in 1951 following an inspection that showed the need for urgent intervention.[3] The pictorial surface and the gold ground were badly damaged by an early cleaning and have been extensively repainted. The original gold is visible only in the ground, in the halo of the curtain-supporting angel to the right, in that of the Saint below and in a few fragments of those of Jesus and John the Baptist. The faces of the figures, the decorative motifs of the fabrics and garments and the wings of the angels in the foreground have been completely renewed.

HISTORY
The painting was purchased by John Thynne, 4th Marquess of Bath (1832-1896) for his country house at Longleat (Wiltshire). It is cited in the scheme for the picture gallery prepared by Canon J. E. Jackson on 1st January 1879 (fol. 15); it is placed in the "New With-Drawing Room. South Side… to the left above Justice sword and scale. Bonifaccio". The painting is shown in the same position in the plans of 1st January 1885 (fol. 28) and of 14 July 1891 (fol. 23).[4]

Exhibition: London, Royal Academy, 1887, No. 190.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[5]
1887 LONDON EXH. CAT., No. 190
Sienese School

PHOTOGRAPHS
Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey Department, London, No. B54/656.

[1] The attribution to the Master of the Misericordia was suggested by Miklós Boskovits (oral communication).
[2] Information on the painting's condition was kindly furnished by the owners and is based on the inspections of the panel made by Richard Watkiss (1996) and Jill Dunkerton (August 2003).
[3] Longleat House archives. The report on the panel's condition dated 20 February 1950 states: "Clean as far as possible, and repair tops and few damages, and revarnished". The restoration was completed on 3 December 1951.
[4] Information on the history of the painting was kindly furnished by the owners.
[5] In the archive of Longleat House the painting was first recorded as a work of "Lorenzetti", while at the present time it is classified as a work of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE
MUSEO DELL'OPERA DEL DUOMO - *Inv. No. 110* PL. XXXVIII

PANEL
In the central gabled panel: St. Zenobius (San Zanobi)[1] and a kneeling female devotee (member of a religious order), *in the upper part of the panel, in the triangular compartments to the side of the gable,* the Angel of the Annunciation *to the right*, the Virgin Annunciate *to the left*; 1.62 x .76 m
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The painting is formed by a main panel with a triangular gabled top, at the sides of which two smaller triangular panels have been added, perhaps at a later date, with the aim of giving the work a rectangular profile. The two inserts are, in turn, united by a wedge-shaped element. The panels were thinned (current thickness: c. 2.5 cm); however the signs of an early transverse batten are still visible close to the upper margin, while another more recent horizontal batten in two pieces is separated from the former by c. 10 cm. An early picture hook is fixed to the apex of the main panel. The pictorial surface in the main compartment has been impoverished by old cleanings and is covered by grime and darkened varnishes. The two inserts to the side of the gable, particularly rubbed, are also damaged by two cracks that run through the figure of the Angel of the Annunciation and the dove of the Holy Spirit in the opposite panel, close to the joint with the wedge that unites them.

Inscription: ECCE / ANCI / LL[A] / DO / [M] INI (in the Virgin's breviary)

HISTORY
The painting is recorded for the first time in 1886 among the works destined for the Museo dell'Opera, then in the process of being created (a). The alleged provenance from the Compagnia di San Zanobi, the confraternity devoted to the veneration of Florence's patron saint that met in Florence Cathedral until 1281, has so far not been corroborated by archival evidence (b).[2] The painting is not included in the list of the ancient panels of the Cathedral that it was decided to remove in 1439,[3] but it is perhaps possible to identify it with a *schudo dipinto della fighura di Sancto Zanobi* mentioned in the 1394 inventory of the movable properties owned by the confraternity in question.[4]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1886 Museo dell'Opera, in ATTI, 1886 (1887), 70
(a) *44. Un Vescovo in piedi; a sinistra in basso*

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[1] Luciano Bellosi (in Becherucci - Brunetti, II, 1970, 285) shares the identification of the Saint with St. Zenobius, first bishop of Florence and much venerated in the city, as suggested by Kaftal (1952, 1036), and recognises a possible allusion to the Florentine *Marzocco* in the lion that decorates the crocketed volute at the top of his crozier. Tied round the staff of the crozier is the *pannisellum*, also called the *sudarium*. This was a silk cloth used by abbots to avoid supporting their pastoral staff with their bare hands, given that their ecclesiastical dress, in contrast to that of Bishops, did not prescribe the use of gloves. In Tuscan paintings of the Trecento, however, its presence is widely attested in the representation of Bishop Saints.

[2] On the Compagnia di San Zanobi see Orioli, 1984 and Dehmer, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XLIII, 1999, 597-605.

[3] Poggi, 1909 (cons. ed. II, 1988, 140 No. 2122).

[4] ASF, Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 2170. fol. 23r. In part published by Dehmer, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XLIII, 1999, 597-605. The archival documents also record some works commissioned by the Compagnia, including, in years not all that far removed from those of the present St. Zenobius panel, a *gonfalone* (banner) painted in 1373 by "Giovannino dipintore che sta da lo studio". Since Giovanni is a very common name, the artist who

PL. XXXVIII

la figura di una devota inginocchioni. In alto è l'Annunziazione di piccole figure (secolo XIV)

1891 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 28, No. 110.
Scuola fiorentina, sec. XIV, seconda metà

1904 POGGI, 51.
Scuola fiorentina, sec. XV, prima metà

1924 van MARLE, III, 400
Daddesque

1948 FLORENCE MUS. CAT, 13.
Scuola fiorentina della prima metà del secolo XV

1950 TCI FIRENZE, 84
Scuola fiorentina della prima metà del XIV secolo

1952 KAFTAL, 1036.
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (oral communication from Richard Offner)

1970 (b) BELLOSI, in BECHERUCCI-BRUNETTI, II, 285, pl 257
Jacopo di Cione on the basis of comparison with the frescoes in the Palazzo Comunale at Volterra,[5] datable between c. 1383 and 1394

1975 BOSKOVITS, 103, 368
Maestro della Misericordia. 1375-1380… La suora inginocchiata… risulta sovrapponibile alle immagini di monache devote nella tavola con la "Madonna della Misericordia" all'Accademia

1981 OFFNER, 81
Gerini School

1981 PADOA RIZZO, in ANNALI PISA, IV, vol. XI, 3, 887-888
Andrea di Cione… una fase però più arcaica di quanto sia stato finora considerato e prossimo invece all'Annunciazione già in San Lorenzo, alla Beata Umiltà di San Michele a San Salvi, al Sant'Agostino del Refettorio di Santo Spirito… ed infine il San Matteo degli Uffizi

1989 PRETI, 87
Jacopo di Cione

1994 GURRIERI, 264, fig. 8
Ignoto

2000 MONTRÉSOR, in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 55
Jacopo di Cione… fine del Trecento

PHOTOGRAPHS
Alinari, Florence, 43773; Niccolò Orsi Battaglini, Florence.

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painted the *gonfalone* in question cannot be identified with any certainty. We can exclude the hypothesis that he might have been Giovanni del Biondo, then resident in the Santa Croce quarter (Offner, *Corpus*, IV/IV, 1967, 4), or Giovanni Bonsi, resident in the popolo di San Lorenzo (Pasquinucci, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus,* IV/VIII, 2000, 33), or Giovanni Gaddi, who lived in the popolo di San Pier Maggiore (see in this volume 97).

[5] Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, pl. XI; Boskovits, 1975, 330, pl. 92/a.

IZIONE
ROPPO
RETTO
ICA -40

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA AND NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO GERINI

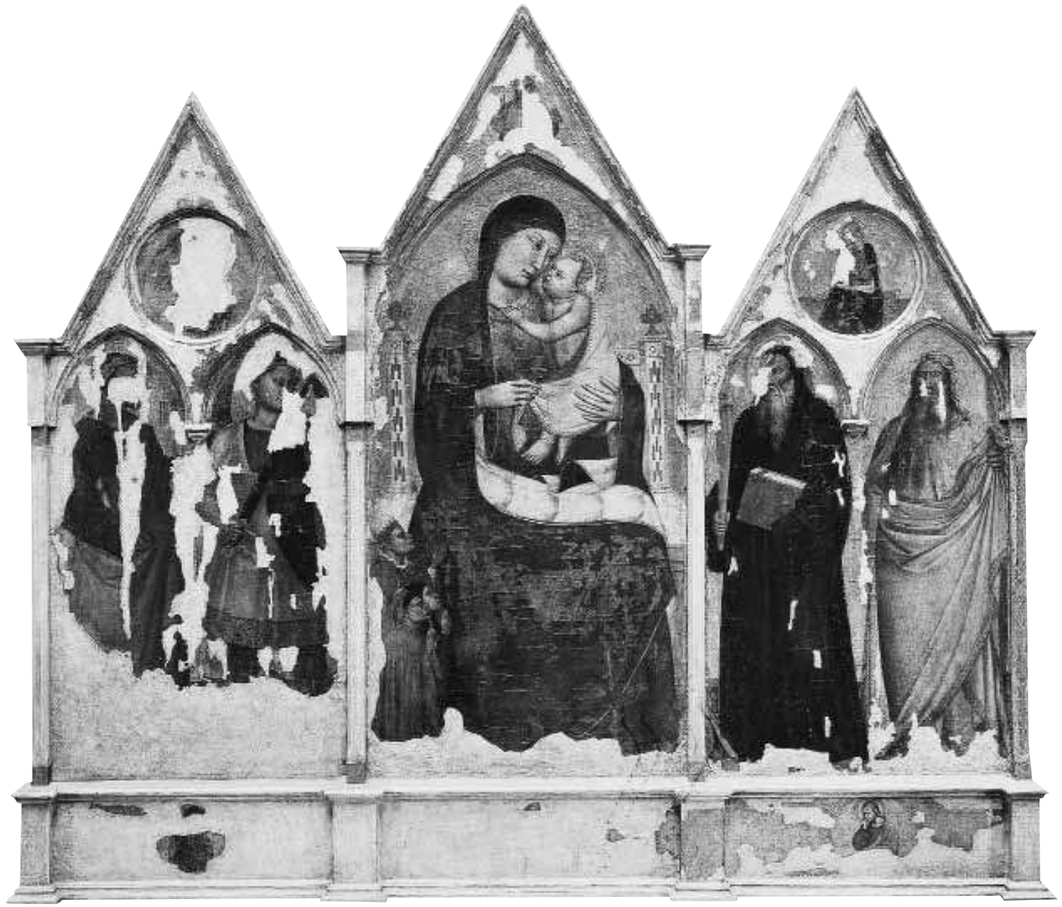
MONTESPERTOLI (Florence),
Church of Sant'Andrea

TRIPTYCH
Central panel: Madonna and Child enthroned, flanked to the left by the kneeling Pope Urban VI[1] and two kneeling donors. *In the laterals*: Saints Peter Apostle and Michael Archangel *to the left*, Benedict and Andrew *to the right*. *In the triangular gables, at the centre* the Blessing Redeemer, *to the right* the Virgin Annunciate, *to the left* the Archangel Gabriel (lost). *In the predella, within medallions, at the centre* the Man of Sorrows (Vir dolorum) (lost), *to the left* the Virgin Mary, *to the right* Saint John the Evangelist; 1.61 x 1.81 m
[date: post 1378-1385]

STATE
Already in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the triptych was described as *molto guasto* and *in tristissime condizioni* (b, c). A Sansoni photo, taken for the Frick Art Reference Library (f), between the late 1920s and early 1930s, shows extensive areas of colour loss, especially in the predella and lower zone, but also elsewhere, with visible flaking of colour in the surviving painted surface. A later photo taken by the Soprintendenza in Florence shows further colour loss in several areas and especially in the figure of the blessing Redeemer in the central gable, in the face of St. Peter, in that of St. Michael Archangel and in that of St. Andrew.
Shortly before 1963 the triptych was restored, the wood of the support treated and the colour consolidated (e). During this restoration areas of colour loss in the draperies of the figures were integrated and small retouches made at various points, including the face of the Archangel Michael, the chin of the Christ Child and the right eye of Mary.
In the central gable only a few fragments survive of the figure of the blessing Redeemer, while in the predella the pictorial surface has been almost completely destroyed, with the exception of small parts of the gold ground and a miniscule fragment of Christ's head. In the left lateral the colour and underlying bole have been lost in the lower part of the panel and along the joints between the boards of the support; almost a third of the painted surface has been lost. Extensive losses may be noted in the figure of St. Peter, where the face is almost completely lost, whereas of the figure of St. Michael a large fragment of the face and a substantial part of the figure survive. The angel in the gable medallion (except for the wings) and the gold ground of the gable have in large part been destroyed, as too has the decoration of the predella; here all that remains is a fragment of the dress of the Virgin. In the right lateral the colour has been lost along the lower margin, while other minor areas of colour loss are found in the vestments and faces of the figures. In the gable medallion the figure of the Virgin Annunciate has lost part of her face and the right part of her bust, while in the predella the bust of St. John the Evangelist has been almost entirely preserved; only a part of his left arm has been lost.
The restoration of the early 1960s did not halt the damage: numerous areas of flaking pigment made necessary another intervention, conducted by Nicola MacGregor and Elisabetta Codognato in 2009 (h); during this restoration, the colour was fixed, the stuccoing renewed, and smaller areas of colour loss retouched.

HISTORY
Successive pastoral visitations reported the triptych

[1] Richard Offner (*Corpus*, IV/V, 1969, 189), dating the triptych to the penultimate decade of the Trecento on the basis of its style, concluded that the pontiff represented here be identified with Urban VI (Bartolomeo Prignano, 1318-1389), elected Pope on 8 April 1378. Offner's proposal is plausible and further confirmed by comparison between the image painted in the Montespertoli triptych and the portrait in profile of the Pope sculpted on his tomb in the Sacre Grotte Vaticane (see Paschini, in Enc. Catt., XII, 1954, 909-910). See further Chiodo, in Arte Cristiana, XCIII, 2005, 48, fig. 100, and 60-62 in this volume.



ZIONE
OPPO
ETTO
CA -30

in the oratory of San Paolo at Mezzano near Montespertoli from 1589 onwards (a). Between 1891 (c) and 1904 (d) it was transferred, on the advice of Guido Carocci, to the parish church of Sant'Andrea at Montespertoli (c). Initially it was placed in the campanile until the restoration conducted in the early 1960s, following which it was moved first to the chapel of the Virgin and then to the chapel at the head of the right aisle of the church (h). The absence of St. Paul among the Saints portrayed in the triptych makes it improbable that it can have been originally intended for the oratory of San Paolo at Mezzano.[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1589 (a) AAF, Visite Pastorali, 17.1 (Mgr. Alessandro d'Ottaviano de' Medici), fol. 110r
San Paolo a Mezzano… Altare cum tabula antiqua… Ecclesia parvula tota restaurata et dealbata a praeterito Rectore… Paries Altaris sub campanile humiditate fatiscit

1655 AAF, Visite Pastorali, 31 (Mgr. Francesco Nerli, senior), fol. 92
Church of San Paolo at Menzano… *Habet tabulam pictam satis antiquam*

1672 AAF, Visite Pastorali, 41 (Mgr. Francesco Nerli, junior), fol. 70
Accesserunt ad Ecclesiam Sancti Pauli a Menzano… Adest unicum Altarem… Tabula picta antiqua in qua est Imago Beate Marie Virginis et alii Sancti.

1754 AAF, Visite Pastorali, 58.1 (Mgr. Gaetano Incontri), fols. 452-453.
Inventario della chiesa di San Paolo… Un quadro di legno antico dipintovi la SS. Vergine e altri Santi

1879- 1881 (b) AAF, Visite Pastorali, 81 (Mgr. Eugenio Cecconi), fols. 2510-2511
Oratorio di San Paolo del parroco pro tempore di Montespertoli… Vedesi posto in terra un trittico d'altare, di buon pennello, forse più innanzi del fare di Giotto, ma molto guasto. Esso rappresenta la Madonna con il Bambino e a' piedi il donatore, nei lati quattro Santi, nella cuspide di mezzo il Padre Eterno, nelle cuspidi minori la SS. Annunziata.

(c) 1891 CAROCCI, in CATALOGO GENERALE..., Montespertoli, Oratorio di S. Paolo, n. 1 (ms. in SSPMF).
…rammenta le opere della scuola di Angiolo Gaddi… alla parete dell'oratorio di S. Paolo… In addietro era sull'altare… tolto perché ridotto in tristissime condizioni… scrostata e spaccata… St. Benedict wrongly identified as St. Anthony Abbot.

1904 (d) GUARDUCCI, 170.
…della maniera d'Agnolo Gaddi… pochi anni or sono il… Carocci… ha fatto trasportare dalla vicina chiesa di S. Paolo a Sant'Andrea il trittico.

1911 CIONI, 213-214.
interessante trittico della maniera d'Agnolo Gaddi.

1935 TCI, TOSCANA, 382.
della maniera di Agnolo Gaddi.

1959 TCI, TOSCANA, 488.
di scuola fiorentina della metà del '300… molto deteriorato.

1963 BALDINI, in IL VASARI, XXI, Nos. 2-3, 112.
Giovanni del Biondo… l'opera sembra potersi inserire prima del suo lavoro in Castelfiorentino… sul '60, testimoniando così il suo operare nell'ambito degli Orcagna in una duplice attenzione ad Andrea… e a Nardo

1963 DAL POGGETTO, 31, No. 18, pl. XV.

(e) *Giovanni del Biondo (?) lo stile antico, che ha origine nella tradizione ancora vitale di Taddeo Gaddi e di Bernardo Daddi, si colora di alcune incipienti novità dell'arte di Andrea Orcagna… Il dipinto* [has been]… *recentemente restaurato.*

1963 DAL POGGETTO, in ANT. VIVA, II, No. 8, 52.
il restaurato polittico di Montespertoli attributed to Giovanni del Biondo… *sembra accostarsi all'arte di Andrea Orcagna*

1963 ZERI, in BOLL. ARTE, XLVIII, 246.
Giovanni del Biondo. La proposta va accettata senza remore, visto che il gruppo centrale vi è… pressoché identico a quello… in una anconetta… già presso E. Volpi a Firenze e con una corrispondenza che rasenta la sovrapponibilità nella Madonna già nella collezione Hurd a New York[3]

1969 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, IV/V, 189-191, pl. XLIV.

(f) *Workshop of Giovanni del Biondo…* however this *type of altarpiece… finds no parallel in Giovanni del Biondo's oeuvre. St. Andrew is emphasized by his frontal position and may therefore be regarded as titular saint of the church for which the altarpiece was originally painted. This may have been the church of S. Andrew which formerly belonged to the castle… The donors in the central panel could therefore have been the contemporary lords of the castle and conceivably also related to the reigning pope who, according to the style of the altarpiece, would have been Urban VI* (see 263 n. 1 in this volume). *The altarpiece may be dated around 1378. The collaboration of a workshop assistent cannot be excluded, for the types of the Madonna and Child… and the figures of SS. Peter and Michael.*

1970 CALZOLAI, 291

1975 BOSKOVITS, 102-103, 228 nn. 83-86, 370, pl. 104.
Maestro della Misericordia e Niccolò di Pietro Gerini… confrontando il pannello di Montespertoli… con una tavola quale la "Vergine" di Manchester del Maestro della Misericordia, non credo si possa negarne la paternità a quest'ultimo…[4] *Spetta a Niccolò Gerini l'esecuzione dello sportello destro. Il confronto con qualche dipinto di Niccolò di Pietro, ad esempio i due sportelli dell'Accademia Etrusca a Cortona*[5]*… confermerà l'ipotesi che il Gerini, intorno al 1380, frequentò la bottega del Maestro della Misericordia.*

1981 NESI, 107, fig. 19.
Per la chiesa di S. Paolo fu eseguito il trittico (ora a Montespertoli) del Maestro della Misericordia e di Niccolò Gerini.

1993 VILLANI-CIRRI, 353-354
Scuola fiorentina della metà del '300

1994 SKAUG, I, 205, 259-260; II, 8.1
Master of the Misericordia… The occurrence of Giovanni del Biondo's six-petalled rosette 501… is interesting… Apparently there was contact between the two at this late point of time in the Misericordia Master's career, a period when Giovanni del Biondo collaborated also with Jacopo di Cione.

2005 (g) CHIODO, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 48
Maestro della Misericordia e Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. Discussion of provenance.

2009 (h) CISERI, in IL TRITTICO, 4-5
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini e Maestro della Misericordia. Report on the restoration.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Frick Reference Art Library, New York, 6618a (1920s-1930s); SSPMF, neg. 68731 (pre-restoration), 122540 (post-restoration).

[2] Chiodo, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 48, 55 n. 35. See also ∞ in this volume. The Oratorio di San Paolo was a dependency of the parish church of Sant'Andrea at Montespertoli, belonging to the *pievania* of San Pietro in Mercato. Both the church of Sant'Andrea and the *pieve* of San Pietro in Mercato were under the patronage of the Cattani (or Caetani) family in the second half of the Trecento The family's patronage also extended to other churches in the area, as may be deduced from a *memoria* in the Archivio di Stato of Florence (ASF, Carte Strozziane, s. I, 118: Processo di sopra il patronato della pieve di San Pietro in Mercato, della chiesa di San Michele di Torre… pretesi dall'egregio dottore Francesco di Lorenzo Machiavelli nel 1426), dating to the early years of the Quattrocento and relating to the acquisition of the family's whole estate by the Parte Guelfa and the Machiavelli family. This was the concluding transaction of a long-running dispute that had begun roughly a century before. In 1311, due to the confiscation of the assets of the sons of Filippo da Montespertoli, a third of the estate passed to the Capitani di Parte Guelfa. The other two thirds were ceded to the Machiavelli and then to the Rangoni-Machiavelli, together with other rights (Guarducci, 1904, 170; Villani - Cirri, 1993, 353), in 1393. In 1475 the church of Sant'Andrea and its annexed oratory were united with the *pieve* of San Pietro in Mercato (Machiavelli, ed. 1954, ∞).

[3] For the painting formerly with Elia Volpi in Florence, subsequently Florence, Branch collection, see Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/V, 1969, 42, pl. IX and Boskovits, 1975, 309. For the painting formerly in the Hurd collection in New York see Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/V, 1969, 28, pl. IV; Boskovits, 1975, 313.

[4] See in this volume ∞.

[5] Cf. Speranza, in *Il Museo*, 1992, 142-143.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

NEW YORK
Art Market

PL. XL

PANEL
Annunciation; .603 x .337 m
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The painting has been inserted in a modern frame. In 1985 (a) the pictorial surface appeared heavily worn, extensively overpainted and darkened by oxidized varnishes (pl. 00[2]). The gold ground of the gable was integrated, imitating the original punches in its decoration. Between this date and 1994 (b) the painting was drastically cleaned, flattening the forms and arbitrarily integrating the colour losses.

HISTORY
In 1985 the painting re-surfaced on the London art market (a) and in 1994 was offered for sale in New York (b).[1]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1985 (a) LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 19 April, 45
Master of the Misericordia
1994 (b) NEW YORK SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 14 January, 54
Master of the Misericordia (with mistaken bibliographical references).[1]

PHOTOGRAPHS
Christie's, London; New York, Sotheby's.

[1] In the New York sale catalogue the painting was mistakenly identified with a panel of different subject (*Madonna and Child enthroned, Saints and Annunciation*) that had been offered for sale in London in 1948 (London, Christie's Sale Cat., 1948, 12 March, lot 87) as a work of Niccolò Gerini, later cited as a work of this latter by Bernard Berenson, but subsequently re-assigned to the Master of the Misericordia by Miklós Boskovits. See in this volume 00, pl. XLIX.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA[1]

LONDON
COURTAULD INSTITUTE ART GALLERY
GAMBIER - PARRY COLLECTION - *Inv. No. 118* PL. XLI

PANEL
Annunciation; .625 x .388 m
[date: 1375-1380]

STATE
The painting, inserted in a neo-gothic frame, is in mediocre condition. The gold ground and the pictorial surface, perhaps damaged by an early, over-aggressive cleaning, have been extensively overpainted, in particular the faces of the two protagonists. Darkened retouches can also be seen in Mary's mantle.

HISTORY
The painting was purchased by Sir Thomas Gambier-Parry[2] in Florence in 1861 for his collection of old masters at Highnam Court (Gloucestershire) (a). Donated by Mark Gambier-Parry to the University of London in 1966.

INSCRIPTION
on book supported on the Virgin's lap ECCE AN/CILLA DO/MINI/ FIAT M/ICHI SE/ CUNDUM/ VERBUM/ TUUM

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1867 HIGHNAM COURT COLL. CAT., (ms)
No. 34
Agnolo Gaddi[3]
1917 SIRÉN, I, 277
Jacopo di Cione
1924 van MARLE, III, 508 n. 1
Orcagnesque school; 559 n. 1: circle of Agnolo Gaddi
1967 BLUNT, 37, No. 118
(a) *Lorenzo di Niccolò… attributed by Gambier-Parry to Agnolo Gaddi… The attribution to Lorenzo di Niccolò, due to Dr. John Shearman, is based on the similarity of the work to the polyptych in San Domenico, Cortona*[4]*… The composition goes back to an "Annunciation" by Taddeo Gaddi in the Museo Bandini in Fiesole*[5]
1967 BOSKOVITS, in MITTEILUNGEN KIF, 44 n. 28
Werk des Verdiana Meisters um 1390
1974 LONDON MUS. CAT., 16
Lorenzo di Niccolò
1976 WRIGHT, 121
Lorenzo di Niccolò
1979 TROUTMAN, 15
Lorenzo di Niccolò

PHOTOGRAPHS
Courtauld Institute, London.

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1 As kindly pointed out to me by Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen, of the Courtauld Gallery, the painting is attributed to the Master of the Misericordia on the basis of an oral communication from Erling Skaug (1993). Miklós Boskovits (oral communication) now accepts this attribution.

2 On the artist and art collector Sir Thomas Gambier-Parry (1816-1888) and his collection of works of art, apart from the contributions of Anthony Blunt on the occasion of the donation of the collection to the Courtauld Institute (in *Apollo*, LXXXI-2, 1965, April, 288-295; in *Burl. Mag.*, CIX, 1967, 112-116), see also *London, Exh. Cat.*, 1993.

3 Information kindly supplied by Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen. The manuscript catalogue is now in the archive of the Courtauld Institute.

4 Cf. *Cortona, Exh. Cat.,* 1986.

5 On this painting see Ladis, 1982, 155.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE
GALLERIA MORETTI (formerly) PL. XLII

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin between Saints Bartholomew, John the Baptist, Catherine of Alexandria and Andrew *to the left*, a female Martyr Saint, a Bishop Saint, Saints Peter and Paul *to the right*, two angels supporting the cloth of honour; .88 x .49 m (panel with frame), .75 x .49 (painted surface).
[date: 1380-1385]

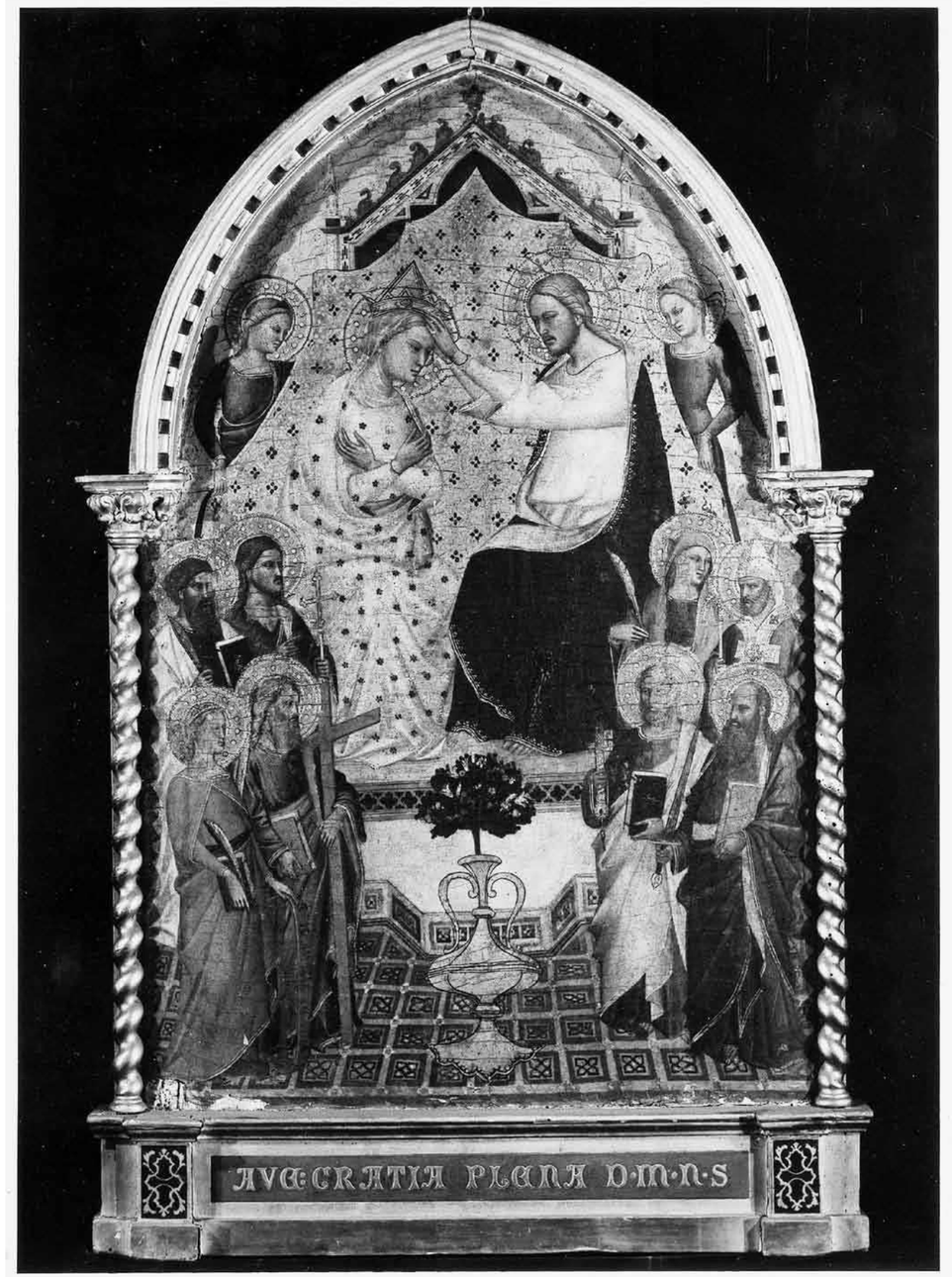
STATE
The painting was executed on a wooden support formed of two vertical planks. During an early twentieth-century restoration, the support was trimmed along the terminal arch and furnished with a simple neo-gothic frame with spiral colonnettes to the sides. The base with the inscription in the frieze, now removed but still visible in a photograph datable to c. 2000, also seems to have been added in the early years of the last century.[1] In the same photograph the pictorial surface seems darkened by grime and rubbed in various points, in particular in the faces of Saints Catherine, Andrew, Peter and the female Martyr saint in the back row to the right. Other small losses were visible in the figures of the other Saints, while small areas of flaked pigment, some of more recent date, were present along the chipped lower edge of the panel. During the recent restoration (a) the painting was cleaned, but arbitrary retouches alter the faces especially of the Saints in the foreground.

HISTORY
In 2002 the painting appeared on the art market in Italy.[2] In 2004 it was offered for sale at an auction in New York (a). In the following year it was with the Galleria Moretti in Florence (b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
2004 NEW YORK SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 22 January, lot 45
(a) *Master of the Misericordia*... Reports the verbal opinion of Miklós Boskovits
2005b TARTUFERI, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 46-51
(b) *Maestro della Misericordia... sembra appartenere a una fase piuttosto inoltrata... intorno al 1380-1385*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive (before restoration); Galleria Moretti, Florence, (after restoration).

[1] Corpus, Archive.
[2] Verbal communication from Miklós Boskovits.



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

NEW YORK
ART MARKET

PL. XLIII

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned between two curtain-supporting angels; *to the left* a Saint in the guide of a knight, Saints Anthony Abbot, Peter Martyr and Nicholas; *to the right* a Female Saint, Saints Onuphrius, John the Baptist and Catherine; .512 x .345 m

STATE
The panel has been truncated, and the support shorn of its original gabled top, in which a bust of the blessing Redeemer would probably have been represented. The pictorial surface is much worn, probably due to over-drastic cleaning in the past, and is obscured by extensive retouches.

HISTORY
The painting was presented for sale in New York in 2006 (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
2006 NEW YORK, SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 26 January, lot 36
(a) *Master of the Misericordia… This painting shares numerous elements with another panel by the Master, withdrawn from sale in New York…* (pl. XLII in this volume) *in which the motif of a gilt vase with flowers lower centre also appears. The attribution to the Master of the Misericordia was first suggested by Prof. Miklós Boskovits (from photograph) and endorsed by Everett Fahy (after first-hand inspection of the painting).*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

NEW YORK (formerly)
A.S. DREY GALLERY

PL. XLIV

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin with four angels in adoration;[1] .74 x .41 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
In photographs dating to the 1920s the painting appeared shorn of its original frame and with the marginal strips, which this latter would have concealed, painted over with gold paint. The pictorial surface appeared heavily rubbed and altered by extensive retouches both in the faces and in the garments of the figures.

HISTORY
The painting is said to have a provenance from the collection of William Young Ottley (1771-1836) (h).[2] In 1847 it was in the collection of Edward Harman (Clay Hill, Enfield), as part of which it was sold at auction in London in that year (a). Purchased by Anthony Anthaly,[3] it was subsequently reported in the collection of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, Eagle House (Enfield) (b), as part of which it was sold at auction in London in 1885 (e). Acquired by Robert Benson (London), in whose collection it still remained in 1914 (h),[4] the painting was later reported in the Dard collection in Dijon.[5] In 1928 it came into the possession of the prominent Munich-based art firm A. S. Drey[6] where it was still recorded in 1930.[7] Following the Nazi expropriation of Drey's business in Munich in 1935, it was later to be found in the New York branch of the same gallery (i).

Exhibitions: Manchester, 1857 (c); London, 1877 (d), 1887 (f), 1896 (g).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1847 (a) LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 27 May, lot 409

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1 For the iconography of the *Coronation of the Virgin* see Offner, Corpus, III/V, 1947, 243-250.

2 According to Richard Offner (Corpus, Archive) the report of this provenance, given by Robert Benson (h), is unreliable because unconfirmed by any other bibliographic source. The painting is not cited in the sale catalogue of the Ottley collection after William Young Ottley's death (London, Christie's, 4 March 1837), or in that of the sale following the death of Warner Ottley, William's heir (London, Foster, 26, 28, 29 June 1847). A further sale of the Ottley collection was held in 1850 (London, Foster, 24 June, in Waterhouse, 1962, 275), but the old masters then presented were the same as those in 1847. The painting, however, might have been exchanged or sold by the collector himself, in one of the two sales held prior to his death (London, Christie's, 16 May 1801; London, Christie's, 25 May 1811).

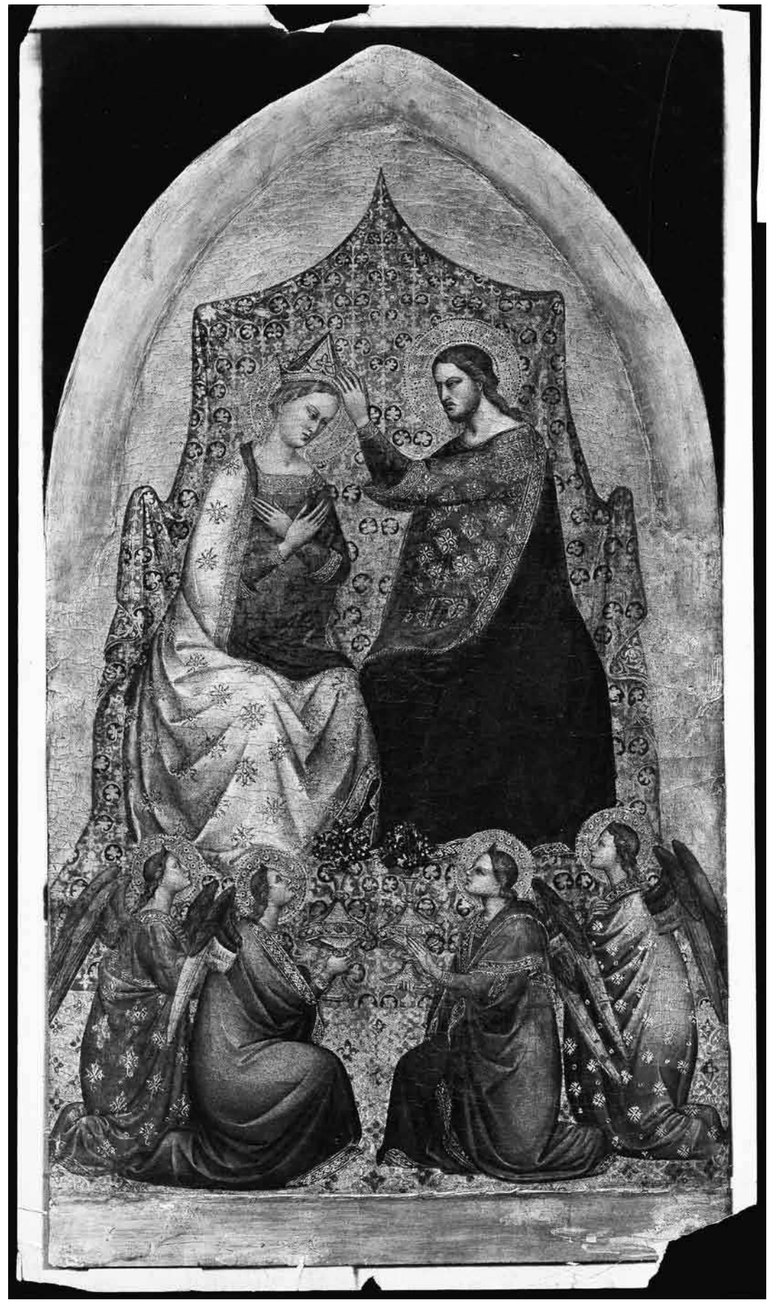
3 Corpus, Archive, handwritten notes of Richard Offner relating to a communication from Christie's, Manson & Woods, London.

4 Robert Benson sold his collection to Duveen Brothers (Paris - London - New York) in 1928.

5 According to a manuscript note by Bernard Berenson, on the back of the photograph of the painting with the Biblioteca Berenson (Villa I Tatti, Florence), the work, before becoming the property of the Drey Gallery in Munich, was in the Dard collection in Dijon. The same information is contained in a manuscript annotation on the photograph of the painting in the Photo Library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence (Jacopo di Cione). The collection in Dijon was formed by the Baron Pichot-L'Amabilais in the second half of the nineteenth century; after being bequeathed to his daughter, Mme Dard, it was donated to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon in 1916 (*Dijon Exh. Cat.*, 1961, 8-9; Guillaume, 1980, XXV).

6 Corpus, Archive, handwritten notes of Richard Offner relating to a communication from A. S. Drey.

7 Florence, Biblioteca Berenson. Manuscript note by Bernard Berenson on the back of the photograph in the "Niccolò di Pietro Gerini" folder.



Cimabue

1854 WAAGEN, II, 463

(b) *Florentine School… quite in the manner of Giotto. The four… angels… approach very near to Taddeo Gaddi… belonging to the Rev. John Fuller Russell*

1857 MANCHESTER EXH. CAT. 16, No. 43

(c) *Taddeo Gaddi… Rev. J. Fuller Russell*

1857 BÜRGER, 23-24

Taddeo Gaddi… appartenant au Révérend J. Fuller Russell

1877 LONDON EXH. CAT., 30 No. 167

(d) *School of Giotto… Lent by J. Fuller Russell*

1885 LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 18 April, lot 102

(e) *School of Giotto (c. 1360)… From the collection of E. Harman*

1887 LONDON EXH. CAT., 45 No. 194

(f) *School of Giotto… Lent by R. H. Benson, Esq.*

1896 LONDON EXH. CAT., 35 No. 148

(g) *Florentine School (early)… Lent by R. H. Benson, Esq.*

1914 BENSON, 25-26 No. 14

(h) *Unknown Florentine School 1360-1390… The painter may perhaps be Andrea Bonaiuti… Coronation of the Virgin… From the W. Young Ottley and J. Fuller Russell Collections (1885).*

Another small Coronation, comparable with this, in the Altenburg gallery… attributed to Nardo di Cione…[8]

Exhibited at Burlington House. R.A. Winter Exhibition, 1877, 1887 and 1896

1914 SUIDA, in MONATSH. KUNSTWISS., VII, 4

Mit einer von Schmarsow dem Orcagna zugeschriebenen Krönung… in Altenburg[9] *gehören zwei weitere Bilder desselben Themas in der Sammlung Benson in London und im Christ-Church-College in Oxford*[10] *zusammen*

1947 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/V, 237 No. 3

(i) *By a Gerinesque hand… formerly in the Benson Collection… subsequently in the possession of the firm A. S. Drey, New York*

1975 BOSKOVITS, 370, fig. 226

(l) *Maestro della Misericordia… Monaco di Baviera, Collezione Drey (nel 1930; in precedenza Digione, Coll. Dard)… in parte ridipinta… 1370-1375*

1981 OFFNER, A Legacy, 76, fig. 145

School of Niccolò Gerini

PHOTOGRAPHS

Corpus, Archive; Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti, Florence; Kunsthistorisches Institut (Braun, 32654), Florence.

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8 The painting referred to is the *Coronation of the Virgin and Saints*, Altenburg, Lindenau Museum, Inv. No. 18, now attributed to the Master of San Lucchese, cf. Oertel, 1961, 121-122; *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2005a, 125-127.

9 See above n. 8.

10 Master of the Christ Church Coronation, *Coronation of the Virgin, Saints and Angels*, Oxford, Christ Church Gallery, Inv. No. 7; see Byam Shaw, 1967, 33-34, fig. 9 and Boskovits, 1975, 212 n. 56.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts)
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
FOGG MUSEUM OF ART - *Inv. No. 1917.213* PL. XLV

PANEL

Annunciation, Nativity; *below* Lamentation with two kneeling donors; *in the gable* Christ on the Cross between the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, crouched on the ground in poses of humility;[1] .825 x .543 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE

Photographs dating to the early twentieth century show the support integrated to the sides of the gable and the panel inserted in a rectangular frame with plinth. Both the integrations and the frame were painted with floral motifs and racemes painted on a dark ground.[2] A restoration of the painting was carried out prior to 1912 (c). During this restoration the frame and the integrations of the support were removed, leaving a c. 3.5 cm-wide unpainted strip to the sides of the painting; and the figures painted along the outer edges of the panel, but then hidden in part by the frame, were restored to full visibility.
The painted surface and gold ground are now slightly rubbed, but free of retouches. Small colour losses, later integrated, can be noted close to the lower margin of the panel.

HISTORY

Sold as part of the Oloron Du Cluzel collection in Paris in 1882 (a) and subsequently as part of the Jean Dollfus collection in 1912 (c). It later entered the Kleinberger Galleries in New York (f), and was purchased by Edward W. Forbes from another New York dealer, Boehler & Steinmeyer, in February 1913.[3] On loan to the Fogg Art Museum since 1913 (e), after having been briefly displayed at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (d), it was donated by its owner to the Fogg Museum in 1917 (g).

Exhibition: Paris, Louvre, 1885 (b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1882 PARIS SALE CAT., 27-28 February, c.p.

(a) Mulon, No. 28

Giotto

1885 PARIS EXH. CAT., No. 228

(b) *Giotto*

1912 PARIS SALE CAT., 1 April, c.p. Lair-Dubreuil, Baudoin, 75 No. 63, pl. 63

(c) *École toscane… Commencement du XV^e siècle… Peinture pour un dessus de tabernacle*

1913 FORBES, in MUS. F.A. BULL., XI, 35

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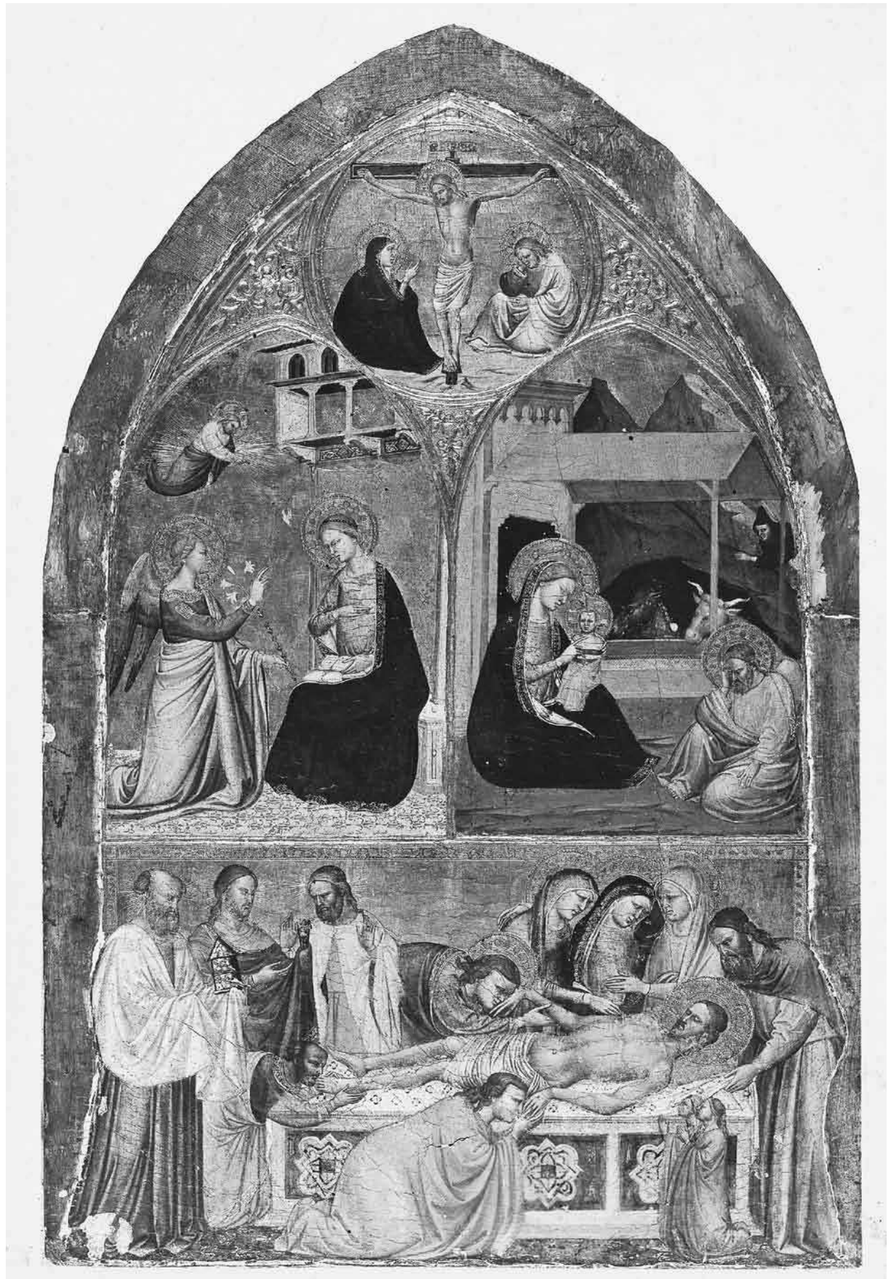
1 On the origin and diffusion of the iconography of the Crucifixion with the Madonna and St. John crouching on the ground in poses of humility, see Colucci, in *Il Crocifisso*, 2005, 35-48, who remarks on the considerable diffusion of this motif in Siena in the second half of the Trecento. In Florence, apart from the panel of Niccolò Gerini pointed out by Colucci (Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Inv. No. 607; Torriti, 1977, 234-235) and the painting being discussed here, the motif of the Virgin and St. John sitting on the ground in poses of humility is also found in another painting of the Master of the Misericordia (see in this volume oo) and in works of Jacopo di Cione (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 1890.4670; *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 112-116) and Lorenzo Monaco (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. Nos. 2141, 2169, 2140; *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2006, 193-197.

2 This state is documented by photographs in the archive of the Corpus of Florentine Painting.

3 Information kindly furnished by the Museum. The Museum's archive contains an expertise by Frederick Mason Perkins attributing the painting to the school of Andrea Orcagna; it was recognized as a work of the Master of the Misericordia by Everett Fahy in 1968.

PL. XLV



(d) *Giottesque panel… has been attributed to Agnolo Gaddi… recent… addition… lent by the Fogg Art Museum… while the Gallery of that museum is closed for repairs*

1914 SIRÉN, in ART IN AMER., 274-275
Orcagna's studio

1914 SIRÉN, in ART IN AMER., 330
Jacopo di Cione… probably under the supervision of the older brother… earlier work

1917 SIRÉN, I, 230, 257, 277; II, pl. 215
Jacopo di Cione… perhaps painted in Orcagna's shop

1919 CAMBRIDGE MUS. CAT., 39-43

(e) *School of Orcagna… Niccolò di Pietro Gerini… suggested as the possible artist… Others think that* the panel… *might more safely be called School of Nardo di Cione… The apostle who is bending over in a cramped position and clasping the feet of Christ… he was probably not included in the original design… we can see through this lake glaze the line of the end of the sarcophagus and the robe of the apostle standing behind*

1921 LONGHI, in L'ARTE, XXIV, 43
Scuola dell'Orcagna (Jacopo di Cione?)

1922 REINACH, V, 237

(f) *École florentine… after the Dollfus sale at Kleinberger's*

1924 van MARLE, III, 502, fig. 284
Jacopo di Cione… the increase of rigidity unhappily announces the beginning of Jacopo's detachment from his brother's artistic principles.

1925-1926 BERENSON, in BOLL. ARTE, V, 300
Attribuito alla scuola degli Orcagna

1929 SANDBERG-VAVALÀ, 458
Jacopo di Cione

1931 CAMBRIDGE MUS. CAT., 35 (1936, 59)
School of Orcagna… It shows the influence exerted by the Sienese on the painters of Florence after Giotto…

1931 HAUTECOEUR, 167
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini

1931 HENDY, 142
Attributed to Jacopo di Cione… should be compared with… the two original heads and the main lines of the composition of the Annunciation in the Gardner Museum, (Boston)[5]

1932 BERENSON, 237 (1936, 204; 1963, 214)
Giotteschi (Florentine) after 1350… close to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini

1950 MARABOTTINI, 98
Jacopo di Cione In its composition there are reflections of the little altarpiece of Giovanni da Milano in the Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Corsini in Rome[4]

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6, LXXI, 75
Maestro della Misericordia

1971 CAMBRIDGE EXH. CAT., 35
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia

1972 FREDERICKSEN-ZERI, 132
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia

1975 BOSKOVITS, 215 n. 80, 367, fig. 213
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375

1981 OFFNER, 9
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1984 PARIS EXH. CAT., 209

(g) *Maître de la Misericorde*. Recognized by Luciano Bellosi as the model of a drawing by Hippolyte Flandrin (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. 397, 1091) who considered it a work of Giotto[6]

1990 BOWRON, 118, 288
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia

1992 ROBERTS - HALL, 1
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Museum Photo.

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4 Rome, Galleria Corsini, Inv. No. 558. See Parenti in Florence Exh. Cat., 2008a, 198-201.

5 Assigned with doubt by Berenson to Jacopo di Cione (1932, 273), this painting has been assigned to Lorenzo di Bicci by Hans Gronen (in Boskovits, 1975, 331, pl. 111).

6 Dominique Thiébaut, in a communication to the Museum, notes that the drawing was probably made by the French artist Jean-Hippolyte Flandrin during his travels in Italy between c. 1820 and 1830.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MANCHESTER, City Art Gallery - *Inv. No. 1959.29* PL. XLVI

PANEL
Madonna and Child, half figure; .457 x .263 m; *with the frame* .615 x .31 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
The painting is in relatively fine condition. The wooden support consists of a single board to which have been attached the socle with the inscription below and the original moulded gothic frame with crocketed arch. On the back of the panel can be seen the carved outline of a large hexafoil rosette and signs of the hinges that originally fastened this central panel to its shutters, now lost.[1] The pictorial surface is damaged by some scratches and woodworm action, by a loss in the punched gold in the lower left part of the Child's halo, and by small scattered colour losses, of which a larger one adjacent to Mary's right eye. Other retouched losses may be detected in the Madonna's mantle.[2]
On the back there is a label with the following inscription "No. 11" in early script.

HISTORY
Since roughly the mid-nineteenth century the painting was reported in France, in the Chalandon collection (Parcieux, Trévoux) (b). Later (1957) it appeared on the art market in London (C. Marshall Spink) (a). It was purchased by the Manchester City Museum in 1959 (c).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1957 in BURL. MAG., XCIX, dec., pl. III.
(a) *...from the School of Bernardo Daddi... It is in his original frame, which forms part of the panel... Students of Daddi will immediately call to mind Mr. Berenson's Madonna,[3] which is of a similar pattern. A comparable Madonna, only coarser in execution, is illustrated by Offner, III/IV, pl. LXI, as the works of a remote follower* (pl. XLIII in this volume). *A Madonna from the circle of Daddi, very similar in design, is in the Stuard Gallery, Parma* (pl. II[1] in this volume).
1958 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/VIII, 205.
Orcagnesque copy of Mr. Berenson's Madonna by Daddi turned up in London market...
1975 BOSKOVITS, 103, 369, pl. 103
(b) *Maestro della Misericordia... 1375-1380*
1976 WRIGHT, 47
Bernardo Daddi
1980 MANCHESTER MUS. CAT., 25
(c) *Manner of Bernardo Daddi... Purchased with the aid of a grant from the Victoria and Albert Museum*
1981 OFFNER, 11
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia
1983 MANCHESTER MUS. CAT., 36 No. 10
probably by one of Daddi's close followers. It was possibly the central panel of a polyptych...

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Museum Photo.

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[1] Observations reported in the Museum's technical file of the painting, kindly sent to me by Melba Croal, Curator of Art, in September 2002.
[2] The blue colour of the Madonna's mantle and of the ground of the inscription in the frieze in the base were subjected to chemical analysis by Brian Cardy on behalf of the Museum's Department of Conservation, revealing in both cases that azurite was used rather than the most expensive lapislazuli.
[3] Offner, Corpus Sec. III/III, 1930, pl. XIII.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE
GALLERIA LUIGI BELLINI (formerly) PL. XLVII

PANEL
Madonna and Child; .79 x .50 m
[date:1380-1385]

STATE
The painting, only known from photographs taken in the 1950s, appears in mediocre condition. The pictorial surface has been severely abraded by a drastic early cleaning. The photograph published by Richard Offner (a) shows the surface compromised by various scratches and especially by retouches in the face of the Madonna, which is also damaged, together with the Child's arm, by a crack in the support along the joint between the planks. In c. 1958-1959 the panel was restored, and the earlier retouches removed, revealing the mediocre state of conservation of the painted surface (c).

HISTORY
The painting was with the dealer Luigi Bellini in Florence in 1958 (b).

Exhibitions: Florence, Mostra Internazionale dell'Antiquariato, 1961.

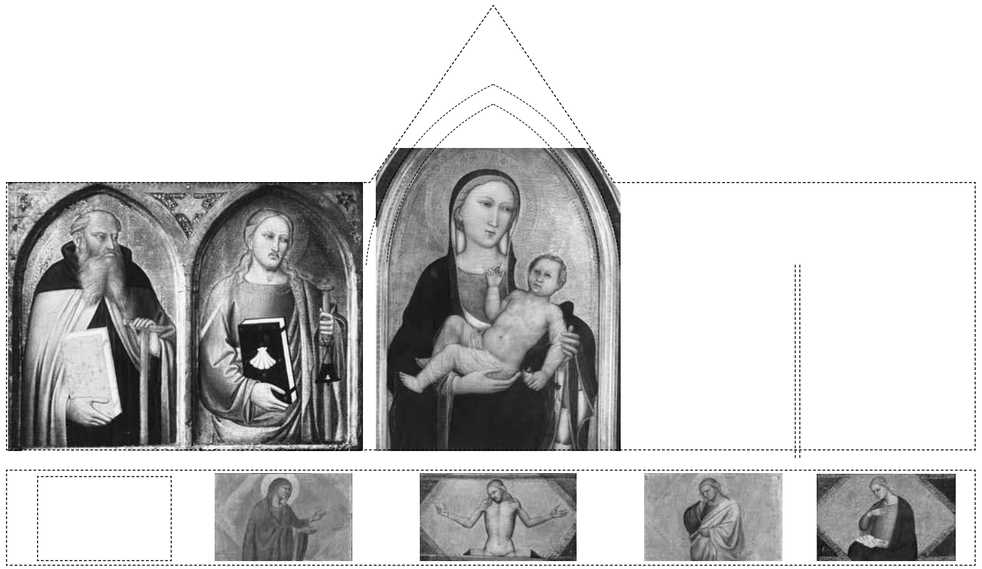
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1934 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/IV, pl. LXI, 163-164.
(a) *Remoter Following of Daddi… This is one of two known contemporary copies of Mr. Bernard Berenson's Madonna… by Daddi*,[1] *the other being a full-length representation in the Stuard Collection, Parma* (pl. II[2] in this volume).
1946 FRIEDMANN, 143
Remote Follower of Bernardo Daddi
1954 SHORR, 119 n. 9
Follower of Daddi.[1]
1958 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/VIII, 205.
(b) *Orcagnesque Master of the Virgin of Mercy… in recent years in the hands of the later Luigi Bellini, Florence.*
1959 LONGHI, in PARAGONE, X, No. 111, 9b.
(c) *Puccio di Simone*. Copy of Bernardo Daddi's *Madonna and Child* in the Berenson collection (Florence, Villa I Tatti). *Dalle sferzature gotiche del Daddi, dai suoi frastagli puntuti nell'orlo dorato del manto, ecco uscire, per correttura "masesca", la figura stondata, quasi a cupola, della protagonista, le orlature disporsi in piano, l'accordo farsi più largo tra i grandi rovesci di vajo (carissimi a Maso) e le zone dilatate d'azzurro, limitate da una curvatura più lenta"*. Publishes the photo of the painting taken after the restoration.
1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6 LXXI, 74.
Maestro della Misericordia… formerly with Luigi Bellini in Florence.
1975 BOSKOVITS, 368.
Maestro della Misericordia… 1370-1375.
1981 OFFNER, A Legacy, 10.
Master of the Virgin of Mercy
1987 CIRILLO - GODI, 30
Maestro della Misericordia. 1991
BOSKOVITS, in OFFNER, CORPUS, III/IV, 2nd ed., 10, 460-461, pl. LXI
Master of the Virgin of Mercy.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi, Florence.

[1] Offner, *Corpus*, III/III, 1930, pl. XIII (2nd ed., 1989).

PL. XLVIII[1]



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PONCE - BRUSSELS - NANTES - NEW YORK - FLORENCE POLYPTHYCH

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

PONCE (Puerto Rico)
MUSEO DE ARTE - *Inv. No. 62-0256*

PL. XLVIII[2]

CENTRAL COMPARTMENT OF A POLYPTYCH
Madonna and Child; .562 x .387 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
In a photograph taken in the early 1930s the painting was shown frame-less, while the wooden surface of the rectangular support had been painted over along the margins of the gold ground. This repainting covered not only the wooden strips that had previously been hidden by the lost frame, but also part of the gilding in the upper part of the panel, which would have originally had a pointed arch, but this had been sawn off to obtain a more rounded profile. The original profile of the punched ornamentation that accompanied the borders of the painted compartment could still be detected to the sides of and below the painted-over margins.[1] The gold ground, marked by dense craquelure, appeared to have been renovated in some points; the pictorial surface showed uniform abrasion, apparently more pronounced in the Virgin's dress.
At the time of its sale in 1936 the painting has been inserted in a modern frame that covered the borders of the gold ground, thus concealing the punched ornament.[2] In 1938[3] this frame was eliminated. The support, then shorn of its terminal part, was integrated, while the pictorial surface was subjected to light cleaning. The painting was then inserted in a new frame.

HISTORY
In c. 1931 the painting was in Berlin, in the Alexander collection (b).[4] In 1936 it was offered for sale at Christie's in London (a). There it was purchased by the dealer Giuseppe Bellesi (London and Florence),[5] on behalf of Alessandro Contini Bonacossi,[6] who sold it in turn to the Kress Foundation in 1937 (No. K 1119) (c). In 1961 this Foundation donated the painting to the Museo de Arte in Ponce (Puerto Rico) together with other old masters (c, d).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1936 LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 20 November, lot 140
(a) *Agnolo Gaddi*
1954 SHORR, 22, fig. Type 3, Florence 7
(b) *Master of the Virgin of Mercy*. The verbal attribution is that of Richard Offner. The painting *shows a Child similar to Taddeo Gaddi's*[7]*… formerly Alexander Collection, Berlin*
1962 HELD, No. 3

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1 This circumstance is corroborated by the similar punched ornamental friezes found along the borders in other known compartments of the polyptych (pl. XLVIII[3] in this volume).
2 Photograph in the Corpus, Archive.
3 Information kindly furnished by the Museum.
4 Corpus, Archive. Handwritten notes by Richard Offner.
5 Miklós Boskovits Archive, handwritten notes by Hans Gronau, who had classified the painting as "shop of Niccolò Gerini" and identified another compartment of the same polyptych in the panel of Saints Paul and Bartholomew formerly in the museum at Königsberg (pl. XLVIX[2]).
6 On Contini Bonacossi and his activity as a dealer and collector see Salmi, in *Boll. Arte*, LII, 1967, No. 4, 222-232; de Giorgi, 1988.
7 Taddeo Gaddi, *Madonna and Child*, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 448. See Ladis, 1982, 230-231; Chierici - Ensoli, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 244-248.

PL. XLVIII[2]

(c) *Master of the Perticaia Triptych*[8]*… (Kress collection, No. 1119)… This attribution was supported by most of the scholars consulted by the Kress Foundation… Bernard Berenson… suggested Bartolomeo Cristiani as the author.* Not much later than 1370

1963 BERENSON, I, 51
Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani

1965 HELD, 110-111, fig. 6
Master of the Perticaia triptych… influenced… by Orcagna and Daddi

1966 SHAPLEY, 43, fig. 107

(d) *Follower of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini…so closely parallel is a 'Madonna and Child with Angels' in the Louvre*[9] *as to suggest that both panels are by the same follower of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini… around 1370/1380… attributed… by G. Fiocco, R. Longhi, F. M. Perkins, W. E. Suida, and A. Venturi (in ms. opinions)* to the *Master of the Perticaia Triptych*

1967 ZERI, in BURL. MAG., CIX, 474
Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia… The connexion between this panel and the triptych of 1370 in the church of San Pietro (sic) *at Perticaia near Florence*[10]*… is tempting but not entirely convincing. Much closer is its relationship to the author of the 'Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine'* (pl. XVII[2] in this volume)*… by whom the Kress collection possesses a Crucifix… today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* (pls. XI[1-2] in this volume)

1968 ZERI, in GAZ. B.-ARTS, s. 6, LXXI, 75
Maestro della Misericordia dell'Accademia… Ad un seguace del pittore spetta il trittico, datato 1370, nella chiesa di San Pietro (sic) *a Perticaia,*[11] *talvolta citato in rapporto alla tavola oggi a Ponce*

1972 FREDERICKSEN-ZERI, 622
Master of the orcagnesque Misericordia

1975 BOSKOVITS, 63, 220 n. 124, 371, fig. 219
Maestro della Misericordia… 1365-1370… riprende con qualche variante il gruppo centrale dell'affresco di Giottino già nel tabernacolo in via del Leone.[12] Perhaps originally belonged to the same polyptych as the Saints in the van Gelder collection at Woluwe (pl. XLVIII[3] in this volume)

1975 FREMANTLE, 225, fig. 455
Master of the Giraldi tabernacle [13]

1981 OFFNER, 12
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

1984 PONCE MUS. CAT., 198-199
Master of the Perticaja Triptych…

1988 BOSKOVITS, 134
Meister der Schutzmantelmadonna

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Cooper, London; Museum Photo.

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8 On the San Cristofano triptych at Perticaia (Rignano sull'Arno, Florence), painted in 1370 by an artist who is now generally identified with Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, see Boskovits, 1975, 76-77, pl. 86. Some art historians (Shapley, 1966, 44 n. 3) noted the affinities between this work and the *Madonna and Child* now in Ponce, probably shortly after its acquisition by Contini Bonacossi, thus giving rise to the reconstruction of an anonymous artist provisionally called "Master of the Perticaia Triptych". Another compartment of the polyptych that still remains in the church of Rignano, was identified by Klara Steinweg in a private collection in Switzerland and is now in the Museo Diocesano in Milan (Labriola, in *Dipinti italiani*, 2000, 56-59).

9 Shapley refers here to the right compartment of the polyptych of Tommaso del Mazza now in Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais, Inv. Nos. 367, 363, 386. See Deimling, in Pasquinucci-Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 251-260.

10 See above n. 8.

11 See above n. 8.

12 Bellosi, in *Prospettiva*, No. 101, 2001, 22-24, fig. 6; Baldini, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 166-167.

13 The street tabernacle of the *Madonna and Child enthroned and Saints* on the Via de' Giraldi in Florence was attributed to the same painter as the Perticaia triptych (see above n. 8) by Baldini, in *Boll. Arte*, XXXVII, 1952, 349. Later Fremantle attempted to reconstruct around this painting a group of works, giving their author the provisional name "Master of the Giraldi Tabernacle" (Fremantle, 1975, 221-228). But the group has met with little or no acceptance and the works that compose it were later re-assigned to various artists including the Master of the Misericordia (*Madonna and Child*, Ponce) and Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni to whom Boskovits has attributed not only the Perticaia triptych but also the tabernacle on the Via de' Giraldi (Boskovits, 1975, 288).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

WOLUWE (Brussels) formerly
VAN GELDER COLLECTION

PL. XLVIII[3]

LATERAL LEAVES OF A POLYPTYCH
Saints Anthony Abbot and James Major; .411 x .54 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
Photographs of the last century document a restoration probably conducted after the gallery-owner Mori (see below) acquired the work. Before the restoration the signs of two vertical cracks were visible on the surface; they ran through the painting from top to bottom, respectively through the left shoulder of Saint Anthony Abbot and the right shoulder of Saint James, perhaps due to some warping of the underlying support. A large loss was visible in Saint Anthony's halo, while other small scattered colour losses were detectable all over the surface. The pictorial surface was darkened by grime and a layer of oxidized varnishes. During the subsequent restoration the pictorial surface was cleaned, revealing a uniform impoverishment of colour. The cracks were gessoed and the small colour losses retouched, though they still remain visible.

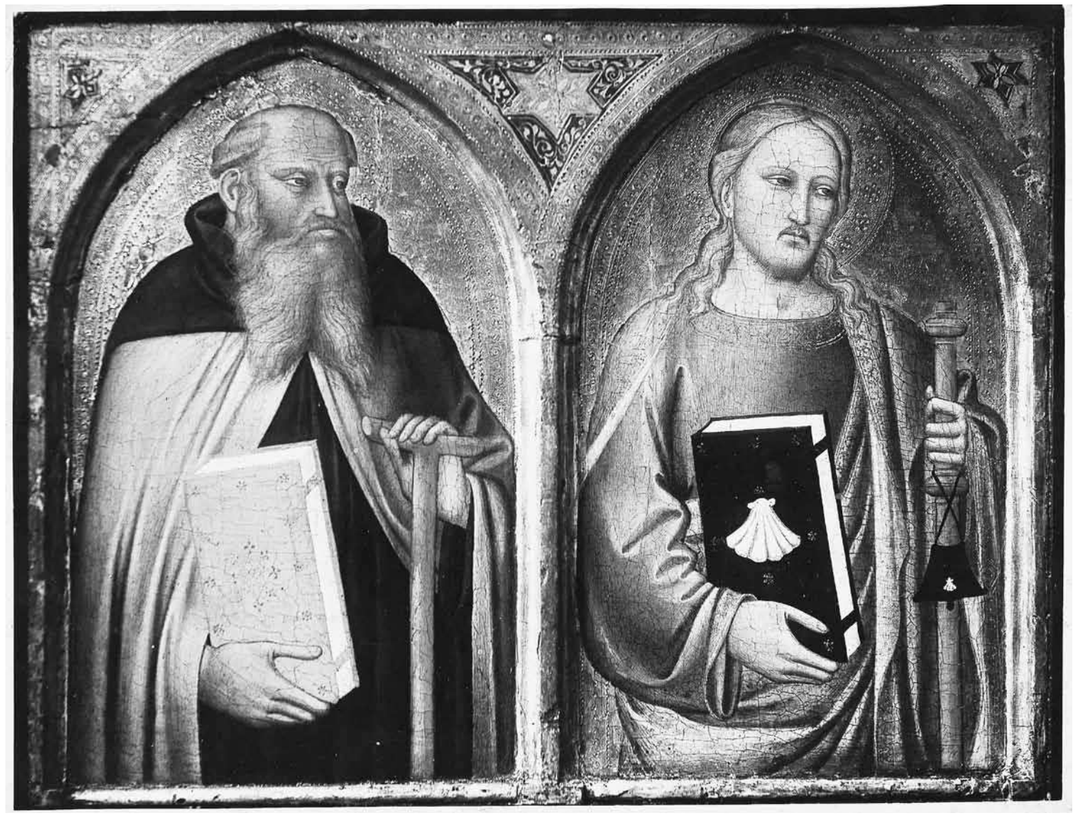
HISTORY
The panel is said to have been in the collection of George Augustus Frederick Cavendish - Bentick, M.P. (1821-1890) (c). In 1922 it was in Paris with the dealer M. C. Mori, who had purchased it in London in the same year (b).[1] Reported in the Van Gelder collection at Woluwe (Brussels) in 1955 (a), it still remained there until now.[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1975 BOSKOVITS, 64, 371, fig. 218
(a) *Maestro della Misericordia… Woluwe (Bruxelles), Collezione Van Gelder (nel 1955)… 1365-1370*. Perhaps originally belonged to the same polyptych as the panel in the museum in Ponce (pl. XLVII[1] in this volume)
1981 OFFNER, 12, fig. 23
(b) *Master of the Virgin of Mercy, Paris, M. C. Mori… (fr.) (near to)*
2012 NEW YORK, SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 25 January, lot 5 (c) Master of Misericordia,

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.

[1] Corpus, Archive. Notes of Richard Offner: information derived from a communication from Mori himself, who still owned the painting in 1926.
[2] While this book was in course of print, the painting was presented at an auction in New York as part of the Van Gelder collection (c).



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

NEW YORK
Art Market

PLS. XLVIII[4-5]

PANELS
The Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, mourning; .145 x .226 m each (with modern integrations .162 x 244 m)
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
The two paintings formed part of an altarpiece of which other fragments are known (pls. XLVIII[2-3], XLVIII[6-7] in this volume). The ground has been extensively regilded, especially in the corners where new gold covers the areas once painted as in the fragment in Nantes and in that formerly in Florence (pls. XLVII[6-7] in this volume). Extensive retouches can be noted along the contours of the two figures and in the Virgin's mantle. The halos too have been regilded.

HISTORY
The two fragments were offered for sale in New York in 2009 (a) without any information regarding provenance. Assuming the Virgin and St. John originally flanked the image of the Man of Sorrows (*Vir Dolorum*) now in Nantes, as has been suggested (a), the panels must have been separated from their altarpiece already before 1810 when the *Vir Dolorum* was purchased by the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nantes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
2009 (a) NEW YORK, SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 29-30 January, lot 1
Master of the Misericordia… Miklós Boskovits has suggested that the central section of the group is most likely the Christ as Vir dolorum in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes (pl. XLVIII[6] in this volume)

PHOTOGRAPHS
Sotheby's, New York.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

NANTES
MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS - *Inv. No. 196* PL. XLVIII[6]

PANEL
Christ as Vir Dolorum; .15 x .275 m
[date: 1380–1385]

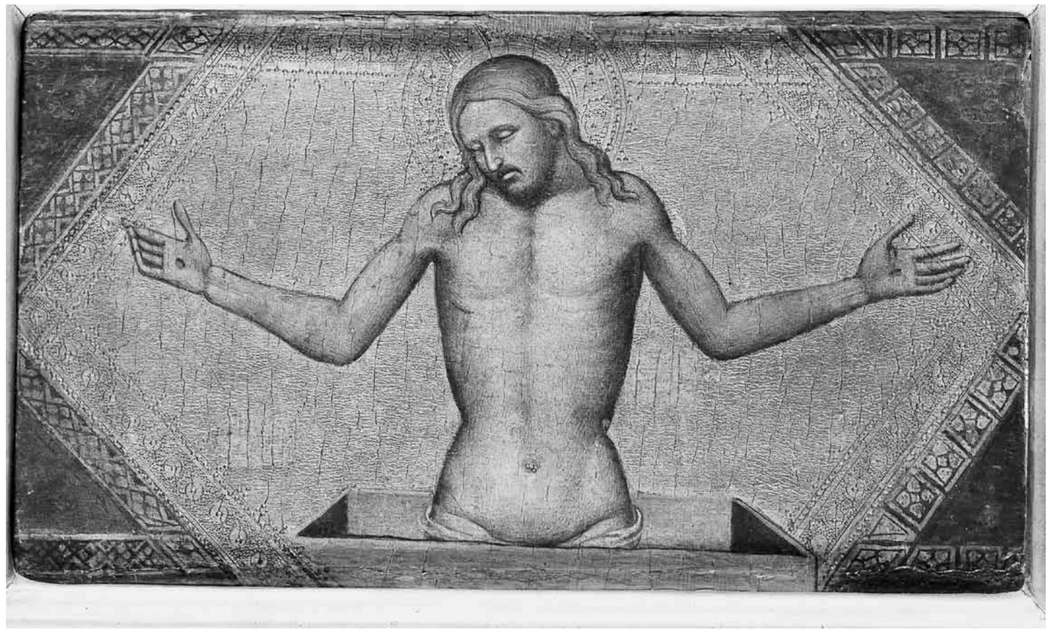
STATE
The panel, with horizontally grained wood, probably formed part of an altarpiece of which two other predella fragments are known (pls. XLVIII[4-5], XLVIII[7] in this volume). Signs of a sharp cut are unmistakeable along the two shorter sides; the longer sides seem to have been slightly cropped. The pictorial surface seems slightly rubbed but on the whole fairly well preserved. Colour losses, later retouched, can be noted along the lower margin; a more conspicuous integration can be seen in the upper part in the area of the punched halo; other small retouches are evident in Christ's abdomen. Decoration with a plant motif can be seen in the upper left spandrel; the same decoration would also have recurred in the triangular ground in the other corners, but has since disappeared.

HISTORY
The painting formed part of the collection of François Cacault (Nantes 1745-Clisson 1805),[1] as part of which it was acquired by the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nantes in 1810 (b).[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1833 NANTES MUS. CAT. No. 614 (1834, No. 614; 1837, No. 710; 1846, No. 799)
(a) Cited without reference to school or painter
1854 NANTES MUS. CAT., No. 376
École italienne, ouvrage très ancien
1859 BAUDOUX, No. 714
Italie, ouvrage très ancien
1876 NANTES MUS. CAT., No. 227
École italienne, XIIIe siècle
1883 MERSON, 103 No. 9
Italie, XIVe s. école de Giotto
1903 NANTES MUS. CAT., No. 408
École italienne, XIIIe s.
1913 NICOLE, 86 No. 196
École italienne… XIVe siècle
1953 BENOIST, 98 No. 196
École italienne (XIVe siècle)
1994 SARRAZIN, 80
(b) *Maestro della Misericordia…* Publishes the manuscript inventory of the Cacault collection: *"Clisson. Anciens tableaux très precieux de l'origine de la Peinture. N. 648. Le Christ montrant se plaies. 12 francs"… rendu au Maître de la Miséricorde par Zeri (comm. orale, 1992)… Boskovits… confirme cette attribution (comm. écrite, 1993)* Reproduces the panel (with image reversed).
1996 TARTUFERI, in ANT. VIVA, XXXV, No. 4, 4
Maestro della Misericordia…la comprensione del filone orcagnesco appare evidente
2009 NEW YORK, SALE CAT., SOTHEBY'S, 29-30 January, lot 1
Master of the Misericordia… Boskovits' suggestion that it formed the central compartment of the predella from which come two fragments with the mourning Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist (pls. XLVIII[4-5] in this volume) seems likely.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photo.

[1] On this collection see Sarrazin, 1994, 21-65; Sarrazin, in *Ideologie e Patrimonio*, 2000, 295-305.
[2] On the formation of the museum in Nantes and on the acquisition of the François Cacault collection see Scott, in *Apollo*, CXXXIII, 1991, 340-344.



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE
Art Market

PL. XLVIII[7]

PANEL
Virgin Annunciate; .155 x .24 m
[date: 1380–1385]

STATE
The panel, cut along the edges, is horizontally grained. This suggests it originally formed part of a predella and must have formed part of a polyptych of some size. It is also presumable that other known fragments derive from the same altarpiece (pls. XLVIII[2-6] in this volume).[1] A horizontal crack runs through the panel from the right margin to the Virgin's elbow. The pictorial surface seems slightly abraded and retouched. A decorative pattern of geometric and plant motifs identical with that in the other fragments of the altarpiece is preserved in the corners (pl. XLVIII[6]).

HISTORY
The painting belonged to the Florentine collection of Angelo Fanfani and in his last will was bequeathed to the Museo delle Ceramiche in Faenza in 1989 (a). Sold in Florence in 2000 as part of this collection (a), it was once again offered for sale in the same city in 2003 (b).

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2000 GIORNALE DELL'ARTE, No. 185, February, 20
Artista fiorentino

2000 FIRENZE, SALE CAT., PANDOLFINI, 20 March, lot 456
(a) *Maestro della Misericordia*

2003 FIRENZE, SALE CAT., SEMENZATO, 11 June, lot 172
(b) *Maestro della Misericordia… per l'insolita collocazione dell'Annunciazione nella predella, anziché nelle cuspidi, si veda l'anconetta con la Crocifissione e la Madonna con il Bambino e Santi dello stesso Maestro della Misericordia ad Hampton Court* (pl. L in this volume)

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.

[1] Miklós Boskovits was the first to propose that the painting formed part of the same polyptych as the *Vir Dolorum* in Nantes (oral communication) (pl. XLVIII[6] in this volume).

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE KÖNISBERG - BERLIN - NEW YORK (formerly) POLYPTHYCH

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

KÖNIGSBERG (formerly)
STADT - MUSEUM - *Inv. No. 5*

LEFT COMPARTMENT OF A POLYPTYCH
Saint Bartholomew and Saint Paul; .67 x .47 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
The painting is only known through a photograph probably taken in the 1920s. At this time the panel was placed in a nineteenth-century frame and cut to a rectangular shape in a similar way to the companion panel in Berlin (pl. XLIX[3]). The ground had been overpainted, though leaving visible the gold of the elaborately tooled haloes. Traces of the panel's original pointed arch were still visible in the upper corners. The painted surface was obscured by grime and darkened varnishes. In the upper right-hand corner the support bore traces of a triangular integration. Scratches and small scattered colour losses were visible here and there; slight vertical cracks were detectible along the joints between the boards.

HISTORY
The painting, together with the two other known components of the same polyptych (pls. XLIX[3-4] in this volume), in the early nineteenth century was reported in the Edward Solly collection. Purchased *en bloc* by the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin in 1821[1]. In 1837 the painting (then in storage) was given on loan to the museum in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) (a) and was lost, or destroyed, during the Second World War. It was recorded also in the inventory of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin with the No. 1536 (b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1847 (a) KÖNIGSBERG MUS. CAT., 3, 4, No. 5 *Spinello Aretino… aus dem Bilder-Magazin im Königl. Museum in Berlin… 21 October 1837 empfangen*

1874 KÖNIGSBERG MUS. CAT., 6, No. 5 *Spinello Aretino*

1886 (b) BERLIN MUS. CAT., 185, No. 1536 *Toskanische Schule um 1400… Sammlung Solly, 1821-1837 an der Kunstverein zu Könisberg abgegeben*

1924 ANDERSON, 15 *Spinello Aretino*

1928 ROHDE, 38 *Spinello Aretino*

1931 KÖNISBERG MUS. CAT., 618 No. 1536 *Gaddi Agnolo. Art… Wöhl von dem gleiche Altar wie Nr. 1088* (pl. XLIX[3] in this volume)

1931 ROHDE, 50 Anonymous Florentine. Reports the opinion of Werner Deusch according to whom the painting belonged to the same polyptych as panel No. 64 in the Universitätmuseum at Göttingen (pl. XLIX[33] in this volume)

1981 OFFNER, 10, fig. 14 *Master of the Virgin of Mercy… (fr.) (lost)… (near to)*

1988 BOSKOVITS, 135, fig. 198 *Meister der Schutzmantelmadonna ("Maestro della Misericordia")*... c. 1360-1370. The panel in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin and a predella compartment formerly in the Solly collection but subsequently lost (pls. XLVIII[3-4] in this volume) belonged to the same polyptych

1996 BERLIN, MUS. CAT. 608 *Agnolo Gaddi, Art*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photo.

[1] Herrmann, in *The Connoisseur,* I, 1967, 164, 229-234; II-III, 1967, 165, 13-18, 153-161; IV, 1967, 166, 10-18; V, 1968, 169, 12-17.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

BERLIN
GEMÄLDEGALERIE - *Inv. No. 1088*

RIGHT COMPARTMENT OF POLYPTYCH
Saint Lawrence and Saint Catherine of Alexandria; .71 x .49 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
Between 1982 and 1986 the painting was cleaned (d) and the layer of nineteenth-century colour that covered the gold ground eliminated. The panel, originally with a gabled upper termination, has been cut along its upper margin, and very probably also below (d). The colour of the figures is fairly well preserved, except for small losses, retouched during restoration. More extensive flaking can be noted in the gold ground.

HISTORY
In the early nineteenth century the painting, together with the other two known compartments from the same polyptych (pls. XLIX², XLIX⁴ in this volume), was in the Berlin collection of Edward Solly, which was acquired by the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin in 1821.[1] From 1884 to 1975 the painting was on loan to the Museum of the University of Göttingen (a, d), where it was inventoried first under the No. 213 (b) and then No. 64 (c). It was returned to the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin in 1975 (d).

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1830 WAAGEN, 274 (1837, 287)
Agnolo Gaddi… aus der Solly'schen Sammlung
1838 KUGLER, 11
Circle of Agnolo Gaddi
1863 PARTHEY, 469, fig. 1
Circle of Agnolo Gaddi
1886 BERLIN MUS. CAT., 65 (1898, 406)
(a) *Art des Agnolo Gaddi…Sammlung Solly, 1821-1884 …an die Sammlung der Universität zu Göttingen abgegeben*
1905 WALDMANN, 80-81, No. 213
Agnolo Gaddi
1906 BERLIN MUS. CAT, 6th ed., 533 No. 1088 (8th ed. 1921, 497)
Gaddi Agnolo, Art
1914-1915 SIRÉN, in BURL. MAG., XXVI, 113
(b) *…In the Göttingen Museum is one more picture Nr. 213 "Agnolo Gaddi", which is in the manner of Mariotto… of a very inferior importance*
1924- STECHOW, in ZEITSCHR. BILD. KUNST, LVIII, 212
1925 *Wirkungskreis des Agnolo Gaddi*
1926 STECHOW, 21-22, No. 64
(c) *Florentinisch letztes Drittel 14. Jahrhundert… scheint jedoch stilistisch dem Kreise Agnolo Gaddis selbst näher zu stehen. Sehr verwandt ist ein Heiliger in der Christ-Church-Sammlung in Oxford, Kat. 1916 Nr. 12*[2]
1931 BERLIN MUS. CAT., 9th ed., 618 No. 1088
Gaddi, Agnolo. Art… Vgl. No. 1536… Königsberg Gemäldegalerie (pl. XLIX² in this volume)… *Wohl von dem gleichen Altar*
1975 BOSKOVITS, 369
Maestro della Misericordia… tavola ritagliata… 1360-1365

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[1] See in this volume ∞ n. 1.

[2] Borenius, 1916, 23-24, pl. IV, No. 12 (*Florentine School, 1350-1370*). The painting was subsequently attributed to Niccolò Gerini by Bernard Berenson (1932, 396) and classified as such by Byam Shaw in the most recent catalogue of the collection (1967, 34, No. 9, pl. 11).

PL. XLIX[3]

1981 OFFNER, 10
Master of the Virgin of Mercy (near to?)… (fr.) (companion to Königsberg)

1988 (d) BOSKOVITS, 134-136, figs. 198-199
Meister der Schutzmantelmadonna ("Maestro della Misericordia"), noting *Verwandtschaft… Tafel in Museum in Ponce* (pl. XLVIII[2] in this volume) *und zu den beiden Heiligen der Sammlung Van Gelder in Wòluwe* (pl. XLVIII[3] in this volume). Nonetheless the two laterals are *wahrscheinlich eher gegen 1360 als gegen 1370 zu datieren*. The panel with Saints Paul and Bartholomew and the central compartment of a predella, it too formerly in the Solly collection and now lost, also formed part of the same polyptych of which the central panel is not known (pls. XLIX[2], XLIX[4] in this volume)

1996 BERLIN MUS. CAT., 471 No. 2167
Meister der Schutzmantel-Madonna

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photo, (before and after cleaning).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

NEW YORK (formerly)
Art Market

PLS. XLIX[4-5]

PREDELLA COMPARTMENT[1]
Vir dolorum between the Madonna *to the left;* Saint Michael the Archangel[2] and Saint John the Evangelist *to the right*; .216 x .52 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
In a photograph taken in 1925 (pl. XLVIII[3])[3] the panel had evidently been cropped on all sides. The pictorial surface seemed fairly well preserved, even if retouches were visible in the Madonna's mantle and in the tunic and cloak of St. John. Small retouched colour losses were detectible in the ground to the sides of the figures, and more substantial integrations along the upper and left margin. In a later photo (pl. XLVIII[4]), the painting showed signs of having been subjected to drastic cleaning, during which the figure of the Archangel had been entirely eliminated.

HISTORY
The painting, like the two other known compartments from the same polyptych (pls. XLVIII[1-2] in this volume), formed part of the collection of Edward Solly, with which it entered the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin in 1821. Here it was reported in store until 1921 (a). In 1924 it was decommissioned and exchanged for other works. Its presence on the art market in Berlin was reported in 1925 (b).[4] Subsequently it was long in the possession of Duveen Brothers in New York.[5] Prior to 1959 it was in the Moratilla collection in Paris.[6]

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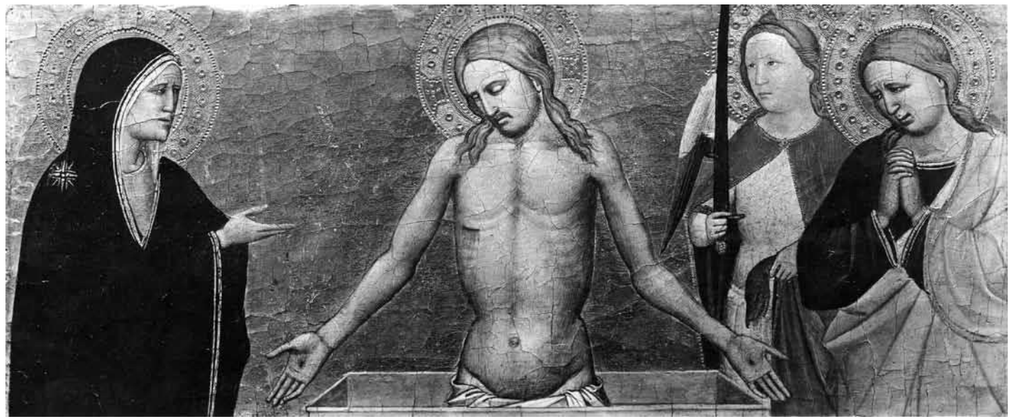
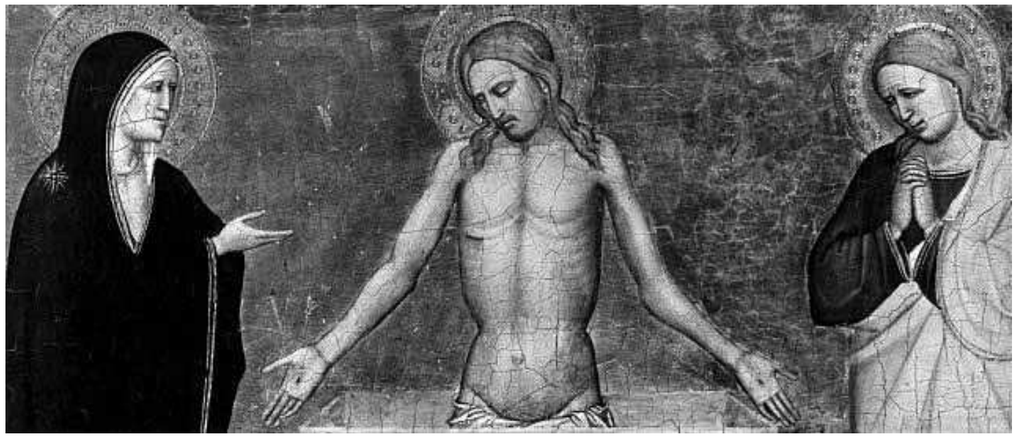
1837 WAAGEN, 276, No. 25
Dem Spinello Aretino Zeit - und Kunstverwandt
1838 KUGLER, 1, III. 25
Dem Spinello Aretino Zeit - und Kunstverwandt
1898 BERLIN CAT. MUSEUM, 436, No.
(a) 1060 (1906, 520; 1912, 583; 1921, 624)
Spinello Aretino. Art. In the storerooms of the museum
1981 OFFNER, A legacy, 9, fig. 10
Master of the Virgin of Mercy (Misericordia Master)… Market (1925)… (fr.)
1987 BOSKOVITS, 135, fig. 198
(b) *Meister der Schutzmantelmadonna…* From the same polyptych to which the Berlin and former Könisberg compartments belonged (pls. XLVIII[1-2] in this volume). Some information on the history of the painting
1992 ALCOY I PEDRÓS, in MUSEU NACIONAL, 48
Mestre de la Misericòrdia
1993 ALCOY I PEDRÓS, in BNMC, I, 1, 208
Mestre de la Misericòrdia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive (pre-restoration); Fondazione Federico Zeri, Bologna (before and after the restoration)

1 For observations on the possible reconstruction of the original polyptych see in this volume 00.
2 The presence of St. Michael the Archangel in this context – the *Vir dolorum* or Man of Sorrows – represents a rare iconographic motif; indeed I know of no other similar example. St. Michael is wearing the breastplate (*lorica*) below his cloak and is shown wielding the sword in his right hand, while his left hand is clutching the neck of the dragon whose head hangs down in the foreground, alluding to Satan. See Kaftal, 1952, 737-742 and Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, 3, 1971, 255-265.
3 Corpus, Archive, handwritten annotation on the back of the photograph.
4 Corpus, Archive, handwritten annotation on the back of the photograph.
5 As testified by a handwritten annotation by Bernard Berenson on the photo in the Biblioteca Berenson (Florence, Villa I Tatti, Harvard University).
6 Fondazione Zeri, archive.

— 4 RIGHE





MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

HAMPTON COURT
ROYAL COLLECTIONS OF ENGLAND - *No. 1219* PL. L

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned between Saints Nicholas, Lucy, Catherine and John the Baptist *to the left*, Saints Dorothy, Bartholomew, Paul and Margaret *to the right*; *in the gable*: Christ crucified between the Madonna and St. John the Evangelist[1] with two angels in flight to the side of the cross; *in the predella, within quatrefoils*: busts of the Blessing Christ between the Angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin Annunciate; .772 x .521 x .027 m *(main compartment)*; .099 x .502 x .02 *(predella)*
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
The panel can be identified in a pastel painting made by James Roberts (1800-1871) in 1851, illustrating the *Prince's Dressing and Writing Room* at Osborne (Isle of Wight), but here it is inserted in a nineteenth-century rectangular frame, later removed.[2] The wooden support, cropped along the terminal arch, is composed of two separate panels. The predella was in fact combined with the main panel at a later date. The latter, in turn, has been slightly cropped along the margins and exhibits a deep horizontal craquelure, especially pronounced in the gold ground. The pictorial surface seems worn and compromised by darkened retouches in the figures of the Madonna and Child, and in the faces of Saints Paul, Dorothy and Catherine. The three busts in the predella are completely repainted and its gold ground with its pastiglia decoration renewed.

INSCRIPTIONS
On St. John the Baptist's scroll: ECCE [AGNUS] DEI QUI / TOLL[IT PECCATA] MUNDI;[3] on the book held by the Virgin Annunciate: ECCE / ANCI / LLA / ... / MA / ... On the rear of the panel: ANDREA ORCAGNA (c).

HISTORY
The painting, presumably acquired by William Young Ottley during his period of residence in Italy (1792-1798) (c), was later sold by his brother Warner to Queen Victoria in 1846, together with other paintings, all of them intended for presentation to Prince Albert as a gift on his birthday on 26 August 1846 (a).[4] As a work of Andrea di Cione (Orcagna) it was then hung in the Prince's Dressing and Writing Room at Osborne (a).[5] Removed to Buckingham Palace in April 1902 following the Queen's death (b), it was later transferred to Hampton Court on 17 December 1948 (c).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1876 CATALOGUE OF THE PAINTINGS, 89 No. 122.

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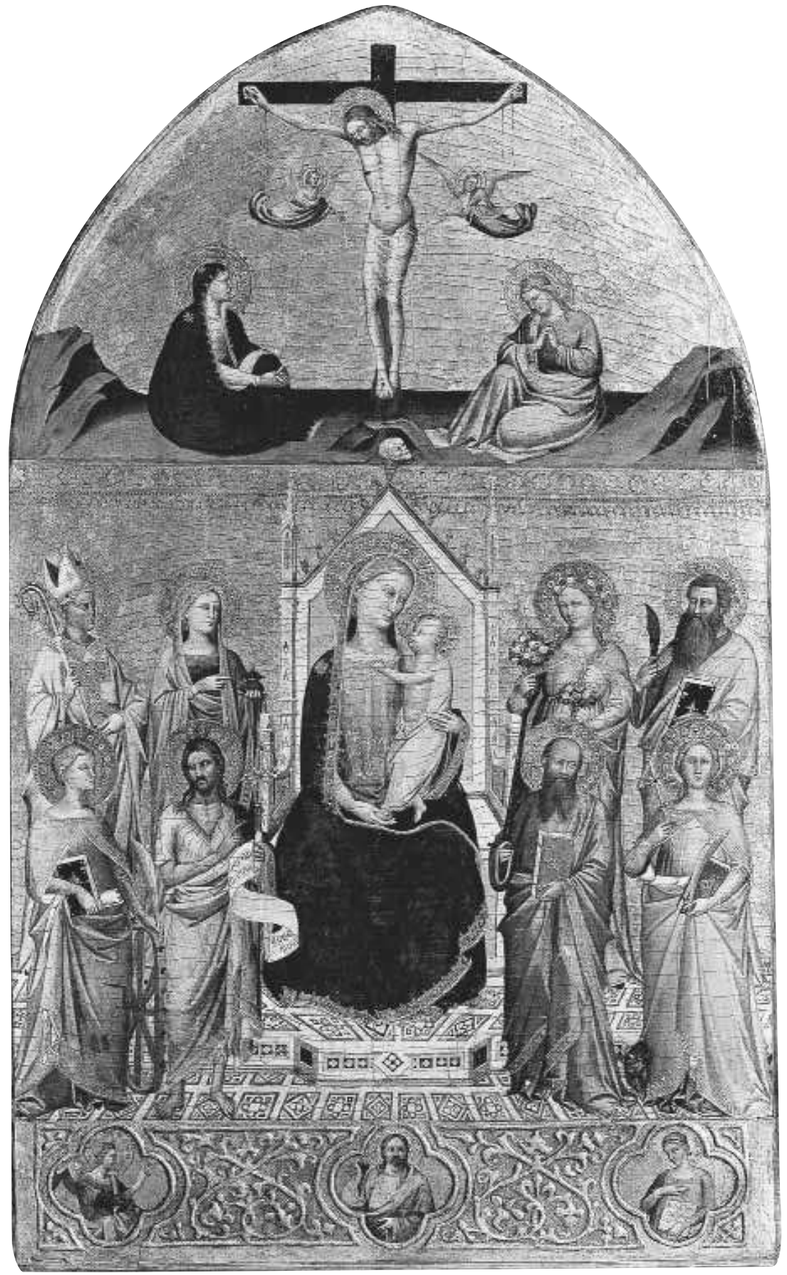
1 See in this volume 00 n. 1. (Cambridge).
2 The pastel is now in the Royal Library at Windsor (RL 26224) and is reproduced by Lloyd, 1991, 26, fig. 20; Roberts, 2002, 471 No. 437 and Whitaker - Clayton, 2007, 36, fig. 19.
3 John I: 29.
4 The painting formed part of the *Several Old Pictures for Albert for his Birthday and Christmas* for which the Queen paid Ottley 270 pounds sterling (Royal Archives Windsor, Vic. Add., Mss., T. 231, fol. 117, in Shearman, 1983, 159). On the Ottley collection see Sutton, in *Apollo*, CXXII, 1985, 84-95 and Cinelli, in *Annali Pisa Quad.*, 4 s., 1996, 409-414.
5 The Osborne estate (on the Isle of Wight) was purchased by Prince Albert in 1845. The royal collection of Italian primitives, for which the Prince had a special fondness, was mainly concentrated in the Prince's Dressing and Writing Room (Roberts, 2002, 471). See above n. 2.



(a) *Pavilion. The Prince Consort's Dressing and Writing Room.*
Andrea di Cione (Orcagna)… Purchased throught Mr. Gruner, of Mr. Warner Ottley, in 1846
1909 CUST, 206
Probable work of Bernardo Daddi
1911 CUST, 4
attributed to Andrea Orcagna.
1920 LONDON COLL. CAT., No. 199
(b) Andrea di Cione
1932 BERENSON, 332 (1963, 131).
Mariotto di Nardo
1975 BOSKOVITS, 369, pl. 72
Maestro della Misericordia…1380-1385
1981 OFFNER, 11
Near to the Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia
1983 SHEARMAN, 158-159
(c) *Master of the Misericordia… recognised indipendently by Philip Pouncey (private communication) and Boskovits… the main panel seems very characteristic of the spiky mannerisms, the taut but delicate gestures, and the extremely refined technique of the group now attributed to this master… The predella is very difficult to place with precision; I should judge it to be the work of a younger artist, c. 1400, but not Mariotto di Nardo*
1996 TARTUFERI, in ANT. VIVA, XXXV, No. 4, 4, 7 n. 9
Maestro della Misericordia. Affinities with the painting formerly in the Marchi collection (pl. LII in this volume)

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive (William E. Grey, London).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

LONDON
ART MARKET

PL. LI

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned, Saints Catherine and John the Baptist *to the left*, James Major and St. Nicholas *to the right*, two angels kneeling *in the foreground*. *To the sides of the upper gable of the throne*: the Annunciation;[1] .635 x .343 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
The painting seems fairly well preserved. Small retouches are scattered here and there in the figures of the Madonna and Child, in the kneeling angels, and in the gold ground. The figures of the Angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin Annunciate, set into the polyfoils of the cusped arch, and perhaps added at a later stage, are somewhat worn. The haloes seem to have been regilded in modern times. At the base of the panel a gilt pastiglia frieze of scrolled ornament originally bore a coat of arms at its centre, later cancelled.

HISTORY
The painting, the property of Lady Isabel Mary Peyronnet Browne, Mount Browne, Guilford, Surrey, was sold at auction in 1948 (a) and acquired by Rita Bellesi (London and Florence).[2]

INSCRIPTION
AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1948 LONDON SALE CAT., CHRISTIE'S, 12 March, lot 87
(a) *Niccolò di Pietro Gerini… sold by order of the executrix of Lady Isabel Mary Peyronnet Browne… deceased and removed from Mount Browne Guilford.*
1950 W.C.A, I, 252, No. 3280 fig. p. 200
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini
1963 BERENSON, I, 160.
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini… Formerly in the collection of Lady Isabel Peyronnet.
1975 BOSKOVITS, 369.
Maestro della Misericordia… 1385-1390.
1981 OFFNER, 10 fig. 11.
Master of the Virgin of Mercy

PHOTOGRAPHS
Cooper, No. 150054, London; Corpus, Archive.

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[1] Another painting characterized by the inclusion of the Annunciation in the same pictorial field as the main representation is the *Madonna and Child* of Lorenzo di Bicci at Nashville (TN), George Peabody College, Kress Study Collection (K 1190). Cf. Shapley, 1979, 47, fig. 119.
[2] Information furnished by handwritten notes of Richard Offner in the Corpus Archive.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

FLORENCE
GALLERIE FIORENTINE (Marchi bequest) PL. LII

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned, between a Bishop Saint, Saints Lucy, Catherine and John the Baptist *to the left* and Saints Dorothy, Bartholomew, Peter, and Margaret *to the right*. .472 x .56 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
The painting, cut along all sides, was restored, probably in the 1930s, when the panel was thinned and cradled, and butterfly splines were inserted in the rear to consolidate a crack in the support (b). The vertical graining of the support shows that originally work had a format higher than it was wide. It is probable that the Crucifixion was represented in the now missing upper part of the panel, above the punch-decorated horizontal frieze, just as it is in the panel now in the English royal collection (pl. L in this volume). The painted surface is traversed, at the centre, by a slight vertical crack which runs through the figure of the Madonna. The painted surface is slightly abraded; the very pronounced craquelure which extends over the whole surface has also caused small losses in the gold ground and in the figures. Retouches can be noted in the face of the Baptist.

HISTORY
Two stamps on the *verso* of the work bear the inscription: "Regio Ufficio... Oggetti di Antichità e d'Arte Firenze" with the date 10 August 1933. The panel was stamped in this way on the occasion of the request for the temporary importation of the painting from London to Italy presented by the Genoese merchant Giovanni Battista Gnecco. Another stamp without a date refers to the passage of the work through the Swiss Customs. In 1936 the painting was still with the dealer Gnecco in Genoa, from whom it passed into the collection of Giulio Marchi in Florence in 1937 (a). In 1979, by a legacy of this latter, it was donated to the Gallerie Fiorentine. The painting, however, did not enter the Gallerie Fiorentine until 1985 (b); it was kept in the storerooms of the Uffizi until 2005. It was then exhibited in the Galleria dell'Accademia.

INSCRIPTION
On the Baptist's scroll: ECCE AINGNIUS DEI / ECCE QUI TOLLIS PEC[CATA MUNDI] (John 1: 29).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1933 (a) SSPMF, Ufficio Esportazione, Archivio, 10 agosto 1933, No. 390
Opera di più che dubbia autenticità sullo stile della Scuola Fiorentina della fine del secolo XV.

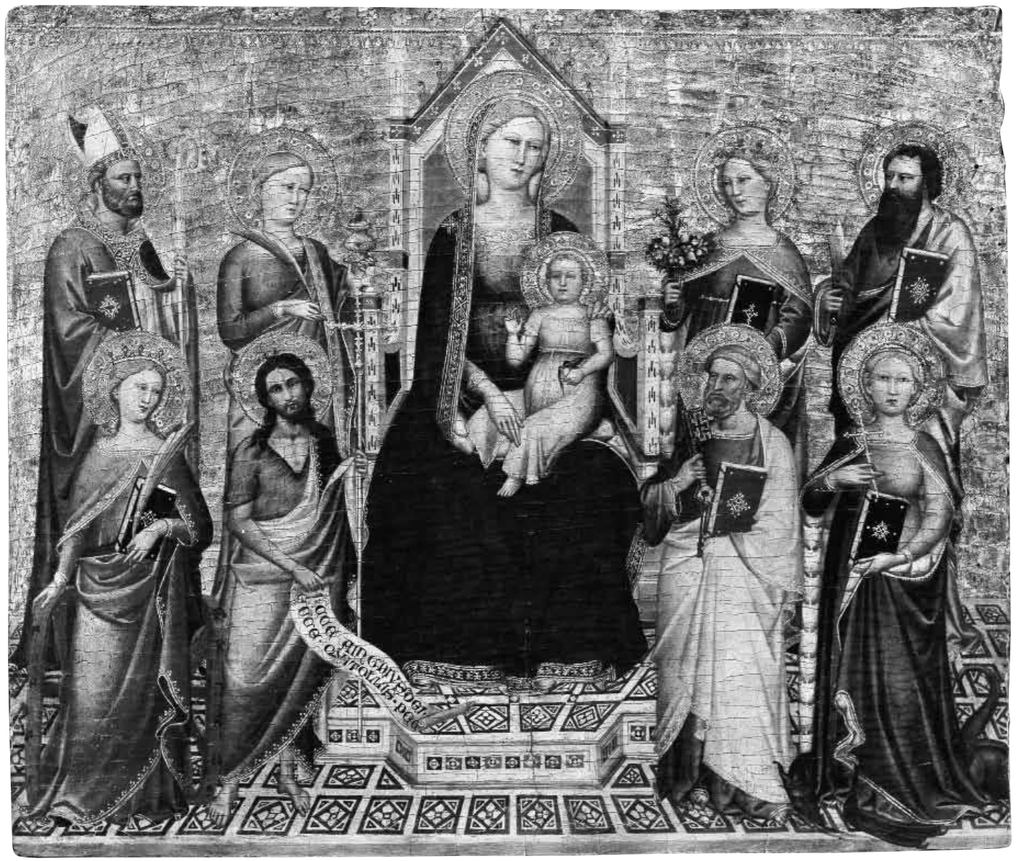
1981 OFFNER, 10.
Master of the Virgin of Mercy[1]

1985 (b) CANEVA, in SPALLETTI, 1985, 10-12.
Maestro della Misericordia... *affinità soprattutto con la tavola di Hampton Court* (pl. L in this volume)

1996 TARTUFERI, in ANT. VIVA, XXXV, No. 4, 4, 7 n. 9
Maestro della Misericordia… un tempo presso la collezione Volterra a Firenze (sic)… *un poco raddolcito dal restauro*

[1] In a handwritten note preserved in the Corpus archive Offner reported the presence of a very similar version of the same composition in the English royal collections (pl. L in this volume).

PL. LII



in alcune parti… è assai probabile che la tavola… avesse in origine una predella e la "Crocifissione" nella parte superiore… databile intorno o poco oltre il 1380

2006 BARI EXH. CAT., 335
Maestro della Misericordia

2010 CHIODO, in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 92-94
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
SSPMF, 352666, 377124, 582796, Florence.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA AND BERNARDO DADDI[1]

Private collection

pls. LIII[1-4]

PANELS

The paintings of the Master of the Misericordia are arranged round an earlier panel of Bernardo Daddi, representing the Madonna and Child enthroned between Saint Peter Apostle, a Bishop Saint and three Angels in adoration *to the left*; Saint Paul Apostle, a Bishop Saint and three Angels in adoration *to the right; in the gable* the Blessing Redeemer between four angels.[2] *To the sides* the four Evangelists *and in the pinnacles above* two busts of Prophets; *in the pedestal, divided into two tiers,* five heads of Angels in quatrefoils *in the upper frieze*, busts of Saints Julian, John the Baptist, a Martyr Saint and Francis of Assisi *at the centre of the lower frieze* and four heads of Angels in quatrefoils and two coats of arms[3] *to the sides*; .762 x .50 m; .392 x .223 m (*central panel*)

STATE

The work consists of an earlier panel, at the centre, and other panels painted a few decades later, added along all sides of the central *Madonna and Child* at an unspecified period, presumably in the nineteenth century. A gothic pointed arch with crocketed decoration was thus raised over the trefoil arched termination of the central panel by the addition of two boards arranged with the grain of the wood running obliquely. To the sides of the painting thus enlarged were added pilaster-shaped side panels, framed by twisted colonnettes, and surmounted by two trapezoidal pinnacles, each flanked by smaller pyramidal finials. The three panels rest on a pedestal of horizontally grained wood.

The panel of Bernardo Daddi at the centre is fairly well preserved. The condition of the panels added to it at a later date is poorer: the colour is worn and retouched at various points. The bust of the Redeemer, perhaps damaged by the crack formed along the joint between the two boards, has been extensively overpainted. The Redeemer's right hand, now raised in the gesture of blessing, originally supported a sceptre; this is now lost, but the top of it can be glimpsed to the left of the face; it was the natural complement of the globe that the Saviour supports in his left hand. The figures of the four angels in the spandrels of the gothic arch were also adjusted or integrated at the time of their addition to the sides of the original panel. Less conspicuous retouches can be seen in the full-length figures of the Evangelists, especially in the figure in the lower right, and in the busts of the Prophets. The three faces at the centre of the upper frieze of the pedestal and the busts in the quatrefoils below are worn but show no signs of having been retouched. The faces of the Angels

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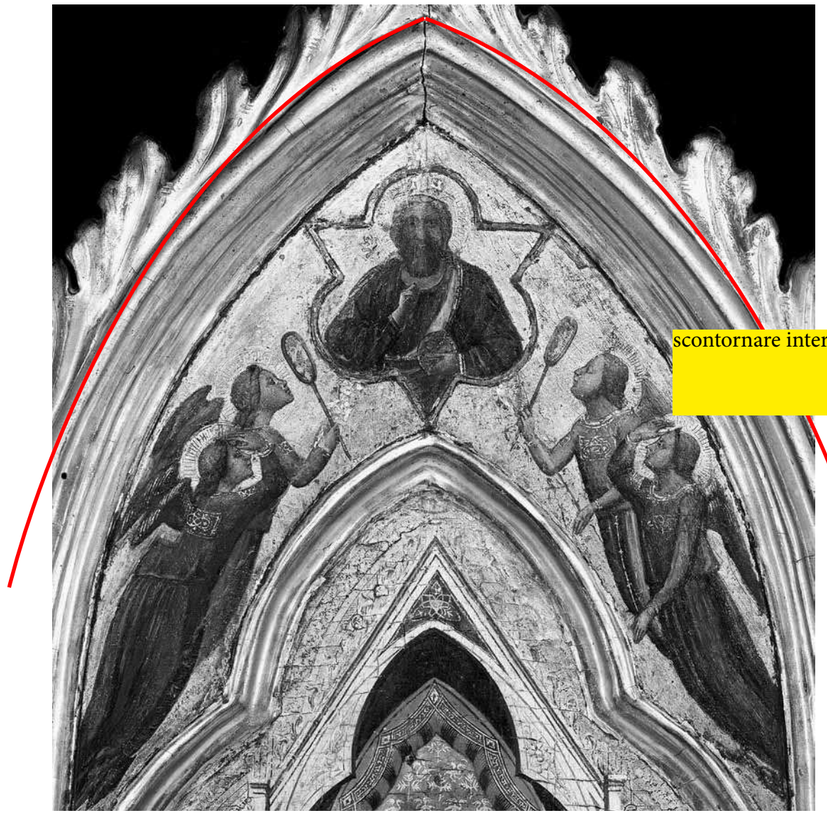
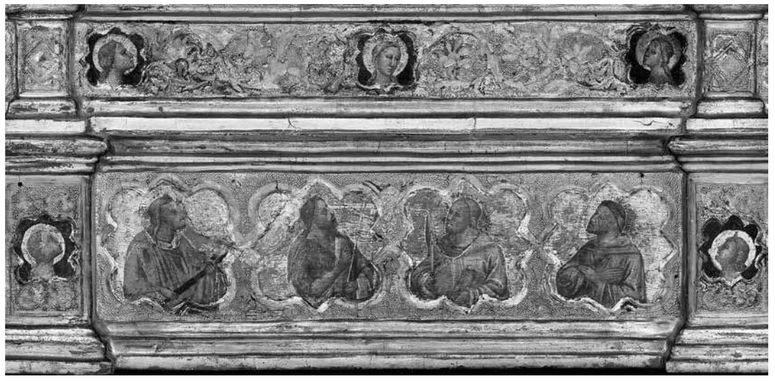
1 The attribution to Bernardo Daddi and the Master of the Misericordia was suggested by Lawrence Kanter in a written expertise which the current owner has kindly made available to the present writer.

2 This composition is closely derived from the gable of the polyptych painted by Giotto for the Baroncelli Chapel, truncated in the second half of the Quattrocento and now in Denver (*Florence Exh. Cat.,* 2000, 187-191).

3 The coats of arms on the pedestal can be described as follows: per fesse: tinctured red and white (or silver?), two hammers in saltire in both shields, tied by ribbons in the second. The coat of arms has not been identified; however the charges that characterize it recur frequently in Florentine heraldry of the Trecento. On the hammer as a charge in Florentine heraldry see Marchi, 1992, 288-289. The check-list of the coats of arms of Tuscan families compiled by Enrico Ceramelli Papiani (Florence, Archivio di Stato) includes 13 families whose coats of arms are characterized by the charge of two hammers in saltire. None of these corresponds, however, to that painted in the panel being discussed here.



scontornare interno cornice



in quatrefoils to the sides, by contrast, have been extensively retouched. The gold that covers the frame is damaged at various points, and here and there has rubbed away to allow traces of the underlying painted decoration to show through. The coat of arms, duplicated in the pedestal, has been completely repainted.

HISTORY
The painting comes from the Bredin collection (Bath, Somerset, United Kingdom).[4]

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.

[4] Corpus, Archive.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

VERONA
MUSEO DI CASTELVECCHIO - *Inv. No. 18-1Bo 788* PL. LIV

PANEL
Saints Gregory and Bartholomew;[1] 1.175 x .55 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
The support is formed of four vertical planks; the original gabled termination has been truncated. Photographs of the first half of the last century show the panel integrated with pieces of wood to the sides of the gable to obtain a rectangular profile; the surface was then covered with a gold varnish, but this was eliminated during a later restoration, probably dating to the 1950s or 1960s. The pictorial surface now appears darkened by grime and yellowing varnishes. Much of the gold decorations of the panel have been lost, but fragments are preserved in the Saints' garments. A crack that runs through the right shoulder of Saint Gregory has been closed and the colour losses reintegrated. Other retouched colour losses may be noted in the right half of Gregory the Great's face, in Bartholomew's beard, in the dress of the two Saints and along the right margin of the panel.

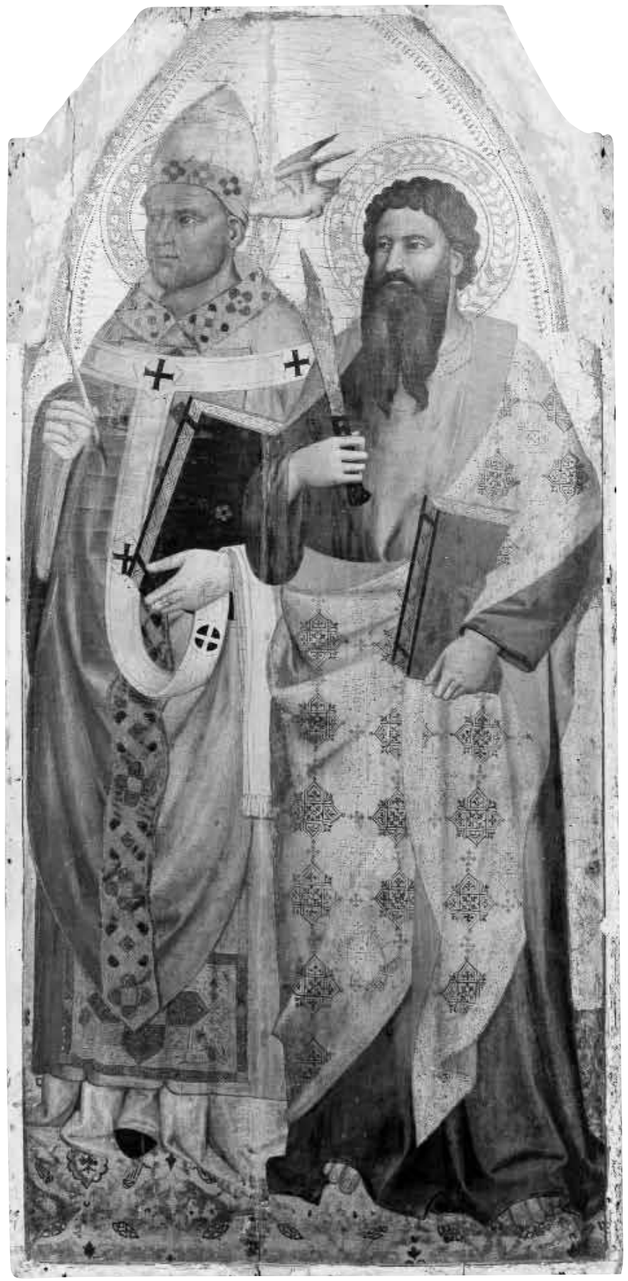
HISTORY
The painting entered the Museo Civico in Verona in 1892, as part of the collection of Antonio Pompei (a)[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1892 VERONA MUS. CAT., No. 128
Ignoto
1912 TRECCA, 158, No. 788 (1913)
(a) *Niccolò Gerini?… Galleria Antonio Pompei*
1924 van MARLE, III, 624 n. 1
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini
1932 BERENSON, 396 (1936, 340; 1963, 161)
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini
1937 AVENA, 24, 41, No. 788 (1954, 30)
Gerini Niccolò di Pietro
1975 FREMANTLE, 322, fig. 663
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini
1981 OFFNER, 13
Master of the Virgin of Mercy, near to
2010 CHIODO, in VERONA MUS. CAT., 00
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Frick Art Reference Library (Sansoni 3605), New York; Umberto Tomba, Verona.

[1] The decorative motif of the carpet seems a variant of the one catalogued by Brigitte Klesse (1967) under No. 272, which she identified in works of Jacopo di Cione (*Coronation of the Virgin*, Florence, Accademia, Inv. No. 456, *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints*, formerly Vienna, A. Fischel collection), Niccolò Gerini (*Saints Anthony Abbot, Athanasius of Alexandria, Zenobius and Benedict*, Cortona, Accademia Etrusca), Lorenzo di Niccolò (*Coronation of the Virgin and Saints*, Cortona, San Domenico) and other masters. The lozenge that decorates Saint Bartholomew's garment corresponds to a type that can also be recognized, albeit with some variants, in a work of Niccolò Gerini (*Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints*, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia Inv. No. 8610) (Klesse, 1967, 226, No. 110).

[2] On Antonio Pompei (1799-1885), Veronese archaeologist and collector, see Cipolla, in *Archivio Veneto*, XXX, 1885, I, 227-242; Marchini, 1972, 32-34, Simoni, in *Vita Veronese*, 1978, 274-280; Marchi, 1979, 647. On the formation of the collection now displayed in the Museo di Castelvecchio see Marinelli, 1991, 7-11.



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

MILAN
GALLERIA GERI (formerly)

PL. LV

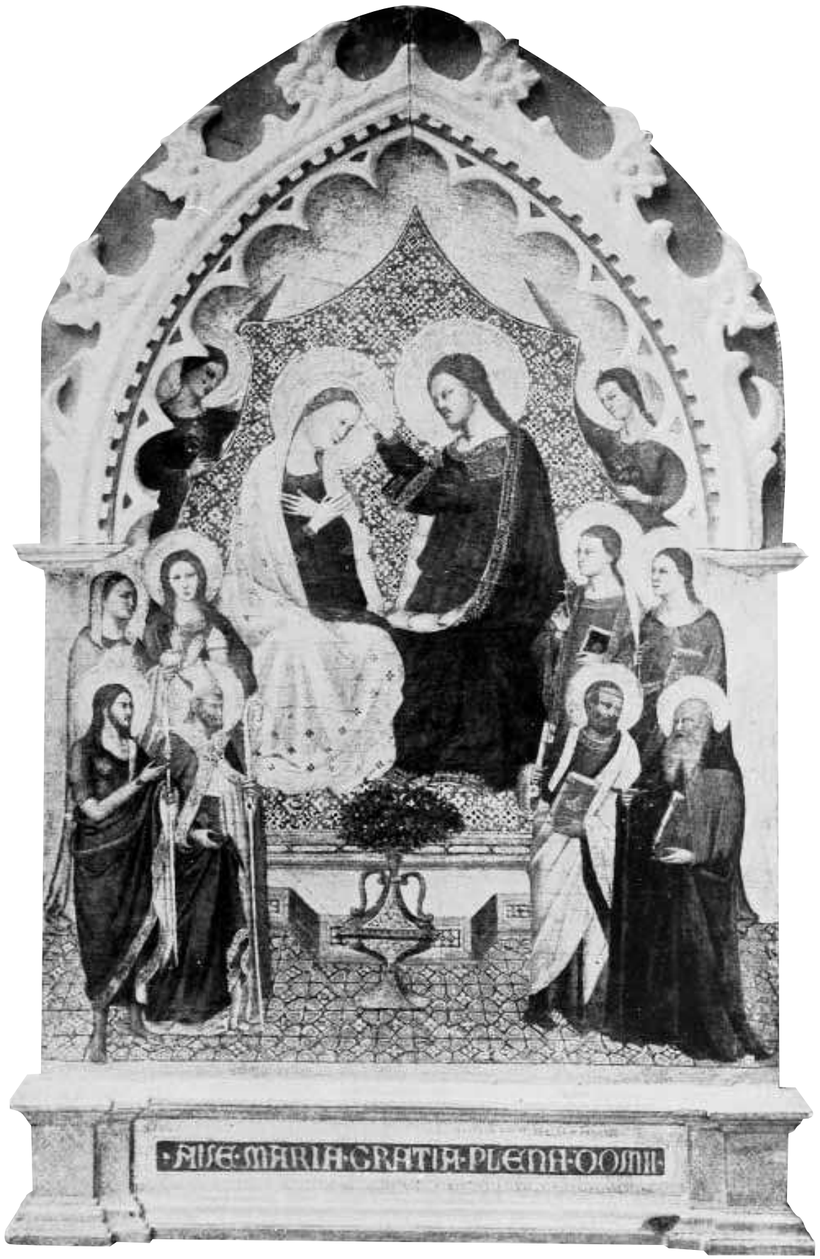
PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin between Saints Lucy, Mary Magdalene, John the Baptist and a Bishop Saint *to the left*; a female Saint with processional cross, a female Saint with palm of martyrdom in her hand, Saints Peter and Anthony Abbot *to the right*; and, *above,* two angels supporting the cloth of honour; .88 x .52 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
The painting, only known from the reproduction in the sale catalogue of 1923 (a), is enriched with a modern frame round the gable. On the two vertical sides of the panel, the painted surface seems to have been extended right to the edge during a modern restoration, covering over the strips that would have been hidden by the original frame. The base too is modern or at least regilded. The gold ground and the pictorial surface appear extensively restored.

HISTORY
The painting was offered for sale by the Galleria Geri in Milan in 1923, citing a provenance from the collection of baron M. J. C. (a). The work's subsequent owner/owners remain unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1923 (a) MILAN, SALE CAT., GALLERIA GERI, 27 January, lot 418
Orcagna Andrea (scuola di)
1975 BOSKOVITS, 369
Maestro della Misericordia… 1380-1385

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.



MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA

ZURICH
KUNSTHAUS - *Inv. No. 1624* PL. LVI

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin, with four kneeling angels; *in the predella* Man of Sorrows .875 x .43 m
[date: 1380-1385]

STATE
The painting is inserted in its original frame that shows a decoration identical to that of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Kunstmuseum in Bern (pl. XXII in this volume).[1] Whether the base on which the painting rests belongs to the same frame is difficult to judge due to the poor condition of the insert representing the *Man of Sorrows*. The pictorial surface of the main compartment is also difficult to assess due to the grime and retouches by which it is covered.

HISTORY
The painting entered the Kunsthaus in Zurich in 1925, as a legacy of August Abegg (1861-1924)[2] (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1925 ZURICH MUS. CAT., 100 No. 1624
(a) *Toskanischer Master des 14. Jahr... Nachtrag Schenkung August Abegg November 1925*
1981 OFFNER, 86
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (school)
1991 LUGANO EXH. CAT., 294-295 No. 35
Maestro della Madonna della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Kunsthaus, Zurich.

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1 As has kindly been brought to my attention by Erling Skaug, the punch used to decorate both frames is identical; moreover, it corresponds to the one that he has recognized in many works already attributed to the Master of the Misericordia. See Skaug, 1994, II, cat. 8.1, No. 370.

2 On August Abegg, an industrialist active in Switzerland and Northern Italy, see Arfè, in *Diz. Bio. Ital.*, I, 1960, 44; Schmid, 1972, 151-181; Sonderegger, in DHS, 2002, *ad vocem* (www.hls-dhs.ch/textes/f/F45216.php).

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA (close to)[1]

FLORENCE
VILLA LA PIETRA (NEW YORK UNIVERSITY)
Inv. Camera dei Genitori XLVIII.D.14

PL. LVII

PANEL
Nativity; .345 x .302 m *with the frame,* .253 x .225 m *without the frame*

STATE
The panel, with vertically grained wood, has been cut along all four sides, and was probably surmounted by an image of the Angel of the Annunciation. The rear of the panel is decorated with a pattern of punched geometric motifs in red, black and white (this latter not painted but 'reserved', by using the natural colour of the stucco preparation). Since this geometric pattern is interrupted abruptly, in a fragmentary fashion, along the lower edge, it is clear that another scene was placed below the Nativity. In the upper right, signs of a hinge can be noted (5.5 cm from the upper edge), implying that the panel must have formed the upper part of the left leaf of a tabernacle with movable shutters. The paint surface is very heavily rubbed and now difficult to assess.[2] Some traces of the original character can be discerned in the face of the Virgin, in that of the Child, and, in part, in that of St. Joseph.

HISTORY
In the early years of the twentieth century the painting was in Florence in the collection of Francesca Alexander (1837-1917).[3] In 1918 it was sold by her heirs to Arthur Acton together with other paintings[4] and thus came to furnish the Villa La Pietra in Florence, the Acton family home in Florence. During the Second World War the painting was removed and placed in storage at Montegufoni (Tuscany), as attested by the red wax Monte dei Paschi di Siena seal on the *verso* (on the frame).

BIBLIOGRAPHY[4]
1918 Manuscript notes of Arthur Acton, Florence, Villa La Pietra, Archive, Inv. No. 188°
Scuola di Agnolo Gaddi
1997 Inventory Christie's London, Florence, Villa La Pietra, Archive, No. 180
Cerchia di Niccolò Gerini

PHOTOGRAPHS
Reali, Florence (negatives at the National Gallery of Art, Washington); SSPMF 385701, 367708, Florence.[5]

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1 The painting was attributed to the Master of the Misericordia by Miklós Boskovits (oral communication).
2 The botched cleaning suffered by the work was probably conducted by the painter Francis Alexander (see further the provenance of the painting below), about whom Harold Acton (1970, 206), citing an opinion of his friend Thomas Ball, wrote that 'he spent most of his time repairing and touching up old paintings which he delighted to hunt up in every out-of-the-way corner".
3 Daughter of the American painter Francis Alexander (1800-1880) from whom she inherited his collection of painting and with whom she arrived in Florence in c. 1853 (information retrieved on 2 December 2009 from www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/13981/Francesca-Alexander).
4 Information on the painting's accession to the Acton collection was kindly furnished by Francesca Baldry, Curator of the Villa La Pietra Collection, New York University.
Arthur Acton (1873-1953) and his wife Horthense acquired the Villa La Pietra from the Capponi family, in the early years of the twentieth century. In 1994, by the bequest of his son Harold, who died in that year, the villa and its contents became the property of New York University. See Acton, 1948; *Idem*, 1970; Gardner, 1998, I, 6.
5 These are duplicates of the Reali plates formerly the property of Harold Acton, but given on loan to the SSPMF. See Meloni Trkulja, in AFT, XI, 1995, 21, 4-5.

MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA (close to)

FLORENCE
GALLERIE FIORENTINE, storerooms - *Inv. No. 176 Dep.* PL. LVIII

PANEL
Madonna and Child enthroned, flanked by Saints John the Baptist and Lucy (?) *to the left*, Saints Peter and another female Saint *to the right*; .90 x .48 m

STATE
During a restoration conducted in 1960[1] the panel was consolidated with the insertion of butterfly splines over the cracks in the wood on the rear. During the same intervention, a heavy-handed nineteenth-century overpainting was eliminated, revealing the advanced stage of impoverishment of the pictorial surface, due to the drastic cleaning it had evidently undergone at an earlier date. The colour, almost completely lost, had led to the emergence of the gesso of the preparation and of parts of the preparatory drawing; in the lower part residues are visible of the lacquer used to fix the gold of the decorative motifs of the fabrics that covered the pavement and the step of the throne. What remains of the painting is difficult to assess or to make anything more than vague conjectures about its paternity.

HISTORY
In 1910 the painting was in the storerooms of the Gallerie Fiorentine. Subsequently it was granted on loan to the Certosa del Galluzzo, where it was reported in the chapel of the Crucifix in the church of Santa Maria (a, b, c).[2] From 1961 it was exhibited in the museum of the Certosa, before being returned to the Gallerie Fiorentine in 1972 (d). Since 1986 it has been in the offices of the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1910 (post) SSPMF, Inventario Depositi delle Gallerie Fiorentine, No. 176 *Taddeo Gaddi*
1929 (a) TCI ITALIA CENTRALE, II, 243 *Nel coro* (of the chapel of Santa Maria)… *scuola fiorentina del 300 (restaurata)* (uncertain identification)
1930 (b) BACCHI, 84 (1956 (84) *Del secolo XIV* (in the chapel of Santa Maria)… *sopra la porta di accesso… a destra*
1935 LUCACCINI, 142 *metà del sec. XIV*
1950 TCI FIRENZE, 343 *Nel coro… scuola fiorentina del 300 (restaurata)*
1964 TCI FIRENZE, 444 *del '300* (in the museum of the Certosa)
1965 (c) MARCUCCI, 66, fig. 38 *Taddeo Gaddi (?)… verso il 1330-1335*
1979 (d) FIRENZE MUS. CAT., 278, P657 *Gaddi Taddeo*
1982 LADIS, 244 *homeless… recently stolen* (sic); *third quarter of the Trecento by an anonymous master influenced by Nardo; … the bold, flat tapestry ground, though common in works from the Cioni circle, is foreign to Taddeo*
1994 SKAUG, I, 259 *Master of the Misericordia*. Attribution suggested on the basis of the presence

[1] SSPMF, Ufficio Restauri, GR 3040.
[2] Interventions on the restoration and refurbishment of the chapel are reported in 1830 (Fantozzi, 1858, 746) and in 1841 (Bacchi, 1930, 83).

PL. LVIII

of punch No. 152, which the author has recognized in many other works of the Master of the Misericordia

1996 TARTUFERI, in ANT. VIVA, XXXV, No. 4, 4
Maestro della Misericordia… la matrice giottesca, secondo l'interpretazione "ufficiale" datane da Taddeo Gaddi, è particolarmente evidente

2010 CHIODO, in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 95-97
Maestro della Misericordia

PHOTOGRAPHS
SSPMF 118212, 454451 (back); ex Art. 15, 2141 (dia color) Florence.

FURTHER ATTRIBUTIONS TO THE MASTER OF THE MISERICORDIA[1]

AMSTERDAM	Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. A3401	Panel: Crucifixion	(Boskovits, 1975, 367) [Niccolò di Pietro Gerini]
AVIGNON	Musée du Petit Palais	Painted Cross	(Boskovits, 1975, 371, Paris, Campana collection) [Lorenzo di Bicci: Bellosi, in Laclotte - Mognetti, 1976, No. 117]
BERN	Kunstmuseum Inv. No. 888	Tabernacle shutters: Saints, Crucifixion	(Offner, 1981, 10, Kreuzlingen, Kisters collection) [Lorenzo di Niccolò: Tartuferi, in Boskovits, 1987, 39-41]
CAGLIARI	Spano collection	Panel: Madonna of Humility	(Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Photothek, annotation on the photo) [Orcagnesque painter*]
ENGLAND	Crawford and Balcarres collection	Tabernacle: Coronation of the Virgin between Saints and Angels, Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, Crucifixion	(Boskovits, 1975, 367) [Agnolo Gaddi *][2]
FLORENCE	Museo Stibbert, Inv. No. 16180	Panel: Madonna and Child with donors	(Offner, 1981, 9, listed among the work of the Master as "school of Niccolò Gerini") [Niccolò Gerini: Boskovits, 1975, 408]

[1] The text set in square brackets reports the alternative attribution to that to the Master of the Misericordia, shared by the present writer; the asterisk indicates the opinion orally expressed by Miklós Boskovits.

[2] Miklós Boskovits suggests an attribution to the youthful activity of Agnolo on the basis of comparison with the tabernacle formerly in the Bosch y Catarinen collection in Barcelona (Boskovits, 1975, pl. 76).

FLORENCE	Semenzato, 18-19 October 2000, lot 369	Panel: Knight Saint	[Giovanni del Biondo ★][3]
FLORENCE	Semenzato, 19 February 2003, lot 16	Painted Crucifix	[modern painting★]
FLORENCE	Storerooms of the Gallerie Fiorentine, Inv. No. 6163	Compartment of polyptych: Bishop Saint	(Offner, 1981, 9) [the panel's existing condition prohibits an analysis of its figurative style]
FLORENCE	Palazzo dell'Arte della Lana	Frescoes: Brutus, Roman consul, as righteous judge and the four Cardinal Virtues	(Offner, 1981, 10) [Francesco Cennamella (?): Conti, in *Prospettiva*, nos. 73-74, 1994, 37; Bartalini, in *Prospettiva*, n. 77, 1995, 23]
KÖNIGSBERG (formerly)	Stadt Museum (on loan from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, Inv. No. 1370)	Compartment of polyptych: Apostle Saint	(Offner, 1981, 10) [Pietro Nelli: Skaug, 1994, 207]
KRAKOW	Muzeum Narodowe, Inv. No. XII. 189	Compartment of polyptych: St. Jerome	(Offner, 1981, 9) [Lippo d'Andrea: Boskovits, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXV, 1987, 51]
KREUZLINGEN	(formerly), H. Kisters collection	Tabernacle shutter (fr.): Crucifixion	Offner, 1981, 10 "milieu of") [Niccolò di Tommaso: Boskovits, 1975, 203 n. 198, Florence, private collection 1972]
LONDON	Christie's, 13 December 1991, lot 234	Tabernacle shutter: St. Anthony Abbot and Deacon Saint	[Niccolò di Pietro Gerini]
LONDON	Koetser Gallery (formerly)	Panel: Madonna and Child with Saints; in the lunette the Crucifixion	(Offner, 1981, 11, fig. 19) [the panel's existing condition prohibits an analysis of its figurative style]

[3] The attribution to Giovanni del Biondo was kindly suggested to me by Miklós Boskovits, who also notes the belonging of the panel to the same multipart altarpiece to which also belonged a St. Julian formerly in the Lapiccirella collection in Florence (Boskovits, 1975, fig. 76).

LONDON	Phillips, 19 April 1994	Tabernacle shutter: Crucifixion	[Florentine painter of the late fourteenth century]
LONDON	Sotheby's, 29 May 1926 (unidentified)	Panel: Madonna and Child in a mandorla, a Female Martyr Saint, St. John the Baptist, St. Cecilia, St. Julian	(Offner, 1981, 11 "near to")
MENTONE	Musée des Beaux-Arts	Panel: Annunciation, Saints	(Offner, 1981, 11, London, Wagner collection) [Orcagnesque painter]
MILAN	Finarte, 29 April 1998, lot 204[4]	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned, Saints and curtain-supporting angels	[Florentine painter of the last quarter of the Trecento]
MONACO	Sotheby's, 21 June 1991	Tabernacle: Madonna and Child and Saints	(Offner, 1981, [the panel's existing condition prohibits an analysis of its figurative style]
MONTEFIESOLE (Florence)	San Lorenzo	Panel: Madonna del Parto between two kneeling donors	(Boskovits, 1975, 370) [Antonio Veneziano: Czarnecki, in *Burl. Mag.*, CXIX, 1977, 188-191]
NEW YORK (formerly)	S. R. Guggenheim collection	Panel: Female Martyr Saint	(Marcucci, 1965, 135; Offner, 1981, 12 "provisional") [Lorenzo di Bicci: Boskovits, 1975, 333]
NEW YORK	formerly Drey collection	Panel: Crucifixion	Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Photothek, handwritten annotation) [Niccolò Gerini: Boskovits, 1975, 412]
NEW YORK	Pierpont Morgan Library	Drawing: Stories of St. Miniato	(Offner, 1981, 12 "near to") [Cenni di Francesco: Boskovits, 1975, 291]

[4] The attribution to the Master of the Misericordia is also present on the back of the photo in the photo archive of the Fondazione Zeri in Bologna.

PARIS	Galerie Sarti	Panel: Crucifixion	(Todini, in Sarti, 2005, 58-60)[5] [Florentine Painter of the late fourteenth century]
PRINCETON (NJ),	Art Museum Princeton University, Inv. No. Y1994.63	Compartment of polyptych: St. Peter, St. Anthony Abbot	(Boskovits, in No. 70 "with doubt") [Giovanni Bonsi: Pasquinucci, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 25]
TURIN	Galleria Gilberto Zabert	Tabernacle: Madonna of Humility, Resurrection, Crucifixion, the Annunciation	(Pisani, in LUCCA EXH CAT., 1998, 188, with question mark) [the tabernacle's existing condition prohibits an analysis of its figurative style]
VATICAN CITY	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4776	Parchment codex: Divina Commedia	(Bellosi, in Firenze Cat. Mostra, 1978, XVII) [Mariotto di Nardo: Chiodo, in Arte Cristiana, LXXXVII, 1999, 96]
VATICAN CITY	Vatican Museums	Panel: Mater virtutum	(Marcucci, 1965, 135) [Cenni di Francesco: Boskovits, in *Zeitschr. Kunstgesch.*, XXXI, 1968, 290 n. 4]
WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN		Compartment of predella: Vision of St. Augustine	(Offner, 1981, 13 "provisional") [Master of San Lucchese: Boskovits, 1975, 200 n. 87]
WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN		Panels (fr.): Crucifixion, Saints	(Offner, 1981, 13 "questionable") [Maestro di Santa Verdiana *]
WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN		Tabernacle shutter (fr.): St. Christopher	(Offner, 1981, 13) [Florentine painter]

[5] The same painting was also presented as a work of the Master of the Misericordia at a sale in Venice (17 April 2005, lot 33).

MATTEO DI PACINO

Matteo di Pacino: life and work

Until just under forty years ago Matteo di Pacino was a master with a single work to his name, namely the triptych with the *Coronation of the Virgin between Saints Martin of Tours and John the Baptist* (pls. LXIV[1-4]) in the collection of Count Grigorij Stroganoff in Rome in the early twentieth century. What little fortune he enjoyed in the art-historical literature was owing to its inscription with the name of the painter and the date 20 March 1360.[1] Considered by Cavalcaselle and Crowe and by Antonio Muñoz the work of an artist of the circle of Agnolo Gaddi,[2] the triptych is given a more detailed classification by Raimond van Marle, who more appropriately included Matteo di Pacino's triptych in a chapter dedicated to the works of Bernardo Daddi and his followers. Immediately after having commented on the activity of Puccio di Simone (considered the main interpreter of the legacy of Bernardo Daddi), van Marle recalled the work of a more modest and "somewhat vulgar" follower of the master, though one in whose figurative culture reflections of the more modern manner of Andrea Orcagna were not lacking.[3] This judgement was confirmed a few years later by Bernard Berenson, according to whom the painter was almost as much indebted to Daddi as he was to Orcagna ("*quasi altrettanto daddesco che orcagnesco*"), while his activity during the third quarter of the Trecento is confirmed by the few traces found in the documents.[4] Apart from the isolated attempt of Luisa Marcucci, who tried to attribute to Matteo di Pacino an *anconetta* with the *Madonna and Child between Saints Peter and Paul* and, in the predella, the *Man of Sorrows*, the *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Agatha* (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia; pl. XIII in this volume),[5] no other attempts intelligently to analyse the ex-Stroganoff triptych or the artist who painted it can be registered. The oblivion into which Matteo di Pacino fell was also the result of the inaccessibility of his only signed work.

Yet the fate of Matteo di Pacino had not yet been sealed. For in the mid-1970s Luciano Bellosi, by a happy intuition, became the first to point out that the painter of the former Stroganoff triptych, thanks to incontestable affinities, could be identified with an anonymous artist identified by art historians already in the first decades of the century, when the provisional name of Master of the Cappella Rinuccini, or Rinuccini Master, was given to him.[6] The art historian who had first defined this anonymous master and given him this conventional name was Richard Offner, and the pages he devoted to him were one of the first results of the formalist study of Florentine painting in the second half of the Trecento that Offner had been ever more intensively conducting since the early 1920s.[7] He was one of the first to understand the importance of identifying and tracing the influ-

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1 1361 modern style. See in this volume 00.

2 Cavalcaselle - Crowe, II, 1864, 474; Muñoz, 1912, 13.

3 van Marle, III, 1924, 406.

4 Cavalcaselle - Crowe, (II, 1883, 197-198) were the first to identify the painter's name is the list of those enrolled in the Compagnia di San Luca published by Gualandi, VI, 1845, 186 who reports the date 1374 (later wrongly reported as 1394 by Colnaghi, 1928, 179; see in this volume 00). Frey (1885, 322), in turn, identified the painter's name among those enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali. See also Thieme - Becker, XXIV, 1930, 258.

5 See in this volume 00.

6 Bellosi, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XVII, 1973, 179-182.

7 Offner, 1927, 109-126 (republished 1998, 209-235). A reduced version of the contribution, limited to the part devoted to Niccolò di Tommaso, had already appeared in *Art in Amer.*, XII 1924, 19-35. In proposing this provisional name,

ence of some particularly important artistic developments on the activities of artistic personalities little studied, or studied not at all, as a way of reaching a better understanding of Florentine figurative culture in the fourteenth century. Impelled by this aim, he dedicated his attention, on the one hand, to painters like Antonio Veneziano and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, considering them interpreters and heirs of a figurative language inspired by the example of Taddeo Gaddi, and, on the other, to Nardo di Cione, feeling a need to distinguish the peculiar figurative manner of this artist from that of his better known brother, Andrea di Cione called Orcagna.[8] Offner's conclusions on this score are of exemplary clarity: Andrea Orcagna was responsible, he argued, for developing a solemn and austere style around the mid century. His figures "are grave with a contemplative calm"; they impose themselves on our attention by the sculptural substance, the impenetrable hardness of their forms: they "stand firm and eternal: they are inalienable portions of the visible universe […] their bulk declares itself forcibly in its space, as if predestined to occupy it and as if the elements themselves could not displace it". By contrast, Nardo shows a predilection for more delicate colours, softer forms, and devotes greater attention to the psychological dimension of his protagonists; the figures that throng the walls of the Strozzi chapel in Santa Maria Novella are "suggestive rather than substantive, and their interest consists largely in what they convey in pantomime, […] he is the earliest among the Italians to have sought insinuation in expression".[9] Offner's studies on Orcagna and his brothers would flow, many years later, into the publication of the first three volumes of section IV of the Corpus of Florentine Painting. Convinced as he was that a reliable reconstruction of the activities of the artists of major importance in the period, and a plausible evaluation of their historic role, could not dispense with a systematic classification of the works that have come down to us, Offner posed as the methodological foundations of his work the minute stylistic analysis of the individual work of art, as the primary source, combined with the collection and meticulous exegesis of archival documents. The result of his studies was the discrimination of hands and, as a corollary, the identification of a considerable number of minor masters, almost invariably anonymous, whom he indicated by conventional names. They also included the Rinuccini Master, whose civil identity could only be established – as in several other cases – in more recent years.[10]

The identification of the profile of the then anonymous artist who had completed the fresco cycle begun by Giovanni da Milano in the Rinuccini Chapel of the sacristy of Santa Croce is linked to Offner's attempt to re-evaluate the historical role of Nardo di Cione through the identification of reflections of his persuasively lyrical manner in Florentine painting of the third quarter of the Trecento. Offner's interest in this question had first been aroused by his study of the fresco decoration

however, Offner made a point of distinguishing his Rinuccini Master from that baptized by Wilhelm Suida as the "Meister des Rinuccini Altars" (Suida, 1905, 45-48, 50), subsequently identified as Giovanni del Biondo (Offner, *Corpus*, IV/IV, 1967, II): "I am assuming – wrote Offner (1927, 125, n. 2) – that this designation [Rinuccini Master] will furnish no ground for confusion with Suida's 'Meister des Rinuccini Altars'".

8 Offner, 1927, 59-126.

9 Offner, 1927, 97-98. Later in the same chapter Offner points out that the attribution to Nardo di Cione of the frescoes on the walls of the Strozzi chapel is based on what is reported by Lorenzo Ghiberti (*Lorenzo Ghibertis,* I, Berlin, 1912, 40: "…*Nardo, ne' frati Predicatori fece la cappella dello 'nferno che fece fare la famiglia degli Stroçi, seguì tanto quanto scrisse Dante in detto Inferno, è bellissima opera condotta con grande diligentia*"). Even if Ghiberti's attribution of these frescoes to Nardo di Cione were devoid of foundation, Offner suggests, their difference in style from the chapel's altarpiece, which the documents ascribe to Orcagna, would remain incontestable: Offner's aim was "primarily to establish a link between a group of works and these frescoes, and their stylistic independence of Orcagna's altarpiece" (Offner, 1927, 107, n. 6) as a way of showing what he saw as "the disparity of the genius between the two brothers".

10 A part of the catalogues of the anonymous artists reconstructed by Offner were posthumously published by Hayden B. Maginnis, in Offner, 1981. A large part of the material collected by Offner, photographs and manuscript notes, still unpublished, remains in the archive of the Corpus of Florentine Painting (Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut) and provided the point of departure for the present research.

of the church in the former Convento del Tau at Pistoia, which inspired his attempted reconstruction of the activity of the Florentine painter Niccolò di Tommaso,[11] and then his interpretation of the frescoes in the lower tier of the Rinuccini Chapel in the sacristy of Santa Croce.[12] Suida had considered the artist of the latter an assistant of Giovanni da Milano, whereas Offner underlined his mental independence from the Lombard master: the differences between Giovanni's frescoes and those in the lower tier reveal, he declared, "not only two distinct hands, but hands of radically different derivation". That the Rinuccini Master was rooted in Florentine figurative culture of the time was proved, in Offner's view, by the close correspondence in forms and figural types with the style of the polyptych with the *Vision of Saint Bernard and Saints,* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, hitherto conjecturally assigned to Andrea Orcagna. The affinities are evident "in the heavy contours; in the figure the wrinkles have worn in the forehead; in the crow's-feet and the folds at the root of his nose; in the continuous diagonal of the profile; in the loosely adjusted mask; in the cloven light often on the nose and chin; in the collapsible ears".[13] The link between these two works represented for Offner the first step in the identification of a personality still anonymous – i.e. the Rinuccini Master –, who in the polyptych of St. Bernard in the Accademia showed, in Offner's view, that he had mainly been influenced by Andrea Orcagna at the time of the polyptych in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, whereas the frescoes in Santa Croce, postdating 1366, reveal a greater affinity with the more delicate and lyrical manner of Nardo.[14]

In the following decades a few further works were added to the scanty catalogue of this anonymous master by Bernard Berenson,[15] who attributed to him the panel with *St. Michael Archangel and Saints Bartholomew and Julian* in the Galleria dell'Accademia at Florence (pl. LXVII) and the panels with the *Man of Sorrows* and *Saints* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pl. LXXII). Mario Salmi[16] had already identified the hand of the same master in the fresco with the *Madonna del latte and Saints* on the right

11 On this cycle see Carli, 1977. The painter of the Pistoian cycle was identified by Richard Offner (in *Art in Amer.,* XII, 1924, 21-37) with the artist who in 1371 had signed as *Nicholaus Tomasi* the triptych for the church of Sant'Antonio abate in Naples (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte). This proposal, immediately rejected by Raimond van Marle (V, 1924, 478), was then reaffirmed by Offner (1927, 109-117; Offner, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, VII, 1956, 173-192) and is now universally accepted. The Neapolitan period of activity of Niccolò di Tommaso was confirmed by the recognition of his hand in a fresco with Pope Celestine V between two Saints and devotee friars in the church of Casaluce, in the province of Caserta (Bologna 1969, pls. VII, 80/82). On this and other paintings subsequently found in the church of Casaluce a monographic study by (Casaluce, 2007) has recently been published, on which see the observations of Feraci, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCVIII, 2010, 161-172. The catalogue of works attributed to Niccolò di Tommaso by Richard Offner was revised by Miklós Boskovits (1975, 202-203 n. 108), while further contributions to the activities of this artist have been published by Angelo Tartuferi (in *Paragone*, XXXVI, 1985, No. 425, 3-16), Andrew Ladis (in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XXXIII, 1989, 3-16), Erling Skaug (in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 195-209 and *Idem*, in *Acta Archeol. et Artium*, XVIII, n.s. 4, 2005, 289-321).

12 The decoration of the chapel, attributed to Taddeo Gaddi by Vasari, was recognized as the work of Giovanni da Milano by Cavalcaselle and Crowe (1864, 406-408) with an attribution later confirmed by the documents found by Gaetano Milanesi (Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 1878, I, 572 e 572 n. 2). See in this volume 00.

13 Offner, 1927, 120, 123.

14 On Andrea di Cione as a painter, apart from Offner's monographic study (*Corpus*, IV/I, 1962), see the monograph of Gert Kreytenberg, 2000, the review of this latter by Parenti, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 325-332, and also the stimulating, if not always acceptable, proposals of Laurence Kanter (in *Fondi oro,* 2009, 48-59). On Nardo di Cione, apart from Offner's monographic study (*Corpus*, IV/II, 1960), see Boskovits, 1975, in particular 25-26 and, more recently, Levin, in *Burl. Mag.*, CXLI, 1999, 75-80 and Tartuferi, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 182-191.

15 Berenson, 1932, 237, 239. Later Berenson (1963, 143, fig. 265) also recognized as the work of the same master the panel with Saints Cosmas and Damian in the Museum of Raleigh (see in this volume 00).

16 Salmi, in *Riv. Arte*, XI, 1929, 145.

wall of the church of Sant'Ambrogio (pl. LXVI), while Frederick Antal[17] attributed to him the panel of the *Alms of a Saint* (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, pl. LXXVII). The results of other studies conducted during these same years by Richard Offner would remain unpublished, or only in part be published in the form of posthumous lists.[18]

The work of the Rinuccini Master has on the whole been judged rather harshly by Italian art historians. Pietro Toesca mentions, only to dismiss, the "*mediocre fiorentino*" who completed Giovanni da Milano's frescoes in Santa Croce,[19] while Roberto Longhi, with his usual polemical acerbity, went so far as to call him an *imbrattamuri della bottega orcagnesca*: a dauber in the Orcagna shop whom it would have been better not to have employed at all.[20] Apart from its specific object, Longhi's judgement was especially aimed at stigmatizing what he saw as the excesses of a purely formalist exercise of connoisseurship as an end in itself, with exclusively classificatory objectives, and vindicating instead what he saw as the art historian's more demanding role of analysing, interpreting and evaluating works of art. These disparaging judgements evidently left their mark on the lack of appreciation shown for the Rinuccini Master in the following years, e.g. by Luciano Bellosi, who briefly mentions his work and characterises him as a "*mediocre maestro*",[21] by Liana Castelfranchi Vegas according to whom he was a painter "*più che mediocre della bottega orcagnesca*"[22] and by Luisa Marcucci, who judged him an "*indegno continuatore*" of Giovanni da Milano, of whom he had grasped only the more superficial aspects, and even these he had traduced by a heavy-handed manner that remained substantially dependent on the art of Andrea Orcagna.[23]

A different assessment of the activity of the Rinuccini Master, the result of a more balanced synthesis of the various currents of art in Florence at the time, was formulated by Miklós Boskovits in the mid-1970s. Boskovits supplemented the exiguous catalogue of the Master with some fresh attributions and reconstructed a career path that led from apprenticeship in a milieu still profoundly influenced by the activity of Bernardo Daddi, around the mid-century, and that was developed in the following years under the stimulus of the innovative features presented by the art of Andrea Orcagna and Giovanni da Milano.[24] The polyptych with the *Vision of St. Bernard* in the Galleria dell'Accademia is recognized by Boskovits as the exemplary work of this more advanced phase of the Rinuccini Master, in which the confident volumetric rendering of the figures reflects the manner of Andrea di Cione, while the minute description of the costumes and hairstyles, and also the care in describing genre details (especially in the compartments of the predella) is indicative of intrusive late-gothic motifs in a context still profoundly linked to Florentine tradition.[25] Decidedly downplayed in this analysis, however, is the importance of the influence of Nardo di Cione, which Boskovits saw far more pronounced in the work of such artists as Niccolò di Tommaso and the young Giovanni del Biondo, both of whom were particularly eager to grasp the individual and psychological attitudes of their protagonists.

17 Antal, 1947, 226, fig. 73.
18 See above n. 00.
19 Toesca, 1951, 763.
20 Longhi, in *Paragone*, X, 1959, No. 111, 12-12: "[…] sarebbe stato meglio non chiamarlo in verun modo, ove s'intenda restare fermi a quei valori dei quali la storia dell'arte esclusivamente s'intesse".
21 Bellosi, in *Paragone*, XVI, 1965, 187, 19.
22 Castelfranchi Vegas, 1965, 6.
23 Marcucci, 1965, 95: "[…] non afferrò che elementi del tutto esteriori, che comunque tradì in una greve vivacità di tinte senza sfumature e in un deciso piglio soldatesco, rimanendo sostanzialmente aderente alla forzata resa formale di Andrea Orcagna".
24 Boskovits, 1975, 34-35, 357-359.
25 Boskovits (1975, 35) noted that Matteo di Pacino, author of the signed and dated (1361) triptych formerly in the Roman collection of Grigorij Stroganoff, "il cui fare si avvicina allo stile del Maestro Rinuccini e di Jacopo di Cione", belonged to the same milieu. He also cited as works of Matteo di Pacino a series of small hexagonal panels

In the same years in which Boskovits was working on his pioneering study of Florentine painting in the later Trecento, published in 1975, the Master created by Offner was finally able to emerge from anonymity. This was thanks to an intuition of Luciano Bellosi, who was the first to note the close resemblances between the figures painted by the Rinuccini Master and those in the triptych of the *Coronation of the Virgin and Saints* signed by Matteo di Pacino.[26]

As often happens, the identification of the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel with Matteo di Pacino was only accepted gradually and not without hesitation by later art historians, probably also due to a persistent disinterest in this particular strand of Florentine painting,[27] Only more recently has this artist been subjected to an overall reconsideration by Alberto Lenza.[28] The catalogue of the artist has, in the meantime, been enriched with two new works: the *St. Ivo with a donor*, now in the Alana collection in New York (pl. LXXI), already assigned to the painter by Laurence Kanter,[29] and the tabernacle with the *Crucifixion, between St. Francis, a Deacon Saint and the Annunciation* in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Besançon, attributed to him by Alberto Lenza[30] (pl. LXV). Lenza's contribution represents an important watershed in studies on the painter, in which the analysis of the figurative style of the works taken into consideration is combined with the search for new archival documents and by a thorough review of those already published. Among the more interesting findings of Lenza's paper is his backdating of the artist's enrolment in the Compagnia di San Luca, erroneously indicated in the literature as 1394;[31] given that the name of the painter is accompanied by a cross and that his name no longer appears in the registers of the *Prestanze* after 1373, it is plausible to assume – concludes Lenza – that the date 1374 is not that of the painter's enrolment in the artists' guild, but of his death.[32]

The backdating of Matteo di Pacino's death to the mid-1370s might help explain why the number of works that have come down to it is so small. But it would also seem to invalidate Kanter's inclusion in the painter's catalogue of at least a part of the works that compose the catalogue of the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella.[33] According to Kanter (who thought that Matteo di Pacino's enrolment in the Compagnia di San Luca took place in 1394), the painter's catalogue should be integrated with a part of the works formerly attributed to the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella and more precisely with a group of miniatures preserved in or cut out of choir-books 11 and 16 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, with a provenance from the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria

dispersed between the museums of Altenburg, Berlin and a private collection (Boskovits, 1975, 202 n. 107). See in this volume 00.
26 Bellosi, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XVII, 1973, 179-182.
27 A favourable opinion, albeit with the proviso "probabilmente", was expressed by Boskovits (1975, 357). Under the name Matteo di Pacino the artist was also discussed by Biagi, in *Pittura in Italia*, 1986, II, 637-638. The painter is still cited as the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel by Richard Fremantle, 1975, 193-202; Gregori, in *Santa Croce*, 1983, 164, 166 and in the guidebooks of the Galleria dell'Accademia by Bonsanti, 1987, 67 and Falletti - Anglani, 1999, 92. On the other hand, he is mentioned under the name Matteo di Pacino by Tartuferi, in *Florence Mus. Cat.* 1994, 40, Kanter, in *Wall.-Rich. Jahrb.*, LXII, 2001, 152-153 and in the more recent catalogue of the Galleria dell'Accademia by Palmeri, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 174-181.
28 Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 27-42.
29 Kanter, in *Wall.-Rich. Jahrb.*, LXII, 2001, 153.
30 Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 35.
31 See below n. 4.
32 Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 12.
33 Kanter, in *Wall.-Rich. Jahrb.*, LXII, 2001, 143-154 and *Idem*, in *Fondi oro*, 2009, 48-59. "Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella" is the conventional name attributed by Richard Offner (*Corpus*, IV/II, 1960, 91 n. 12; *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 75 n. 4, 77 n. 11; 1981, 19-20) to a Florentine painter active in the second half of the Trecento, whose catalogue comprises fourteen works in the more recent of these publications. This small group of paintings was supplemented by Boskovits (1975, 210 n. 38, 372-376) with the works formerly gathered

degli Angeli,[34] other miniatures respectively in Antiphonary D in the archive of Santa Croce,[35] in two Psalters in the Museo di San Marco (Inv. Nos. 559, 560) and in a further two choir-books (VII e VIII) in the Prepositura di Santa Croce sull'Arno,[36] as well as a small group of panel paintings.[37]

The present writer believes that the group of miniatures listed above comprises the works of different artist. She considers the current classification convincing, though recognizing the existence of the affinities pointed out by Kanter between some works of Matteo di Pacino and others attributed to the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella. So the problem needs further elucidation, of which at least a preliminary contribution is offered in the following pages.

Another question raised, but not conclusively settled, by the more recent contributions concerns Matteo's relations with the Master of Barberino. Contacts between the two artists are suggested by the controversial attribution of the *Madonna and Child* in SS. Annunziata in Florence,[38] and also by

under the conventional names of the Master of the Vatican Coronation and Master of the Golden Gate (Offner, 1981, 34). Luciano Bellosi (in *Siena Coll. Cat.*, 1986, 25-28) was the first to try to attribute a precise civil identity to the painter, taking as his cue the affinities with the figurative style of Jacopo di Cione; he went so far as to propose his identification *tout court* with the youngest of the Orcagna brothers. The proposal however seems difficult to reconcile with the clear distinction of the intervention of the two painters in the polyptych formerly in the Fischel collection at Vienna (Boskovits, 1975, 330, pl. 53; Chiodo, in *Dipinti italiani,* 2000, 34). According to the recent proposals of Laurence Kanter (in *Wall.- Rich. Jahrb.*, LXII, 2001, 143-154; in *Fondi Oro,* 2009, 48-59) the works of three different artists should also be re-channeled into the painter's catalogue: one of them identifiable with Matteo di Pacino, a second – who had completed the triptych of San Matteo for the Arte del Cambio in Orsanmichele (now in the Uffizi) – should be identified with Jacopo di Cione, while the third is the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella.

34 The group, unanimously considered homogeneous from a stylistic point of view, consists of two miniatures in Corale 11 in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: an initial "A" with *Six Martyr Saints* (fol. 38r) and an initial "H" with a *Bishop Saint enthroned* (fol. 88r), both classified as the work of the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella by Boskovits (1975, 373) but attributed instead to Lorenzo di Niccolò by Levi D'Ancona (*Florence Exh. Cat.* 1995, 60-61, pls. 20-21). From fol. 5 of the same choir-book also comes the initial "E" with *Christ and the apostles* (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 38896), annexed to the group of the Ashmolean Museum Master by Kanter (in *New York Exh. Cat.* 1994, 191-193), an attribution under which the miniature was recently presented at an exhibition in the Uffizi by Ada Labriola (in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008b, 234-235). A cutting from fol. 63 of Corale 11, according to Kanter (in *Wall.-Rich. Jahrb.*, LXII, 2001, 147-149), is also the initial "I" with a *Martyr Saint* now in Cologne (Wallraf-Richartz Museum, M84). To the same master Boskovits (in *Paragone*, XXIII, 1972, No. 265, 53, n. 17; 1975, 373) has also assigned an initial "H" with *Christ, the Virgin and Saints* in Corale 16 (fol. 40v) (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana).

35 Kanter, in *Wall.-Rich. Jahrb.*, LXII, 2001, 150, fig. 8 refers the miniature to Antiphonary C in Santa Croce, but in fact the image is found in Antiphonary D, on fol. 105v. The miniature in question, together with others in the same volume (fols. 77v, 144r, 150r), was attributed to Cenni di Francesco by Boskovits (1975, 287): an attribution with which the present writer concurs.

36 The decoration of these choir-books was attributed by Miklós Boskovits (in Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 211-229) to Tommaso del Mazza, an attribution fully endorsed by the present writer.

37 The panel paintings cited by Laurence Kanter are the following: Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, Inv. No. 860.1.187; *Coronation of the Virgin, Annunciation, Nativity*; Budapest, Szépművészeti Muzéum, Inv. No. 40, *Adoration of the Magi*; Cambridge, MA, Fogg Art Museum, Inv. No. 1930.201, *Adoration of the Magi*; Cambridge, MA, Fogg Art Museum, Inv. No. 1962, 292, *St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Scholastica*; Fiesole, Museo Bandini, Inv. Nos. 11-14, *Nativity, Journey of the Magi, Circumcision, Massacre of the Innocents*; Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. No. 44.561, *Meeting of Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate*; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, Inv. No. 1975.1.69, triptych (see also Deimling, in Pasquinucci - Deimling, Corpus, IV/VIII, 2000, 180-184, pls. XXVI); Rome, Colonna Collection, *Madonna and Child with Ten Saints and Four Angels*; Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana, Inv. No. 143, *Crucifixion and Stories of the Passion*; Siena, Chigi-Saracini Collection, *Madonna and Child enthroned with Eight Saints and Four Angels*. These are paintings in large classified by Richard Offner (1981, 7) as works of the Master of the Golden Gate and then re-assigned by Boskovits to the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella (Boskovits, 1975, 372-376).

38 This painting has been attributed to the Master of Barberino by Werner Cotin (in *Kunstchronik*, XII, 1959, 172).

Miklós Boskovits' former attribution to the Rinuccini Master of a compartment of a polyptych with *St. Catherine and a female Religious Saint* (Cambridge, MA, Fogg Art Museum, Inv. No. 62.292),[39] later re-assigned by the same scholar to the Master of Barberino. Given that the Master of Barberino, at least in one phase of his career, seems to have actively participated in the Orcagna shop, and subsequently followed Andrea di Cione's manner, it would seem that, in a wider perspective, the question we need to pose is once again that of Matteo di Pacino's relation with the art of Andrea Orcagna and of his brothers.

Barely mentioned in a recent contribution by Ada Labriola is lastly the problem of the participation of Matteo di Pacino in the preparation of a new series of choir-books for Santa Croce, and his relations with the other masters involved in the enterprise, in particular the mysterious personage referred to in the literature as "Ser Monte", unanimously identified as the priest to whom the commission was given.[40] Insufficiently studied, in spite of some interesting and useful insights furnished by Alberto Lenza,[41] are the relations with the painter's most important patrons in the second half of the 1360s: Francesco di Cino Rinuccini and the Franciscans of Santa Croce, the Cistercians of Badia a Settimo and the Benedictine nuns of San Pier Maggiore.

Biography

Matteo di Pacino di Duccio was enrolled in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali on 25 June 1359.[42] Enrolment in the guild would have marked a watershed in his life: the moment of transition from the *bottega* in which he had been trained and completed his first works to the exercise of his profession as an independent master: a profession that was apparently able to ensure him of some financial self-sufficiency if, as seems possible, he can be identified with the purchaser of a house situated in the popolo di San Michele at Curatola mentioned in a document of 23 January 1358.[43] In 1362 Matteo assumed the post of *Consigliere* in the Compagnia di San Zanobi, an important lay confraternity that met near the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence.[44] Membership of this association would seem to support, if not corroborate, the painter's identification with the person with the same name who appears, without professional qualification, in the list of experts chosen by the Opera del Duomo in 1367 to assess the project for the new cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore.[45]

Classified among the work of Matteo di Pacino by Boskovits (1975, 358), Lenza (in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 29, fig. 4) and others , it has been reassigned to the Master of Barberino by Angelo Tartuferi (in *Bagno a Ripoli Exh. Cat.*, 2009, 86-87).

39 The polyptych represents the *Crucifixion between Saints Francis, Jacob, Catherine and a female Religious Saint*. The central compartment and that to the left were painted by Puccio di Simone. See Boskovits, *Corpus*, III/IX, 1984, 79. The triptych comes from the chapel of San Jacopo in the destroyed castle of Carmignano.

40 Labriola, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008b, 72-73.

41 Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 33.

42 See oo in this volume. His father, Pacino di Duccio, is called *magister lapidi* in the registers of the *Prestanze* in July and August 1363 (ASF, Prestanze, 58, fol. 99v; *ibid.*, 66, fol. 120v; Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 36 n. 3).

43 See oo in this volume. This might have been San Michele at Quarantola in Val di Pesa (Repetti, IV, 1841, 689), even if the place-name cannot be identified with certainty.

44 See oo in this volume. The confraternity had many painters among its members, including towards the end of the century Ambrogio di Baldese, Lorenzo di Niccolò, Giovanni del Biondo and others (ASF, Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 2171, fols. 203r, 230v, 235v, 247v and unnumbered pages). Documents on the Compagnia di San Zanobi have been published by Poggi, 1909, XCIV-XCV, 172-199. See also Dehmer, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XLIII, 1999, 597-605.

45 See oo in this volume. The document was published by Guasti, 1887, 202. The identification with the painter has been placed in doubt by Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 36 nn. 1 and 6.

The name of Matteo di Pacino appears regularly in the surviving registers of the *Prestanze* (quartiere di San Giovanni, gonfalone Chiavi) between the months of April 1363 and July 1373; more precisely between April 1363 and February of the following year he was registered as resident in Via San Benedetto, while from this date down to 1373 he is mentioned in Via de' Pentolini.[46]

Between 1368 and 1371 the painter is named among the creditors of the monastery of San Pier Maggiore.[47] In the earliest documents, in 1368 and 1369, the sums disbursed by the rector of the monastery, Ser Taddeo, concern the purchase of pigments, gesso preparation and gold leaf for a *tavoletta* that he himself had commissioned from Matteo. In 1371 Ser Taddeo began to annotate the payments made on behalf of the building works of San Pier Maggiore, for the decoration of the *cappella maggiore* and the realization of the new polyptych for the altar.[48] The payments in question include a long list of expenditures for the purchase of colours and gold. But they also include the payment of one *soldo* and six *denari* to Matteo di Pacino "*per rechatura uno colmo della tavola da casa*".[49] In contrast to what is maintained by Offner and Steinweg, and also by Lenza,[50] it may be conjectured that the payments made by Ser Taddeo refer to two different works. For in the first case the text seems to allude to a work directly commissioned by the rector for his own personal use, whereas in the second case he makes a point of stating that he was making payments on behalf of the *opera di San Pier Maggiore*.[51] Only in this latter circumstance does the context authorize us to infer that the payment to Matteo di Pacino concerned his possible participation in the large polyptych executed by Jacopo di Cione for the high altar of the monastic church and more precisely his possible intervention in one of the compartments of the upper tier. However, the homogeneous character of the polyptych does not seem to permit any distinction to be drawn between the parts executed by Jacopo di Cione and others attributable to Matteo di Pacino or possibly to other workshop assistants. Perhaps Matteo's contribution consisted only in the work of preparing the surfaces or finishing the parts laid with gold leaf, though it is fair to say that these parts would have required considerable technical skill. Another two painters, who probably belonged to the circle of Jacopo di Cione – namely Tuccio Vanni and Francesco dipintore – but whose works have still to be identified, then carried out, between June and October of the same year, the pictorial decoration of the walls of the chapel whose altar was destined to accommodate Jacopo di Cione polyptych.[52]

Between 1371 and 1373 Matteo di Pacino is mentioned several times in the account books of the Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova for the decoration of a dozen bedsteads donated to the charitable institution by Cavalcante Cavalcanti and the painting of a panel to adorn the large room where invalids were accommodated; it too has been lost.[53]

The date 1374 inscribed alongside the name of the painter in the register of members of the Compagnia di San Luca, probably refers, as we have said, to his death; for in the years following this date he ceased to pay the sums due for the *Prestanze* to the Republic of Florence.[54]

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46 Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 36 n. 4. It should be borne in mind that the series of the *Prestanze* is interrupted in October 1364 and resumed in February 1369. The registers for the latter year, however, do not include the volume corresponding to the quarter of San Giovanni, gonfalone Chiavi, in which the tax due from Matteo di Pacino was presumably registered. See also in this volume oo.

47 See oo in this volume.

48 The polyptych, representing the *Coronation of the Virgin, Saints, Stories of the Virgin and Stories of St. Peter*, is now considered one of the principal works of Jacopo di Cione, even though Jacopo's name appears in no document associated with it. Preserved in the church until its demolition in 1784 and subsequently dismembered and dispersed, its compartments are now distributed between various public and private collections. See Offner-Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 31-74, pls. III[1-33]; *London Exh. Cat.* 1989, 156-189.

49 The use of the term *colmo* requires a brief explanation. It was used to denote the upper part of a painting, for example the tondo at the top of a painted crucifix or the gable or *cimasa* in the upper part of a polyptych, but it could also denote simply a panel with an arched upper profile (*tavola centinata*) or a circular childbirth tray (*desco da parto*); see *Vocabolario Crusca*, I, 1741, 515 ("spezie di tavola o quadro dipinto"); Tommaseo-Bellini, 1865, III, 1865, 1500; Battaglia, 1964, 302. In this case the textual context of the document of 1371 would seem to suggest the former connotation, whereas in the documents of 1368 and 1369 the *colmo* prepared by Matteo di Pacino for Ser Taddeo would seem to be a simple arched panel.

50 Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus,* IV/III, 1965, 38; Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 36 n. 7. Offner and Steinway assert, however, with regard to the surviving parts of the altarpiece, that "we see no [stylistic] connection with Matteo di Pacino".

51 The small number of documents that have come down to us is too slight to enable us to properly evaluate the role and personality of Ser Taddeo. The documents of San Pier Maggiore mention him on several occasions between 1369 (Labriola, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*b*, 72) and 1383 for miniatures commissioned from various artists for the realization of choir-books for the Benedictine monastery of San Pier Maggiore, and also for the church of Santa Croce (Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 421-422, 463). His name also appears among those enrolled in the Compagnia di San Luca, for the year 1382 (Gualandi,VI, 1845, 188), a circumstance that would seem to imply his own personal involvement in the exercise of the figurative arts.

52 Tuccio Vanni is documented as a painter between 1350 and 1383. From the documents published by Colnaghi, 1928 and Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 253-254 we learn that he was an inhabitant of the quarter of San Giovanni, gonfalone Chiavi (Via Sant'Ambrogio alla Croce). In 1374 he painted a dossal for the church of San Pier Maggiore, while in 1377 he painted the miniatures in a gradual (now lost) for the monastery of San Pier Maggiore, including some initials with the following representations: Nativity, Resurrection, Ascension, Corpus Domini, St. Nicholas and St.Andrew. In 1380 he enrolled in the Compagnia di San Luca (Gualandi,VI, 1845, 188).
To these payments should be added those relating to payments received from Ser Taddeo between June and November 1371 for a painted decoration executed by this painter in collaboration with Francesco dipintore (ASF, *Corporazioni religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo e aggregate alle Montalve*. San Pier Maggiore, 50, fols. 9v, 12v-13r; Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 253, document only partially published). The quantification of the work, on the basis of working days (*giornate*) spent each week, corresponds to that typical for fresco decorations. It is probable, therefore, that a new mural decoration of the chapel housing the high altar in San Pier Maggiore was completed on this occasion. With regard to a hypothetical identification of Tuccio Vanni with the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella, see n. oo. On the basis of affinities noted between some miniatures of the anonymous master usually denominated as "Ser Monte" in Antiphonaries C and P of Santa Croce and Jacopo di Cione's polyptych for San Pier Maggiore, Ada Labriola (in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXVII, 1999, 198 n. 16) wonders whether the painter active in San Pier Maggiore is not to be identified with the miniaturist of Santa Croce. For further discussion of this hypothesis see the text below oo. A further hypothetical identification has been proposed by Michela Palmeri (in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 405-416) who thinks that Tuccio Vanni can perhaps be identified with the anonymous master known under the provisional name of Master of Tobit, he too belonging to the stylistic milieu of the Orcagna shop. Fragments of the cycle of frescoes painted by this latter master are in fact preserved in a building formerly owned by the Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova (later Archivio Notarile), where, according to the documents published by Palmeri, Tuccio Vanni executed several works.
Francesco dipintore is an artist whose profile is even more uncertain. The name, unaccompanied by any patronymic, cannot be identified with any of the artists listed by Colnaghi (1928, 104). He could perhaps be identified however with the painter with this name reported as a disciple of Andrea Orcagna in the list drawn up by the *operai* of the church of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia in 1349 (Chiappelli, in *Bull. Stor. Pist.*, II, 1900, 2-3). Carli (1961, 18, plates 19-23) has conjectures that he could be identified with the painter Francesco who was paid in 1363 for a polyptych in the church of Santa Caterina at Pisa, identified with the surviving polyptych of *St Paul enthroned and Saints*, now in the Fondazione Cini at Venice (Zeri, in Zeri - Natale - Mottola Molfino, 1984, 13-16). However the master of this latter work betrays only superficial relations with the Orcagna bottega and far closer links with contemporary Pisan and Pistoian painting (Boskovits, 1973, 19-20). Boskovits (1975, 197 n. 67 and in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2000, 210-211) points out the very close links with the Orcagna workshop revealed by the figurative style of the Master of San Lucchese and wonders whether the activity of the mysterious Francesco might not be recognized in the works of this Master.

53 See oo in this volume.

54 See oo and n. oo above in this volume.

The Coronation of the Virgin between Saints Martin and John the Baptist Signed and dated 1361

Matteo di Pacino's only signed and dated painting, the *Coronation of the Virgin between Saints Martin of Tours and John the Baptist*, now in the house of the Order of Saint John of Jesusalem in Rome (pls. LXIV[1-3]), is the natural starting point for any reconsideration of the master's career.

The church for which the triptych was painted is unknown. However, the presence of St. Martin, in the place of honour, to the Virgin's right (i.e. in the left lateral), suggests its provenance from an altar or church dedicated to this saint.[55] The triptych has unfortunately survived in a fragmentary state. At an early date it was shorn of its gables; these were later replaced, together with the frame, probably in the nineteenth century. Whether it was also shorn, at the same time, of two further lateral compartments (to form a pentatych) is, in its present condition, impossible to determine.[56]

The centrepiece of the triptych is formed by the scene of the *Coronation of the Virgin*. It is presented according to a compositional model that can be traced back to Giotto's version of the same subject for the Baroncelli chapel in Santa Croce, later revived by Bernardo Daddi and others, including Puccio di Simone.[57] The two surviving versions of this latter, formerly in Lucca (Cenami-Spada collection) and at Ghent respectively,[58] represent the version of this iconography closest to that of Matteo di Pacino's triptych, characterized by the considerably larger size of the protagonists than the music-making angels in the foreground and by the replacement of serried ranks of Saints in the lateral compartments with individual figures, according to a trend ever more widespread in Florentine painting in the second half of the century, aimed at accentuating the distinction between the human and divine dimension. In Matteo di Pacino's painting the heavenly staging of the scene is further emphasized by the corona of cherubim and seraphim who support the cloth of honour and who isolate the protagonists also from the Saints portrayed to the sides. With particular care the painter devotes himself to the decoration of the Virgin's brocaded dress and mantle and that of the cloth of honour behind her back, embroidered with plant and animal motifs inspired by oriental fabrics according to a practice very frequent in this period.[59] Rarer, on the other hand, is the presence, among the decorative motifs of the cloth of honour, of the letter "M" in uncial form, surmounted by a crown: an evident allusion to the regality of Mary and hence to the main subject of the painting. The motif, repeated shortly after, and in a far simplified form, in the Madonna's dress at the centre of the polyptych painted by the Master of Barberino in 1362[60], has as its only known precedent the Madonna's dress in the panel painted by Taddeo Gaddi for the church of San Lucchese at Poggibonsi in 1355 and now in the Uffizi.[61]

In the decoration of the haloes the references to the practices of Florentine ateliers in the mid century are even more explicit. Realized with just a few punches and in large part incised freehand, the forms of the motifs are defined in the reserves between the lines of granulated ornament. The rosettes alternating with paired heart-shaped leaves in the halo of St. John the Baptist pl. LXIV[3] were to become a widespread motif following one of its earliest occurrences in the halo of the Madonna at the centre of the polyptych painted by Bernardo Daddi for the high altar of the Cathedral of S. Maria del Fiore in Florence.[62] The decoration of the cruciform halo of Jesus is also peculiar: here the arms of the cross alternate with foliated decorations very similar to those we may note, for example, in Christ's halo in Nardo di Cione's *Coronation of the The Virgin* now in London (Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No. C.A.I. 104).[63] Less frequent, on the other hand, seems to be the tendril motif that adorns the halo of St. Martin. It is distinguished by its particularly naturalistic interpretation of the theme. A systematic study of halo decorations incised freehand, and a classification of the most frequently used motifs, is still a desideratum. It is possible, however, on the basis of a summary review of the evidence, to draw some preliminary conclusions. In the case of the period being examined here – i.e. the late sixth/early seventh decade of the Trecento – a distinction seems to emerge between two

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55 Research conducted by the present writer to this end has yielded no firm evidence. All we can do is conjecture. Among the more plausible suggestions, though without any confirmation, is a possible provenance of the triptych from the church of San Martino alla Palma, an important dependency of the monastery of Badia a Settimo for which Matteo di Pacino, as documents show, was active in a more advanced phase of his career (Villani - Cirri, 1993, 371). Still preserved in the church is a panel of the *Madonna and Child enthroned with kneeling donors* which has given its name to an artist active in the first half of the Trecento, probably commissioned by a confraternity, the Compagnia di Laudesi, that met in the church. Some detached fourteenth-century frescoes from the same church are now with the Soprintendenza in Florence (*I dintorni*, 1999, 140). The old painting on the high altar, of which the subject is not recorded, was replaced by a canvas by Anastagio Fontebuoni representing the *Martyrdom of Saint Martin* in 1620 (Spinelli, in *Paragone*, XL, 1989, 471, 27-28).
Among the other possibilities that ought to be taken into account, at least as working hypotheses, is the painting's possible provenance from the Camaldolese monastery of San Martino in Via della Scala, founded in 1356, i.e. just before the execution of the triptych being discussed here. The monastery owes its foundation to the bequest made for this purpose by Ser Martino di Bonaventura da Cambiate in his last will drawn up before a notary on 18 June 1348. The monastery, destined to house a community of 22 nuns, was supposed to have been built on land owned by the testator in the popolo di Santo Stefano in Pane. Ser Martino's executors, however, reached an agreement with Messer Niccolò del Bene, with the result that the monastery was founded in a building annexed to the Spedale di San Bartolomeo al Mugnone, just outside Porta a Prato, which was under the patronage of this family (Langlois, in *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, s.V, XIX, 1897, 136-139). In 1356 a group of Camaldolese nuns from San Pietro a Luco took up residence in the new convent. The building was abandoned in 1529 at the time of the siege of Florence and in 1531 the nuns finally settled in the convent annexed to the Spedale di Santa Maria in Via della Scala. On the monastery of San Martino in Via della Scala see Richa, III, 1755, 331-335; Carocci, 1898.

56 The measurements of the altarpiece do not contradict this hypothesis. In other cases there are good grounds to assume that what are now triptychs must originally have been pentatychs. Thus Cenni di Francesco's polyptych with the *Madonna and Child enthroned and Saints* in the church of San Cristoforo a Perticaia at Rignano (*Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 182-185) has been shorn not only of its predella, but also of its two outer laterals (one of them, a *Bishop Saint* is now in the Museo Diocesano, Milan). The truncation of the gables was a farly frequent practice to attenuate the more pronouncedly gothic character of polyptychs, such as that of Giovanni da Milano for the Spedale della Misericordia e Dolce at Prato (Chiodo, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008a, 182-189). For a more detailed evaluation of the triptych's condition see in this volume 00.

57 On the origin and diffusion of the motif of the Coronation of the Virgin, see Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 1947, 243-250 (ed. 2001, 531-539). A triptych of this subject was painted by Bernardo Daddi for a chapel of the *tramezzo* in Santa Maria Novella (Firenze, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 1890/3449; Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, pl. XXII, 255-272; Tartuferi, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 53-60). The original provenance of another version painted by the same master, now dismembered and divided between various collections, is unknown (Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2001, pl. XIV, 278-284).

58 Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 411-429, pls. XXXIX[1], XLII[1].

59 Brigitte Klesse (1967, 476, No. 508) does not identify the motif used by Matteo di Pacino in other paintings.

60 Werner Cohn (in *Kunstchronik*, XII, 1959, 272) published that painting with the attribution to the Master of the Barberino polyptych. Than the painting has been attributed to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel (alias Matteo di Pacino) by Miklós Boskovits (1975, 358). As a work executed by this master it has been mentioned also by Tronci, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 172; Scalella, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCII, 2004. 95, 102 n. 23 and Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 27, 29-30. The assignation to the Master of Barberino has been reaffirmed Angelo Tartuferi (in Tronci, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 172; Tartuferi, in *Oratorio*, 2009, 86-87). The present author agrees with the opinion of this latter.

61 Klesse, 1967, 472, No. 500; Bigazzi, in *Polittico Santa Felicita*, 2008, 74-75.

62 The diffusion of this motif is mainly associated with representations of the Virgin. Among the numerous examples we may cite its presence in the halo of the Madonna in Taddeo Gaddi's triptych now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York (Ladis, 1982, 151, figs. 14-2), in that of Nardo di Cione's Madonna now in the Museum di New York at Brooklyn (Offner, *Corpus*, IV/II, 1960, 68-69, pl. XVI[a]). But it is also found in the halo of St. John the Baptist in the polyptych painted by Taddeo Gaddi for the church of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia (Ladis, 1982, fig. 19-9), in the Baptist and in the Madonna in Andrea Orcagna's altarpiece for the Strozzi chapel in Santa Maria Novella (Offner, *Corpus*, IV/I, 1962, 34-39, pls. I[7], I[10]).

63 Offner, *Corpus*, IV/II, 1960, 16-17, pl. II[b].

main types of Florentine halo decoration: on the one hand, the predilection shown in Orcagnesque circles for the repertoire used by Bernardo Daddi and by the painters of his circle, composed in the main of abstract and modular motifs, repeated according to regular schemes; and, on the other, the freer and more naturalistic character of the decorations used by Taddeo Gaddi, in which plant motifs (ivy tendrils, oak leaves, etc.) predominate.[64] Matteo di Pacino seems to eschew over-rigid schemes, combining well-consolidated patterns with more naturalistic tendril motifs that anticipate the predilection for realistic details that would become a characteristic feature of his mature style.

The pictorial surface of the three compartments is slightly rubbed with the result that the modelling of the garments of the figures now seem rather flattened. In the faces, on the other hand, the chiaroscuro modelling is still well in evidence, while thick brushstrokes of dark colour, alternating with lighter hues, meticulously define the facial features, the hair and beard of the figures. The artist shows the same care in painting the decorative motifs of the fabrics, paying scant attention to the verisimilitude of the way the draperies envelop the bodies; he limits himself to suggesting the presence of folds by the simple expedient of superimposing a coloured varnish. The figures have withdrawn, impassive expressions. They betray no emotion; the artist evidently renounced extending his representation to their more intimate dimension.

Such are the main features of the former Stroganoff *Coronation of the Virgin*. Judged in this light, the precedents of the figurative language of Matteo di Pacino would seem to lie in the works of Bernardo Daddi's final phase and in those in his closest followers, first and foremost Puccio di Simone, as clearly suggested by comparison with the Saints to the sides of the Virgin in the former Ricasoli collection polyptych in Florence (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale) or those in the polyptych formerly in the oratory of San Pietro at Petrognano and now in the museum at Certaldo.[65] In Matteo di Pacino's painting the chiaroscuro is more accentuated than it is in Puccio; it is used to heighten the modelling of the faces, to which the *sfumato* contributes a soft and natural texture. The facial characterization, at least in the main figures, is minuter. The combination of these characteristics enables the figures to emerge clearly from their background; they are firmly placed in a three-dimensional space, very different from the effects of bas-relief preferred by Puccio di Simone and reflecting a mature consciousness of the more volumetric figurative language of Andrea Orcagna and his circle.[66]

The sedimentation of the earlier cultural components and the re-elaboration of more recent influences in Matteo's own independent manner, as well as the importance itself of an altarpiece of this size, clearly imply that by 1361 (date of the ex-Stroganoff triptych) Matteo di Pacino must already have had a considerable period of activity behind him. So let us try tentatively to reconstruct the first phase in the artist's career.

[64] Associated with the same cultural milieu, according to the present writer, are also the extremely elegant haloes of the Madonna and Angel in the panel of the *Annunciation* formerly the property of the Arte dei Legnaioli and now in the Galleria dell'Accademia (Feraci, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 217-221): a panel which has so far evaded any precise classification, but which the recent attribution to Giovanni Bonsi proposed by Miklós Boskovits (oral communication) might perhaps point in the right direction.

[65] Offner, *Corpus*, III/V, 2nd ed., 2001, 502-509, 476-482; Valazzi, in *Urbino Exh. Cat.*, 1988, 47-49.

[66] The difference between the figurative style of Matteo di Pacino and that of Puccio di Simone around 1360 is clearly exemplified by the contrast between the solid possession of the space allotted to them displayed by the figures in the former Stroganoff triptych and the fragile, almost two-dimensional consistency of the *Madonna and Child* signed and dated by Puccio di Simone in 1360. See Labriola, in *New York Coll. Cat.*, 2009, 172-176.

Apprenticeship and earliest works

A small group of paintings can be considered coeval with or earlier than the former Stroganoff triptych. It comprises four hexagonal compartments, part of a dismembered and dispersed polyptych, now divided between various collections, representing *Angels in adoration, Music-making Angels,* the *Man of Sorrows between the Virgin, St. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene,* and *St. John the Baptist between Saints Dominic, Thomas Aquinas and a kneeling Dominican devotee* (Altenburg - Berlin - New York, pls. LIX[1-4]); a small panel of the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Rome, Garofalo collection, pl. LX); and some miniatures painted by Matteo di Pacino in choir-books C, and P for the Franciscan convent of Santa Croce in Florence (pls. LXI[1-3]; LXII[1-5]). To these we can also add a fragment of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, which resurfaced on the German art market in c. 1930 and is now only known by an old photo showing part of the figure of a crowned Madonna (pl. LXIII).[67] The Madonna in this case has her arms crossed over her breast and her head slightly bent forwards, while Christ (of whom only the hands are visible) is placing the crown on her head. From the point of view of the composition and facial features, the affinity with the corresponding detail in the former Stroganoff triptych is very close and leaves no doubt about the painting's belonging to the catalogue of Matteo di Pacino. On the other hand, as already pointed out by Lenza (who first published the fragment), a greater tendency to simplify the contours and attenuate the modelling suggests a less prestigious destination and perhaps an earlier date, close to that of the last works of Puccio di Simone or to the first securely dated works of the Master of Barberino, for example the triptych with the *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints Agnes and Margaret* formerly in the Corsi collection, dated 1358.[68]

The four small hexagonal panels (pls. LVIII[1-4]) clearly belong together. They come from a dismembered complex, the precise nature of which has yet to be defined, and of which other components have yet to be identified. The presence of Saints Dominic and Thomas Aquinas, combined with that of the kneeling devotee in the foreground – he too wearing the black cloak of the Dominicans – suggests its provenance from a church of that Order. The hypothesis formerly advanced by Miklós Boskovits of its possible link with the church of the Dominicans in Pisa, based on the provenance of one of the compartments from the collection formed by Giuseppe Toscanelli in that city in the second half of the nineteenth century, remains unconfirmed.[69]

As regards the structure of the original polyptych, the hexagonal shape of the four panels and the vertical graining of the wood led Boskovits to conjecture that they formed the pinnacles of the laterals of a polyptych similar in carpentry to that painted by Niccolò Gerini and Pietro Nelli for the *collegiata* of Santa Maria all'Impruneta in 1375.[70] From the pattern of white stars on a blue ground on the back of one of the four panels now in Berlin it has further been inferred that the polyptych of which the four panels formed part was placed on the high altar, with the rear side visible to the friars seated in the choir stalls placed in the apse. As for what iconography might have been shown in the missing centrepiece, Johannes Tripps has conjectured the representation of a Coronation of the Virgin or an Assumption.[71]

None of these proposals, in the view of the present writer, is fully convincing. In the first place an examination of the rear of the panels reveals no traces of vertical struts, or other connecting ele-

[67] The work was published as a work of Matteo di Pacino by Alberto Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 28-29, fig. 3. See in this volume oo.

[68] On the Master of Barberino, an artist whose profile still requires careful re-examination, see Scalella, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCII, 2004, 93-105. On the relations between this artist and Matteo di Pacino see further below, oo.

[69] Boskovits, 1988, 112.

[70] Boskovits, 1975, 59-61, pls. 61, 67, fig. 160, 165; cf. Bellosi, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, 1973, 183-194. See also in this volume oo.

[71] Tripps, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2005a, 141-144.

ments needed to join them with any compartments below. On the contrary, in the hexagon with *Angels and Cherubim* in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin we may note signs of a horizontal strut that runs through the panel from the left margin towards the centre and that must have been present even before the wood was painted blue; its presence seems to me incompatible with the presumption that the four panels were originally separate components fixed to the gables of a monumental polyptych. It would be difficult, moreover, to identify a coherent iconographic programme that would explain the juxtaposition of these hexagons in the upper tier of a polyptych. The representation of *St. John the Baptist between Saints Dominic, Thomas Aquinas and a kneeling Dominican friar* is particularly unusual, indeed without parallel in the art of the period. The composition in this case would seem to presuppose a central position, but a similar position is also implied by the hexagon with the *Man of Sorrows*. We are led to wonder whether the hexagons might not have formed part of two series, perhaps comprising further representations of hierarchies of angels. The four surviving hexagonal fragments, rather than come from the upper register of a polyptych, we may conclude, would have been more suitable for decorating, perhaps in two tiers, a piece of ecclesiastical furniture, such as the doors of a sacristy cupboard.

The four panels have in common not only their peculiar elongated hexagonal shape, but also the minute floriated carpet-like pavement on which the figures are placed. This decoration imitates a kind of richly embroidered fabric. It was produced by laying the colour directly over the gold ground. The plant motifs are 'reserved': that is, they are deliberately left unpainted, defined instead by the contours of the painted areas around them, and further embellished and highlighted by freehand graffito decoration. The essential two-dimensionality of this ground contrasts with the firm volumetric definition of the figures which, as we may clearly see in the hexagons with the *Man of Sorrows* and with the *Angels*, have forms clearly defined by the drawing and by the chiaroscuro. The similarities between the Angels who form the protagonists in two of the four hexagons and those kneeling at the feet of the Virgin in the former Stroganoff triptych are very close. Their broad simplified faces are shown in profile; they have small mouths, flat noses, dark expressive eyes, and blond hair regularly curled over the forehead.

The decorative complex from which the four hexagons come is unlikely to have been produced long before the former Stroganoff triptych, perhaps in the years 1355-1360.[72] Reasons of style suggest a similar dating also for the portable tabernacle with the *Coronation of the Virgin*, known until a few years ago only from photographs dating to the first half of the last century, when it was in the Gualtiero Volterra collection in Florence. Recently, however, it has resurfaced in the Garofalo collection in Rome (pl. LX). In this case too the painter places the figures before a precious decorated cloth of honour that almost covers the whole architectural structure of the throne, of which only the profile of its gabled backrest remains visible. This latter, unusually, is not painted but designed by working with a graving tool directly on the gold ground and elegantly embellished with plant motifs, similar to those we see in another panel produced by a master of the Orcagna circle, the *Madonna and Child enthroned* attributed to the Master of San Lucchese in the museum at Cleveland, datable to roughly the same years.[73] As in the former Stroganoff triptych, the decoration of the Virgin's mantle or that of the cloth of honour is continuous; Matteo di Pacino limits himself to suggesting the shading of the folds with coloured lacquers and varnishes. Altogether the scene takes place in a restricted space, with

[72] This date coincides with a period of intensive activity in the building yeard of Santa Maria Novella, thanks also to the considerable commitment of Fra Jacopo Passavanti and it cannot be excluded that the fragments come from a piece of liturgical furniture that he had commissioned. On the role of Fra Jacopo in the completion of the church of Santa Maria Novella see in this volume oo.

[73] Master of San Lucchese, *Madonna and Child enthroned*, Cleveland (Ohio), Museum of Art (Inv. No. 68.206); see Ann Tzeutschler Lurie, in *Cleveland Mus. Cat.*, 1974, 93-95.

the figures symmetrically arranged along parallel planes, while the two music-making angels in the foreground, with their backs turned, close the scene towards the observer. These features correspond to a compositional scheme widespread in the 1350s. Its reflections can be identified in works painted during these years by artists belonging to different generations, such as Andrea di Cione, Niccolò di Tommaso, Puccio di Simone, Andrea Bonaiuti and others.[74] Peculiar to the figurative style of Matteo di Pacino, on the other hand, is, as we have seen in the works already discussed, the predilection for rounded figures, with simplified contours; they wear puffed garments, fluted by a few deep folds; their faces are modelled by delicate and luminous chiaroscuro that gives their complexions a soft plump texture.

These characteristic show the painter active along lines not very dissimilar from those of the young Jacopo di Cione or Niccolò di Tommaso. They too, in the late 1350s, in such works as Jacopo's tabernacle with the *Madonna of Humility* in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence, or Niccolò's *Madonna and Child enthroned* dated 1359, show their preference for soft forms, illuminated by a graduated light, while the facial expressions assume a more benevolent air and seem to invite the observer's emotional involvement.[75]

Matteo di Pacino as painter of miniatures: the choir-books of Santa Croce.

Precious information on the first phase of activity of Matteo di Pacino can be gleaned from the study of another enterprise in which he seems, on the basis of an analysis of figurative style, to have participated in years not far removed from that of the former Stroganoff triptych: the miniatures painted in choir-books C and P for the church of Santa Croce in Florence (pls. LXI[1-3], LXII[1-5]).

Source material on the decoration of the liturgical books in use in the church of Santa Croce in this period are meagre and inconclusive.[76] The choir-books used in the Franciscan church in the thirteenth century were dispersed and are no longer identifiable; only two antiphonaries soberly illuminated by Pacino di Bonaguida in the early Trecento[77] and another five volumes (four antiphonaries and one gradual) produced in the second half of the century are now preserved in the archive of the Opera di Santa Croce. Of these latter, the four antiphonaries, identified as A, B, C, and D, regard the part of the liturgical year comprised between the first Sunday of Advent and the feast of Corpus Domini and contain both the part of the proper of the time and the part relating to the sanctorale; the only gradual (marked P) refers, instead, to the period comprised between Easter and Corpus

[74] Some securely dated paintings enable us to pinpoint the emergence and diffusion of this trend. Andrea di Cione's triptych with the *Madonna and Child enthroned between Saints Mary Magdalene and Ansano* now in Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. SK-C-1608), which bears an inscription with the date 1350, on which see Kreytenberg, 2000, 66-71, pl. 15 and Feraci, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*b*, 106-107, is a useful term of comparison. To Niccolò di Tommaso can be attributed a small panel of the *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints*, dated 1359, now in a private collection (Tartuferi, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXI, 1993, 337-338), while to Puccio di Simone is attributed the *Madonna and Child enthroned*, dated 1360, now in the Alana collection in New York (Labriola, in *New York Coll. Cat.*, 2009, 172-176); here the architectural structure of the throne is entirely hidden by the brocaded cloth.

[75] On Jacopo di Cione's *Madonna of Humility between Saints and the Crucifixion* (Inv. No. 1890.8465) see *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 116-121; on Niccolò di Tommaso's *Madonna and Child enthroned* (Australia, private collection) see Tartuferi, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2007, 28-32, fig. 2

[76] For some information on liturgical books associated with Santa Croce but not preserved in the sacristy of the church see Davis, in *Proc. Americ. Phil.* CVII, 1963, 5, pp. 399-414; Ciardi Duprè, in *Santa Croce*, 1996, 77-96. See also Di Domenico, in *Manoscritti datati*, 2002, 24-27, for a brief résumé of the events linked to the dispersal of the collection of choir-books and other MSS. owned by the Franciscan convent.

[77] Offner, *Corpus*, III/II, 2nd ed., 1987, 556-557, pls. add. II[a-f] and Ciardi Duprè, in *Studi Rotili*, 1984, 243-249.

Domini and, like the antiphonaries, contains both the part of the proper of the time and the part relating to the sanctorale.[78] As in other similar and better known cases, e.g. the choir-books of Santa Maria degli Angeli, the realization of the choir-books required a considerable commitment of human and financial resources, was protracted for over a decade, and involved various artists whom scholars have long been trying to identify and distinguish.[79]

On the basis of the findings of previous art-historical studies of the problem, and of the data that derive from a fresh examination of the five volumes, we can therefore attempt to summarize the various phases of work in the decoration of the later Trecento choir-books from Santa Croce.[80]

[78] It is possible that initially the project envisaged the realization of two complete series. Some clues, however, lead us to assume that this did not happen, at least as far as the series of antiphonaries are concerned. Antiphonary Q illuminated by Pacino di Bonaguida is in fact furnished with an index compiled in 1802, but very similar to those present in choir-books of the mid-Trecento, while numerous manuscript annotations in a sixteenth or seventeenth century hand are found inside it. These circumstances imply a constant use of the volume over the centuries, probably made necessary to integrate the more modern series, never completed. The gradual volumes, on the other hand, have all been dispersed with the exception of the one marked with the letter P.

[79] The history of the decoration of the second series of choir-books of Santa Croce is rather complex. Mario Salmi (1954, 21, 43; followed by Chiarelli, 1968, 18, 65) was the first to publish choir-books D and P of Santa Croce, attributing some of their miniatures to Giovanni del Biondo (Antiphonary D, fols. 125v e 150; Antiphonary P, fols. 59v, 119r and 134r). Subsequently Offner (*Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 41 n. 16) assigned a miniature in Gradual P (fol. 97r) to the Rinuccini Master. Miklós Boskovits (in *Paragone*, XXIII, 1972, No. 265, 51 n. 4) excluded Giovanni del Biondo's participation in the decoration of the Franciscan choir-books and attributed their miniatures to three different hands. The miniature on fol. 1r of Gradual P, those on fols. 3r, 29r, and 102v in Antiphonary C and those on fols. 3r, 7r, 40r, 53v, 125v and 161r in Antiphonary D are attributed by Boskovits (in *Paragone*, XXIII, 1972, No. 265, 57 n. 42) to the hand that painted the miniatures of a Missal now in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 382) and a part of the miniatures that decorate the *Laudario della Compagnia di Sant'Egidio* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (Banco Rari 19, formerly II.I.212, fols. 11v, 12r, 12v, 14r, 15r, 15v, 16r, 36r, 48v, 49r, 51v, 56v, 57v, 61v, 64v, 67v, 70r). The Franciscan miniatures are claimed to be the most mature work of this artist (Boskovits, 1975, 233 n. 128). At the same time Boskovits (*ibid.*, 43) identified the Missal now in Oxford with that for which 'Ser Monte' received some payments from the abbess of the Florentine monastery of Santa Felicita in 1358 (Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 211-212). He therefore proposed that "Ser Monte" be recognized as the man responsible for the illuminated decoration. Subsequently, however, a re-interpretation of the documents published by Mirella Levi D'Ancona led Boskovits to doubt Ser Monte's actual involvement as miniaturist (his role being merely nominal, as coordinator of the project) (Boskovits, 1975, 233 n. 129). To a second artist, the Rinuccini Master, Boskovits then attributed, apart from the miniature already assigned to him by Offner, also those on fols. 59r, 119r and 134r of Antiphonary P and those on fols. 18r, 32r and 71r of Antiphonary C. In the same publication the same scholar identified the figurative style of Cenni di Francesco in the miniatures on fols. 77v, 144r and 150r of Antiphonary D.

[80] Antiphonary A consists of 221 parchment folios + 1 paper folio; numbered with Roman numbers in the upper centre of each folio; folio size 760 x 515 mm (fol. 7); fasciculation I-XIX^{8}, XX^{4},XXI-XXV^{8}, XXVI^{6}, XXVII-XXVIII^{8}, XXIX^{4} + 1 paper folio; written part 510 x 250 mm, stave height 54 mm. The liturgical content is as follows: Antiphonary from vespers of the first Saturday of Advent to the vigil of the Nativity of Our Lord (fols. 1-156r); Office of St. Joseph (text added at a later period to fols. 156v, 221v); Antiphonary proper of Saints Andrew (fols. 157r-179r), Lucy (fols. 179v-199r), Thomas Apostle (fols. 199v-200r); Antiphonary for the Birth of the Virgin (fols. 200r-221r; on fol. 216v initial "N" Nativitas of a later period, replacing the incipit to the antiphon for the feast of the Conception of Mary); Index compiled and added in 1802 (fol. 222r). The decoration also comprises, apart from the historiated initials commented on in the text, 127 decorated initials and numerous penwork initials.
Antiphonary B consists of 189 parchment folios, Roman numbering in the upper centre down to fol. 127; folio size 783 x 548 mm (fol. 11); fasciculation I-XVI^{8}; XVII^{17}; XVIII-XXII^{8}; XXIII^{10} + 1 page; written part 525 x 340 mm, stave height 52 mm. The liturgical content is as follows: Antiphonary from vespers of the vigil of the Nativity of Jesus to the octave after Epiphany (fols. 1r-168v); Proper of Saints (fols. 169r-189v). The decoration also comprises, apart from the historiated initials commented on in the text, 82 decorated initials and numerous penwork initials.
Antiphonary C consists of 136 parchment folios + 1 added paper folio; Roman numbering with dark ink in the upper centre; folio size 792 x 542 mm (fol. 4); fasciculation 1 + I-VIII^{8}; IX^{6}; X^{8}; XI^{6}; XII-XIV^{8}; XV$^{8-1}$; XVI^{8}; XVII^{4} + 4 parchment folios; written part 460 x 350 mm, stave height 52 mm (the folios have been cropped). The liturgical content is as follows: Antiphonary from the vigil of the Ascension to the octave after Corpus Domini (fols. 1r-132v); Magnificat (fols. 133r-136v). The decoration also comprises, apart from the historiated initials commented on in the text, 105 decorated initials and numerous penwork initials.
Antiphonary D consists of 199 parchment folios + 1 added paper folio; folio size 726 x 520 mm (fol. 7); fasciculation I-XV^{8}, XVI$^{12-1}$, XVII-XVIII^{8}, XIX$^{8-1}$; XX^{7}, XXI-XXII^{8}; XXIII^{4}; written part 545 x 340 mm, stave height 53 mm. The liturgical content is as follows: fols. 1-123v: Antiphonary from Easter Sunday to the 5th Sunday after Easter; fols. 124r-140r common antiphonary of the saints; fols. 140r-143r Antiphon of St. Mark Evangelist; fols. 143r-146v Antiphon of Saints James and Philip; fols. 147r-158v Office for the Invention of the Cross [fols. 149r-152v: the antiphon of vespers has been erased and replaced by "O magnum pietatis opus mors morta…; fol. 153 is missing, fol. 154r erased and not rewritten; fol. 154v resumes the original text]; fols. 158v-159r Antiphon for the feast of San Giovanni a Porta Latina; fols. 159r-181v Office for the feast of St. Michael Archangel; fols. 182r-199v Office for the Invention of the Cross (added at a later period); fol. 200r Index compiled in 1802. The decoration also comprises, apart from the historiated initials commented on in the text, also 108 decorated initials and numerous penwork initials.
Graduale P consists of 154 parchment folios + 1 added paper folio; folio size 716 x 525 mm (fol. 5); fasciculation I-XIX^{8}, XX^{2} + 1; written part 543 x 347 mm, stave height 53 mm. The liturgical content is as follows: fols. 1r-130r Gradual from Resurrection Sunday to the feast of Corpus Domini; fols. 130v-134r Proper of Saints Tiburtius and Valerius; fols. 134r-137r Proper of Saints James and Philip; fols. 137r-140v Invention of the Cross; fols. 140v-145r Invention of St. Michael Archangel; fols. 145r-150v Common of the Saints from Easter to Pentecost; fols. 150v-154v Birth of the Martyrs from Easter to Pentecost. The decoration also comprises, apart from the historiated initials commented in the text, 24 decorated initials and numerous penwork initials.

The decoration was begun by the illuminator active in the third quarter of the Trecento, known in the literature under the provisional name of "Ser Monte". He began the work with choir-books C, D and P. In Antiphonary D (from Easter to the first Sunday before Ascension) his figurative style is clearly recognizable in the miniatures on fols. 3v, 7r, 40r, 53v, 125v, 150r, 161r; in Antiphonary C (from Ascension to Corpus Domini), in those on fols. 3v and 29r; and in Gradual P (from Easter to Corpus Domini) only in fol. 3r, relating to Resurrection Sunday. Matteo di Pacino and Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni also participated, though in a lesser role, in the decoration of the choir-books. The figurative style of the former is recognizable in Antiphonary C, in the miniatures on fols. 18r, 32r and 71r, and in Gradual P, in those on fols. 59v, 97v, 119r, 124v and 134r,[81] while the intervention of Cenni di Francesco is limited to just a few miniatures in Antiphonary D (fols. 77v, 105v and 144r).[82] At this point in the enterprise, the work was interrupted, for reasons we do not know, and was later resumed by Don Simone Camaldolese who, after completing the decoration of choir-books D (fol. 174v) and P (fols. 137r, 141r, 145v, 150v), realized *in toto* that of the first two volumes of the series of antiphonaries relating to the period between Advent to the vigil of Easter (antiphonaries A and B).[83] A miniaturist of more mediocre level, in the mid-Quattrocento, then seems to have completed

[81] See above (n. 79). In contrast to what is suggested by Boskovits, the miniatures on fols. 97v and 124v should also, in my view, be attributed to Matteo di Pacino; this attribution was already made by Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 32, who rightly observes a more decided inclination to Orcagnesque models in the miniatures in Gradual P.

[82] See above (n. 79). To the miniatures ascribed to this artist, Miklós Boskovits in a later contribution to the question (1975, 220 n. 129) added also the one on fol. 105v with the Blessing God the Father and some kneeling devotees. In the miniature on fol. 150r, on the other hand, the attribution to Matteo is, in my view, more difficult to support. The minute execution of the faces corresponds in fact to the manner of "Ser Monte", while in the garments we find reflections of a more advanced late-gothic style that are consonant with the figurative language of Cenni di Francesco. So I would not exclude the hypothesis that Cenni completed a miniature drawn and in part executed by the elder master. For an updated discussion of Cenni di Francesco as a miniaturist see Parenti, in *Diz. Miniatori*, 2004, 150-151. Gaudenz Freuler (*Corpus*, IV/VII, part II), 1997, 298-300) thinks the intervention of Cenni di Francesco is datable to the first half of the 1380s.

[83] On the intervention of Don Simone see the observations of Ada Labriola, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXVII, 1999, 190-191, who dates the intervention of the Camaldolese illuminator between the penultimate and last decade of the Trecento, believing that Antiphonary A was executed close in time to the volume for San Pancrazio and that Antiphonary B was produced in the following decade. The report of a payment made in 1381 by Ser Taddeo to "Pagholo miniatore" for 71 miniatures (evidently penwork or decorated initials) in the *quaderni* of Santa Croce (Levi

the work with the decoration of just a few initials, only one of them historiated, in Antiphonary C (fol. 102v).[84]

Matteo di Pacino's involvement in the first phase of the project is of particular interest here. It has to be said that a detailed study of the relation between the artists involved in the project is lacking. Some observations based on an analysis of the figurative style of the miniatures and some considerations on the development of the project as a whole may, however, in this regard, provide us with some useful premises for a better understanding of this chapter in the history of Florentine miniature painting.

The decoration of the initials attributed to Matteo di Pacino presents close analogies both in palette, in the design and composition of the figures and ornaments with those of "Ser Monte" and their execution was evidently governed by the need to maintain the stylistic homogeneity of the whole decoration. In Antiphonary C the miniatures painted by "Ser Monte" for the antiphons for the feasts of the Ascension (fol. 3v) and Pentecost (fol. 29r) (fig. 9) alternate with two initials historiated by Matteo di Pacino with the same subject (fols. 18r, 32r) (pls. LXI[1-2]), though smaller in size. The structure and decoration of the initials are very similar: both artists colour the body of the letter with pale pink, round which broad blue, green and orange leaves are enveloped, with their veining marked by a similar hue but darker in tone, while the inner profile is marked by a thick yellow contour which helps to give added emphasis to the figures. On fol. 18r (pl. LXI[1]) the luminous flesh parts of the figures and the three-quarter profile of the faces, animated by big eyes and marked by a thick dark contour, are features that correspond to peculiar distinguishing features of the figurative language of Matteo di Pacino, as shown by comparison with the Angels in the hexagonal compartments in Berlin and New York (pls. LIX[3-4]). The study of the heads in a variety of profiles, or the use of red colour to make the preparatory drawing, allowing it to show through here and there in the pictorial treatment with short rapid brushstrokes, in order to lend added movement to the surface and suggest the natural softness of skin and hair, are features that Matteo di Pacino evidently shared with "Ser Monte", and that could derive from a prolonged activity in common.

Similar conclusions are reached by an examination of the miniatures in Gradual P. In this case "Ser Monte" completed only the first initial, corresponding to the Sunday of Resurrection (fol. 3r)

D'Ancona, 1962, 220) suggests however that the volumes were already in preparation at the start of the penultimate decade. "Pagholo" is identifiable with Paolo Soldini, who is recorded together with Don Simone Camaldolese as responsible for the decoration of choir-books, though in his case his responsibility was probably confined to the execution of penwork initials. An inscription present on one of the choir-books of San Pancrazio (Firenze, Biblioteca di San Marco, Antiphonary 39; Labriola, in *Diz. Miniatori*, 2003, 940) would also seem to refer to Paolo Soldini, together with Don Simone. The text of the inscription ("Dom Simon de Senis monachus ordinis camaldulensis … ad pennam miniavit eum Paulus Soldini") specifies that Soldini was responsible for the penwork initials, a task he might well have discharged also in the two volumes of the Franciscan series. On Paolo Soldini see Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 217-220 and *Eadem*, *Florence Exh. Cat.* 1995 (choir-books of Santa Maria degli Angeli), 128-130. For a presumed identification of Paolo Soldini with the illuminator of a group of historiated initials see Levi D'Ancona, *Florence Exh. Cat.* 1995, 130. She proposes an attribution to Soldini of some miniatures already classified among the works of the anonymous Master of the Rossiano Codex (now identified with Gregorio Muti da Montalcino; see. Freuler, in *Miniatura senese*, 2002, 336-338). Levi D'Ancona, however, in a previous publication (1994, 34), has expressed doubts about such an identification.

[84] Namely, the initial "I" of *Immolabit hedum multitude filiorum Israhel"* corresponding to the responsory of the 2nd nocturn of the feast of Corpus Domini, on which is superimposed the figure of the dead Christ with the signs of the wounded inflicted on him on the cross and with the wound in his side. The kind of ornamentation and that of the figure suggest that the initial was historiated by a mediocre Florentine artist of the mid Quattrocento. At a later period, the original decoration was further modified in the attempt to represent a cross behind the figure of Christ.
On Don Simone see also Labriola, in *Diz. Miniatori*, 2004, 940-942.

Fig. 9 "Ser Monte", Pentecost, Florence, Opera di Santa Croce, archive, Ant. C, fol. 29r.

Fig. 10 "Ser Monte", Resurrection, Florence, Opera di Santa Croce, archive, Grad. P, fol. 1r.

(fig. 10), while Matteo di Pacino continued the work with the miniatures on fols. 59v, 97v, 119r, 124v and 134r (pls. LXII[1-5]). Comparison between the *Pentecost* historiated by "Ser Monte" on fol. 29r of Antiphonary C (fig. 9) and the same subject painted by Matteo di Pacino on fol. 59v of Gradual P (pl. LXII[1]) confirms the hypothesis of their close collaboration. Not only do the decorative motifs and palette seem utterly homogeneous, but especially in both cases the composition of the scene follows a scheme unknown in the Florentine figurative tradition, but destined to enjoy considerable success. In pursuit of a more faithful figurative translation of the biblical text, Mary and the Apostles are shown in the house in Jerusalem, "in an upper room" (Acts 1:13); Peter, next to the Virgin but at a slightly higher level, is portrayed in the act of preaching, while the Holy Spirit descends over the Apostles in the form of tongues of fire that rest on their heads. The figurative narrative of "Ser Monte" ends here, whereas in the letter historiated by Matteo di Pacino it is extended to the representation of some figures on the outside of the building, alluding to the multitude who "came together and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language" (Acts 2: 6). This composition presents a scheme that is also found in the fresco of Pentecost painted by Andrea Bonaiuti on the ceiling of the Cappellone degli Spagnoli and in one of the compartments of the upper tier of the polyptych of Jacopo di Cione for the church of San Pier Maggiore. Since these are works securely dated to the years between the late seventh and early eighth decade of the century, it is no surprise that attempts have been made to shift the execution of the miniatures to a later date; however, some considerations, mainly linked to the analysis of figurative style, cast doubt on any such hypothesis. The rounded volumes, simplified contours, and soft consistency of the modelling obtained with miniscule brushstrokes of light and meticulously distributed colour, do not correspond to the figurative style

of Matteo di Pacino around 1370. At this time the painter was probably involved in completing Giovanni da Milano's frescoes in the Rinuccini chapel at Santa Croce and, as will be seen more clearly in the following pages, his style was strongly influenced by his growing attention to developments in the Orcagna shop. By contrast the miniatures of the Santa Croce choir-books reveal a close kinship with the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Garofalo collection, with the hexagons now divided between Altenburg, Berlin and formerly New York, and with the panel of *St. Michael Archangel between Saints Bartholomew and Julian* in the Galleria dell'Accademia. It follows that their dating should be placed in the mid 1360s.

A further clue apparently in support of a later date, towards the end of the seventh decade, was pointed out by Ada Labriola: namely, an annotation placed on the verso of the cover of an account book of Ser Taddeo, rector of the monastery of San Pier Maggiore.[85] The note, undated, concerns the sums that the friars of Santa Croce owed to Ser Taddeo for the painting of miniatures and specifies the sums corresponding to each type of historiated initial. Since the note is found at the start of the register that contains annotations relating to the years 1369-1389, Ada Labriola infers that the annotation was placed on the back of the cover at the time of the first of the entries in the account book and that it refers to the miniatures executed by "Ser Monte" and Matteo di Pacino. But some reflections relating to the content of the document advise caution. The type of miniatures described comprises five different categories: *maggiori grandi* (4 florins each), *minori grandi* (2 florins), *piccole con fighure* (2 lire each), *maggiori piccoli* (1 lira each), *minori piccoli* (10 soldi), which do not seem to find any correspondence in choir-books C, D and P (in which the historiated initials are only of two different sizes). On the other hand, they closely correspond with the characteristics of the richer illumination of choir-books A and B painted by Don Simone, probably during the 1380s.

It is not from these works, however, that Matteo di Pacino borrows ideas for his miniature, but an earlier model, which, as already pointed out by Eugenia Levi, might be identified with the fresco that, according to Lorenzo Ghiberti, was painted by Maso di Banco on the entrance wall of the church of Santo Spirito.[86] This circumstance is of no little account, since, if Levi's hypothesis is correct, it would discredit the dating of the choir-book to the early eighth decade: a dating in any case difficult to reconcile with the development of Matteo di Pacino's figurative style. The fact remains, however, that, at least on the basis of the data so far in our possession, the representation of Pentecost throughout the first half of the Trecento did not entail the distribution of the figures on two levels; in the case of more elaborate compositions –possible in the field of the illumination of choir-books, for example in Antiphonary VI of the *pieve* di Santa Maria dell'Impruneta (fol. 87r) – the narrative is developed in the *bas-de-page*, and space made available for the episode of St. Peter's Sermon.[87]

Matteo di Pacino enlivens the narrative of Pentecost with the addition of such components as the figures who congregate outside the building and who try to grasp what is taking place inside it, or the meticulous construction of the architecture in which the sacred event is set. These innovative features can also be ascertained in the miniature on fol. 124v, with the representation of the celebration of the Eucharist corresponding to the feast of Corpus Domini, where the scene takes place in a chapel minutely described and plausible in terms of its architecture and liturgical furnishing (pl. LXII[4]). At the same time, as already pointed out with regard to the miniatures painted

[85] ASF, San Pier Maggiore, 50 (annotation on the verso of the cover of the account book): "*Debo avere di mini di Sancta Croce: di maggiori grandi fiorini 4 l'uno, di minori grandi fiorini 2 l'uno, piccoli con figure lire 2 l'una, i maggiori piccoli lire 1 l'uno, i minori piccoli soldi 10 l'uno*" . The document is cited by Labriola, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 200.

[86] Also see the contribution of this scholar (Levi, in *Riv. Arte*, XXVI, 1950, 193-197) for some prescient observations about the compatibility between the project for the building and the architectural settings painted by Maso di Banco in the Bardi chapel in Santa Croce.

[87] Sframeli - Scudieri, in *Il Museo*, 1996, 150.

Fig. 11 Cenni di Francesco, The Apocalyptic Christ, Florence, Opera di Santa Croce, archive, Ant. D, fol. 77v.

by Matteo in Antiphonary C, from a stricly technical point of view, the execution of the figures shows close affinities with the manner of "Ser Monte", both in the peculiar way of placing the figures in space and in the red preparatory drawing which shows through here and there in the interstices between the brushstrokes. In the light of our findings so far the presence in some of the miniatures painted by Matteo (on fol. 71r of Antiphonary C and on fols. 59v, 97v, 119r, 124v and 134r of Gradual P) of a miniscule star-shaped punch used by "Ser Monte", to decorate the haloes and margins of the gold leaf may be considered a further confirmation of their collaboration in the realization of this enterprise.[88]

By contrast, the initials illuminated by Cenni di Francesco (Antiphonary D, fols. 77v, 105v, 144r) (fig. 11) are clearly distinguished from those executed by "Ser Monte" and Matteo di Pacino both in terms of the ornamentation of the letter and the borders of the page and in terms of their brighter and more brilliant palette. Nor does the technique of execution, characterized by dense fields of colour, with the draperies rendered with stiff folds expressed by brushstrokes in darker colour and highly accentuated facial features, resemble the vibrant pictorial technique of "Ser Monte", and therefore it is presumable that the latter played no part in the involvement of Cenni in the decoration of choir-books, which can probably be placed in a later phase.

The very close links between the miniatures of the main master ("Ser Monte") and those of Matteo di Pacino implies the existence between them of a relation of collaboration, in which the former evidently played the leading role, probably because he was older and an expert in this field. In any case a better understanding of the activity of "Ser Monte" and his role in the Florentine artistic scene in the third quarter of the Trecento becomes at this point a necessary premise for a reliable assessment of the initial activity of Matteo di Pacino.

[88] The close connection between the work of "Ser Monte" and that of Matteo di Pacino was pointed out by Ada Labriola, in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2008b, 73). In the miniatures executed by Cenni di Francesco the decoration of the gold leaf is realized with a punch with a foliated motif. Completely different, on the other hand, is the decorative system used by Don Simone Camaldolese in his miniatures in Corali A and B.

As we have seen, the conventional name designates the painter of the miniatures that decorate an illuminated Missal now in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Liturg. 382)[89] (fig. 12), identifiable with the person of that name to whom, according to the documents, the abbess of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Felicita in Florence, made various payments in 1358, including 17 lire and 9 soldi, paid for having begun the work.[90] These sums, which scholars initially referred

[89] See above n. 79 and Pächt - Alexander, 1970, 17. The Missal is a parchment codex of 280 folios + 1 free endpaper at beginning and end. Binding in red morocco and endpaper in marbled paper common to all the MSS from the collection of Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1806). On the purchase of the MSS in this collection by the Bodleian Library see Mitchell, in *Bodl. Libr. Rec.*, VIII, 1969, No. 3, 125-135.
The codex measures 357 x 263 x 85 mm; (fol. 1) 350 x 256 mm. Fasciculation: 1 paper folio + I^8, II-XVIII^{10}, XIX^6, XX-XXVIII^{10}, XXIX^6 + 1 paper folio. The liturgical content of the text, laid out in double columns, is as follows: (fols. 1r-6r) Calendar; (fols. 7r-8v) Kyrie and Gloria; (fols. 9r- 184v) Roman Missal from the first Sunday of Advent to the feast of Santa Maria Maggiore; (fols. 185r-234r) Proper of Saints; (fols. 234r- 256r) Common of Saints; (fols. 256r-266v) Mass in *dedicationis ecclesiae* and other particular occasions; (fols. 266v- 279r) Votive Masses; (fols. 279r- 280r) Blessing of water; (fol. 280r) Blessing of bread; (fols. 280r-280v) Blessing of the paschal lamb; (fol. 280v) Blessing of pilgrims; (fol. 280v) Blessing of the tonsure. The MS contains the following miniatures: fol. 9r: "A"d te levavi animam meam (*David offering his own soul to the Redeemer*); Introit to the first Sunday of Advent. (45 x 45 mm); "E"xcita q(uo)s Domine potentiam tuam et inveni ut... (*blessing Redeemer*), Oratio for the First Sunday of Advent. (50 x 45 mm)
fol. 17v: "C"oncede quos op(eri)s deus ut nos unigeniti tui nova per carnem nativitatis liberet... (*blessing Christ Child in swaddling clothes*); (45 x 50 mm). In the *bas-de-page Annunciation to the Shepherds* and *Nativity*, (185 x 235 mm). Oratio for the Major Mass ad Sanctam Mariam Maiorem.
fol. 18v: "D"a nobis quaesumus Domine imitari (*St. Stephen*, half figure); Oratio for the mass in honour of St. Stephen. (151 x 165 mm)
fol. 19v: "E"cclesiam tuam Domine benignus illustra… (*St. John the Evangelist*); Oratio for the mass in honour of St. John the Evangelist. (137 x 145 mm)
fol. 20r: "D"eus qui hodierna die preco nui innocentes martires… (*Innocent Martyrs*); Oratio for the mass in honour of the Innocent Martyrs. (178 x 60 mm)
fol. 23r: "D"eus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti … (*Madonna and Child*); Oratio for the mass of Epiphany, 317 x 204 mm. In the *bas-de-page Adoration of the Magi and Baptism of Christ*. (123 x 204 mm)
fol. 132v: *Crucifixion*, in the medallions *Blessing Christ, Vir dolorum and four Prophets*; above is the following inscription: "Christus fact(us) est pro n(obi)s obediens usq(ue) ad mortem"; 296 x 250 mm (the panel with the Crucifixion measures 196 x 184 mm). Introduction to the Canon of the Mass
fol. 137r: "D"eus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum eternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte referasti (*Christ Rising from his Tomb, with two sleeping soldiers before it*), 52 x 55 mm. In the *bas-de-page* Maries at the Tomb, 235 x 90 mm
fol. 148r: "C"oncede quos opus deus ut qui hodierna in die unigenitus tuum. (Ascension), Oratio for the feast of the Ascensione. (55 x 62 mm). In the *bas-de-page* Mary with the Apostles and two angels. (232 x 85 mm)
fol. 154r: "D"eus qui hodierna die corda fidelium (*Descent of the Holy Spirit*), 50 x 60 mm. Oratio for the feast of Pentecost.
fol. 162r: "D"eus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili passionis tue memoria reliquisti… (*Priest raising the Host*), 300 x 235 mm; letter 50 x 55 mm. Oratio for the feast of Corpus Domini.
fol. 185r: "D"ominus secus mare galilee... Initial decorated with plant motifs, 138 x 105 mm; Proprium Sanctorum (37 x 42 mm).
fol. 185v: "M"aiestatem tuam Domine suppliciter exoramus... (*St. Andrew*, half figure). Oratio for the feast of St. Andrew. (165 x 185 mm; letter 37 x 42 mm)
fol. 192r: "O"mnipotens sempiterne Deus maiestatem tuam supplice exoramus (*Presentation of Jesus to the Temple*), 270 x 85 mm; letter 42 x 48 mm. Oratio of the mass for the feast of the Purification of the Virgin.
fol. 195v: "D"eus qui de beate marie virginis utero uberum tuum angelo nuntiante (*Annunciation*). (230 x 250 mm) Oratio for the feast of the Annunciation to the Virgin.
fol. 197v: "Deus qui nos anima apostolorum tuorum phylippi et iacobi solmnitate letificas (*Saints James and Philip*), 135 x 120 mm; letter 100 x 60 mm. Oratio for the feast of Saints James and Philip.
fol. 198r: "D"eus qui in preclara salutifere crucis inventione passionis tue miracula suscitasti (*Cross and symbols of the Passion*), 190 x 47 mm. Oratio for the feast of the Invention of the Cross.
fol. 203v: "D"eus qui presentem diem honorabilem nobis in beati Iohannis nativitate fecisti (*St. John the Baptist*), 190 x 140 mm. Oratio for the feast of the Birth of St. John the Baptist.
fol. 206r: "D"eus qui hodierna die apostolorum tuorum petri et pauli martiri consecrasti. (*Saints Peter and Paul*), 225 x 201 mm Oratio for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul.
fol. 210r: "B"eate Marie Magdalene q(uaesumu)s Domine suffragiis adiuvemur… (*St. Mary Magdalene*), 191 x 100 mm. Oratio for the feast of St. Mary Magdalene.
fol. 211r: "E"sto Domini plebi tue sanctificator et custos... (*St. James Apostle*), 210 x 51 mm. Oratio for the feast of St. James.
fol. 213r: "D"eus qui nondum pro humano genere passus viduitate beate Felicitatis… (*St. Felicity*), 50 x 59 mm. Oratio for the feast of Santa Felicity. In the *bas-de-page* the *Martyrdom of her seven children* (320 x 72 mm).
fol. 217v: "F"amulorum tuorum quesumus Domine delictis ignosce (*Funeral and Assumption of the Virgin*), 245 x 240 mm. Oratio for the feast of the Assumption.
fol. 219v: "O"mnipotens sempiterne Deus qui huius diei venerandam sanctamque letitiam... (*St. Bartholomew Apostle*), 147 x 175 mm. Oratio for the feast of St. Batholomew Apostle.
fol. 222r: "F"amulis tuis, quesimus Domine, celestis gratie munus impartire (the *Virgin between Saint Anne and Joachim*), 43 x 45 mm. Oratio for the feast of the Birth of Mary. In the *bas-de-page* Birth of the Virgin, 215 x 110 mm.
fol. 225r: "B"eati evangeliste tui Mathei (*St. Matthew Evangelist*), 43 x 43 mm. Oratio for the feast of St. Matthew.
fol. 227v: "D"eus qui nos voluisti exemplis patriacharum tuorum … (*Patriarch*), 37 x 40 mm. Oratio for the feast of the Patriarch Saints
fol. 229r: "D"eus qui undecimilia virginum … (*St. Ursula and her Companions*), 178 x 126 mm.
fol. 230r: "D"eus qui nos presbiteros apostolos tuos Symone et Iudas ad agnitionem tuam… (*Saints Simon and Jude*), 177 x 55 mm. Oratio for the feast of Saints Simon and Jude.
fol. 231r: "O"mnipotens sempiterne Deus qui nos omniu, sanctorum tuorum (*Virgin and Saints*), 205 x 150 mm. Oratio for the feast of All Saints.

to the illuminated decoration, were later and more appropriately associated with the writing of the manuscript, completed by Ser Giovanni, rector of the church of San Simone,[91] even if another document in which the abbess declared she had commissioned from the same Ser Monte "uno prurimoro" at a total cost of 24 lire inclusive of paper, calligraphy, miniatures and other outlays ("*tra di charte e di scrittura miniatura e nelaltre spese in tutto*"), would seem to imply that Ser Monte, apart from personally handling the calligraphy of the MS, also had a role as general coordinator of the enterprise, and may even have executed some non-historiated initials.[92] Though it does not furnish precise indications on the civil identity of the painter of the miniatures in the Bodleian Missal, the document published by Mirella Levi D'Ancona permits us to date their execution with some precision to 1358 or immediately after. It thus provides us with a fundamental point of reference for the chronology of this artist.

The brief catalogue of "Ser Monte" comprises, apart from the historiated initials of the choirbooks for the Franciscans and the missal for Santa Felicita, also a large part of the miniatures that

[90] The documents published by Mirella Levi D'Ancona (1962, 211-212) cite the payments made by Costanza, abbess of Santa Felicita, to Ser Monte, in 1350 for a "prurimoro" (term derived from the abbreviation of the Latin "plurimorum sanctorum") and in 1358 for a Missal, completed by Ser Giovanni, rector of San Simone. A notary by the name of Monte was in fact documented in the Santa Felicita quarter between 1369 (ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, 1369, January 1, modern style) and 1395 (ASF, Diplomatico, 1395, November 10). It cannot be excluded however that these dates refer to the person mentioned in the documents of Santa Felicita, even if we don't know for how long the notary Ser Monte acted in the role of a notary in the office of his father, he too a notary, Ser Bartolo, who was active between 1311 (ASF, Diplomatico, 1311, August 11) and 1363 (ASF, Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, 1363, June 4).

[91] Boskovits, 1975, 233 n. 129. Doubts about the identification of Ser Monte with the miniaturist of the Missal were also expressed by Labriola, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*b*, 69.

[92] Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 212.

Fig. 12 "Ser Monte", Crucifixion, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Can. Litur. 382, fol. 132v.

Fig. 13 "Ser Monte", Adorazion of the Magi and Baptism of Christ, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Can. Litur. 382, fol. 23v.

decorate a *Laudario* that belonged to the Compagnia di Sant'Egidio (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 19) (fig. 14). The codex, important also for the history of Italian vernacular language and literature,[93] probably preserves the earliest testimony so far identified of the activity of "Ser Monte" as miniaturist. But in this case his intervention was complemented by that of an artist of a previous generation, namely the Master of the Dominican Effigies.[94]

[93] See *Il Laudario,* 1990; *Manoscritti letteratura*, 2002, 110-111. On this confraternity see Henderson, 1998, 99-105; on the role of lay confraternities in Florence see Weissman, 1982, 43-105.

[94] The Master's intervention, alongside that (presumed) of Jacopo del Casentino and others, was noted by Eugenia Levi (in *La Bibliofilia*, XLVIII, 1946, 9). Later the role of the Master of the Dominican Effigies was described in further detail by Richard Offner (Corpus, III/VII, 1957, 66-67, pls. XXII[a-h]; *Idem*, Corpus, III/II, 2nd ed., 1987, 326-333, pls. CXXXVIII-CXLII) who excluded the intervention of Jacopo del Casentino. Offner attributed to the Dominican Effigies Master twelve miniatures on fols. 1or, 2or, 26r, 37r, 39v, 4or, 44r, 5ov, 51v, 52r, 55r, 55v and divided the rest into two groups which he attributed to two other late Trecento artists. To the first should be attributed the miniatures on fols. 11v, 44v, 47v, 57v; to the second, those on fols. 12r, 12v, 14r, 15r, 15v, 16r, 32r, 45r, 5or, 52v, 53v, 59v, 66r. Lastly, Offner attributed to a follower of Taddeo Gaddi the *Last Judgement* on fol. 63v, while he thought the figure of St. Donatus on fol. 47r was impossible to assess because so heavily retouched. Subsequently Miklós Boskovits (in *Paragone*, XXIII, 1972, No. 265, 56 n. 42) argued the presence of a single artist "più giovane e indubbiamente meno dotato" alongside the Master of the Dominican Effigies; to this artist, according to Boskovits, should be attributed all the miniatures not ascribable to the Dominican Effigies Master himself, more precisely those on fols. 11v, 12r, 12v, 14r, 15r, 15v, 16r, 36r, 48v, 49r, 51v, 56v, 57v, 61v, 64v, 67v and 70[r]. The enumeration of the folios does not quite coincide with those cited by Offner, perhaps due to some error of transcription. With regard to the Master of the Effigies, Boskovits (*Corpus*, III/IX, 1984, 54) noted that the existence of a cut-out miniature with the *Funeral of St. Zenobius* which might come from a *Laudario* would seem to corroborate the identification of the Master of the Dominican Effigies with Ristoro d'Andrea as proposed by Mirella Levi D'Ancona (Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 232-233).

The decoration of the codex has on the whole a homogeneous character, even if the earlier intervention is clearly distinguishable. In the initials of the Master of the Dominican Effigies the design is minute, but at times the contours assume a more sinuous, or at times jagged, line, while the colour is laid with liquid and imperceptible brushstrokes. The figures are modelled with minute highlights, delicately shaded on the olive skins, while the oblong fleshless faces are characterized with striking vivacity. As usual in the works of this artist, where the representation permits it, an effort is made to create an ample and complex space round the figures, while the contour of the initials is emphasized by a moulded profile which accentuates its three-dimensional consistency. In contrast to the miniatures attributable to "Ser Monte", the decoration of the profile of the initial is much simplified, losing any suggestion of three-dimensionality; the figures, for their part, in general frontally posed, have broad contours and rounded volumes, defined by a thick and rather simplified contour line.[95] The work of the two miniaturists reveals personalities who were different in training and in temperament, and yet who evidently tried to render the final result as uniform as possible. "Ser Monte" in fact seems to have had in mind especially Giottesque models, whether of Bernardo Daddi or Taddeo Gaddi, between the second half of the 1330s and the beginning of the following decade. The figurative language of these masters is reflected in the ample and rounded volumes of the figures of Saint Stephen and Lucy on fols. 44v (fig. 14) and 59v, while the gothicizing elegance of the style of the Master of the Dominican Effigies remains essentially alien to him.

Fig. 14 "Ser Monte", *Laudario*, Initial "S" (Saint Stephen), Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, BR.II.212, fol. 44v.

This preference of "Ser Monte" for voluminous and unadorned forms tends to become accentuated in later works. In the full-page *Crucifixion* (fol. 132v) (fig. 12) in the Missal now in Oxford which, as usual, introduces the canon of the Mass, the general organization of the representation, based on a rectangle surrounded by a rich foliated frieze interrupted by medallions with busts, follows a model tried and tested in the workshops of Pacino di Bonaguida and the Master of the Dominican Effigies ever since the time of the *Laudario di Sant'Agnese*. In the execution of the figures, on the other hand, in spite of the explicitly Giottesque forms of the body of Christ, what is striking are the exaggeratedly elongated proportions of the Virgin Mary and St. John at the side of the Cross and the slight *hanchement* of St. John, signs of a shift towards ideals of naturalism and elegance which place the artist on a level essentially equivalent to that of Pietro Nelli and some artists in the milieu of the Orcagna bottega. In the intense pathos of the grief-stricken faces and in the attention to details of exquisite

[95] The present writer shares the view that "Ser Monte", working alongside the Master of the Dominican Effigies was responsible for the execution of the miniatures on folios 11v, 12r, 12v, 14r, 15r, 16r, fol. 44v, fol. 45r, 47r, 47v, 5or, 52v, 53v, 57v, 59v, 63v, 66r.

naturalism, such as the soft blond tresses with which Mary Magdalene covers the feet of the Crucified Lord, perhaps, indeed, it is even possible to grasp some reflections of the innovative vision of Giovanni da Milano and Giottino, in the 1360s.[96]

In the decoration of other pages of the Oxford codex "Ser Monte" also proposes compositions and motifs that demonstrate the originality of his style. In illustrating the most solemn festivals in the church calendar the representation expands beyond the circumscribed space of the initial itself and is developed in the *bas-de-page*, where the theme introduced within the initial by the main protagonist of the sacred event is freely developed in the form of lively narrative scenes, as in the pages with the *Birth of the Virgin* (fol. 222r), the *Adoration of the Magi and the Baptism of Christ* (fol. 23r) (fig. 13), the *Resurrection and the three Maries at the Tomb* (fol. 137r), the *Ascension* (fol. 148r), the *Nativity* (fol. 222r), the *Death and Assumption of the Virgin* (fol. 217v), *St. Felicity and the Martyrdom of her seven children* (fol. 213r).[97] In these little narrative scenes we can appreciate the use of a sophisticated palette, based on the combination of such colours as vermilion pink, apple green, blue and golden yellow, as well as the curious and elegant compositions, with figures that interact with great naturalism according to the needs of the narrative. Particularly happy is the solution adopted in fol. 23r (fig. 13) with the episode of the Adoration of the Magi and the Baptism of Christ combined in a single composition, while in the *bas-de-page* the eldest of the three Magi lifts his gaze to the Madonna and Child portrayed in the aperture of the letter "D" (Deus). The three Kings are sumptuously dressed. Two of them are wearing elegant fur-lined surcoats, one of them with long loose sleeves (*manicottoli*), alluding to one of the more striking aspects of Florentine fashion between the sixth and seventh decade of the Trecento.[98]

The decoration of the Franciscan choir-books, successive to that of the Missal of Santa Felicita and hence datable to the seventh decade of the century, can be placed in an advanced phase of the activity of "Ser Monte", and testifies to the considerable prestige acquired by the artist.

The miniatures he painted to accompany the feast of the Resurrection in Antiphonary D (fol. 3v) and in Gradual P (fol. 3r), of the Ascension and Pentecost in Antiphonary C (fols. 3v, 29r) comprise, apart from a large historiated initial, a rich foliated decoration that is developed along all the margins of the page, emphasizing the importance of the corresponding liturgical feast. Within the individual initials the episodes are narrated according to schemes that reveal a pursuit of effects of monumentality and the desire to extend the space of action in depth, also by means of the representation of foreshortened objects or architectural features. The execution is distinguished by the peculiar definition of the contours with short rapid strokes of red colour, which thicken round the apertures of the initials or between the folds of the draperies. In a similar way, the application of the colour is characterized by minute brushstrokes that emphasize the roundness of the forms, and by a dense hatching of lighter and darker tones that confers a soft and natural texture on the surfaces. The figures are arranged round the central axis of the scenes. They are enveloped in ample garments that enhance their powerful bodies, though these are always enlivened by fleeting movements that confer vivacity and spontaneity on their actions.

In the robust, volumetrically accentuated form of these figures, for example the Holy Women and the Angel seated on the empty Tomb of Christ in the initials of the Resurrection (fig. 10), it is not difficult to grasp a direct reference to Gaddesque types and Andrew Ladis even proposed the attribution of these miniatures to Taddeo Gaddi himself.[99] An overall analysis of the activity of this artist as a painter of miniatures undoubtedly leads us to exclude such a hypothesis, even if the Gaddesque character of some motifs presented by "Ser Monte" cannot be underestimated. His aspiration to effects of grandeur and the spaciousness of some of his compositions, apart from prompting the suspicion of his possible involvement in the field of the monumental arts, in any case would seem to identify in the shop of Taddeo Gaddi, and in the retinue of young artists who gravitated around it, the most useful terms of reference to describe the milieu in which his figurative style reached its full maturity. In this regard, it is significant that the figurative repertoire of one of the artists whose training is most frequently ascribed to Gaddi's atelier, namely Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, is far from being incompatible with the cultural references of Ser Monte. The latter in fact, in the clear-cut definition of the volumes that characterise the figures of the Angel and the Holy Women in the miniature on fol. 3v of Antiphonary D, seems to pursue effects not dissimilar from those of his better known contemporary, who was engaged ever since his earliest works in interpreting with geometric rigour the emphasis given by Taddeo Gaddi, probably his master, to the three-dimensional modelling of the figures. Other features peculiar to the style of "Ser Monte", on the other hand, such as the vibrant contours that define the forms and the minuteness of some naturalistic observations, for which it is not easy to find affinities in the solemn language of Gaddi or in the interpretation given to it by Niccolò Gerini, find parallels instead – at least in the view of the present writer – in the works realized in much the same years by Pietro Nelli, who was perhaps a *compagno* (partner) of Niccolò Gerini, and who also seems to have been trained in a milieu close to that of Gaddi.[100] Some figures painted by "Ser Monte", for example the Redeemer on fol. 125v of Antiphonary D (fig. 15), or the figures of Apostles in the scene of Pentecost of fol. 29r of Antiphonary C, show in fact significant analogies with the Apostles painted by Nelli to the sides of the monumental polyptych in the *pieve* of Santa Maria at Impruneta (fig. 16), for instance in the minute description of the facial types or the complexions of the skin. In the compartments with the *Stories of the life of the Virgin* in the upper tier of the polyptych, e.g. the *Nativity*, we can recognize the same kind of good-natured and affable tone that characterises the gospel scenes painted by "Ser Monte", enriched with naturalistic details and observations.

Despite these affinities, however, the careers of "Ser Monte" and Pietro Nelli clearly followed different paths. Their personalities are clearly distinct, and this fact serves especially to define the milieu in which the activity of the still anonymous miniaturist should be placed. On the basis of the study of the works that can so far be attributed to him (the *Laudario*, the Santa Felicita Missal and the Santa Croce choir-books), he would seem to have been already active in the 1340s, in a milieu dominated by the influence of the mature activity of Bernardo Daddi. Subsequently, Ser Monte was led to explore the three-dimensional potential of miniature painting and to a more solidly volumetric style. This implies his growing susceptibility to the late activity of Taddeo Gaddi and the influence that master exerted on other artists in or around his atelier.

To complete this brief excursus on the activity of "Ser Monte", we should also take into consideration four cut-out miniatures, whose provenance is unknown and which are now in the Museo Amedeo Lia at La Spezia. The four historiated initials in question were cut out of one or more volumes of a gradual. They represent *Christ in Glory,* the *Presentation to the Temple*, the *Ascension and St. Andrew* (La Spezia, Museo Amedeo Lia, Inv. Nos. 515-518) (figs. 17, 18, 19, 21).[101] The figurative style of these cuttings has been carefully analyzed by Enrica Neri Lusanna. While identifying in them references to the innovative spatial experiments of Taddeo Gaddi, combined with familiarity with the

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[96] On Giottino and the activity of Giovanni da Milano in the sixth decade of the Trecento see Bellosi, in *Prospettiva*, 2001, No. 101, 19-40; *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*b*, 30, 166-167 and 170-173 and *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*a*, 182-189, 198-213.

[97] The presence of this subject would seem to indicate with some certainty the provenance of the MS from the Florentine monastery of Santa Felicita. Here in fact the feast in honour of the Saint was not celebrated on the day prescribed by the Roman calendar (23 November, *Translation of Saint Felicity*) but on 10 July, the feast of the Sette Fratelli Martiri, the seven martyr brothers that legend identified as the Saint's children. In the calendar of the Bodleian Missal the Saint's feast is associated with that of the Seven Brothers on 10 July, while the indication of that of the Translation of Saint Felicity was added by a later hand. The feast of the Seven Brothers is celebrated with particular solemnity in another Missal also illuminated for the same monastery of Santa Felicita in the late XIII century (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conventi Soppressi 233; see *Rome Exh. Cat.* 1954, 198, No. 297).

[98] See in this volume 00.

[99] Ladis, 1982, 62-64.

[100] On Pietro Nelli see Bellosi, in *Mitteilungen K.H.I.*, XVII, 1973, 179-194 and Boskovits, 1975, 417-420. A recent reconstruction of his career, with previous bibliography, can be found in Chiodo, *Prato Exh. Cat.* 2010, 7-15.

[101] Inv. No. 515: "V"iri Galilei (*Ascension*); Introit to the Mass of the Ascension.

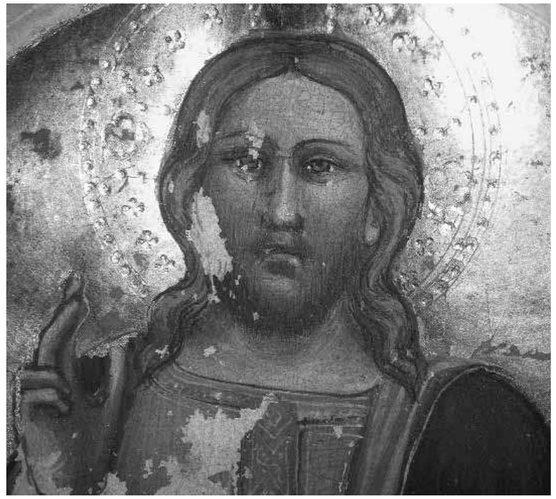

Fig. 15 "Ser Monte", Redemer, Florence, Opera di Santa Croce, archive, Ant. D, fol. 125v.

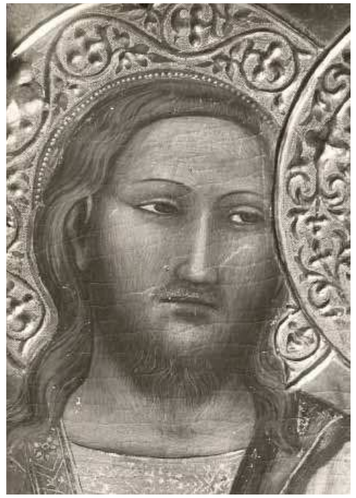

Fig. 16 Niccolò Gerini and Pietro Nelli, Madonna and Child enthroned with the Apostols, Impruneta, pieve di Santa Maria (part.).

manner of miniature-painting workshops in Florence in the mid Trecento, she cautiously classified the miniatures now in La Spezia as the work of a "Miniatore prossimo a Don Simone Camaldolese", but also proposed an affinity with the activity of "Ser Monte", in a late phase of his career "between the seventh and eighth decade", in which the artist is said to have been influenced by the more modern style of Don Simone Camaldolese and Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, both in his preference for light and delicate colours and in his lavish foliated ornament.[102]

This interpretation highlights the ambiguous character of the decoration of the Lia cuttings, in some respects still linked to the tradition of Florentine miniature painting in the third quarter of the century, while at the same time susceptible to the more modern language of the Camaldolese miniaturists Don Simone and Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci. Compared with the miniatures of the Franciscan choir-books, more archaic in figurative culture, the figurative style of the miniatures in the Museo Lia is less elegant, though compromised in this respect by colour loss and overpainting. Yet in the composition of the scene of the Ascension (fig. 17), the artist shows that he must have had in mind the decoration of the initial with the same subject executed by "Ser Monte" in Antiphonary C of Santa Croce (fol. 3v; fig. 18). The best preserved of the four miniatures in La Spezia is that of St. Andrew (fig. 19), of which a more detailed analysis can be attempted. The Apostle has an imposing presence, emphasized by the massive forms and simplified contour line. The modelling is volumetri-

Inv. No. 516: "A"d te levavi animam meam. Introit to the 1st Sunday of Advent.
Inv. No. 517: "S"uscepimus Deus misericordiam tuam (*Presentation to the Temple*). Introit to the mass for the feast of the Purification of the Virgin.
Inv. No. 518: "D"ominus secus mare Galileae (*St. Andrew Apostle*). Introit to the Mass of St. Andrew.

[102] Neri Lusanna, in *La Spezia Mus. Cat.*, 1996, 239-244.

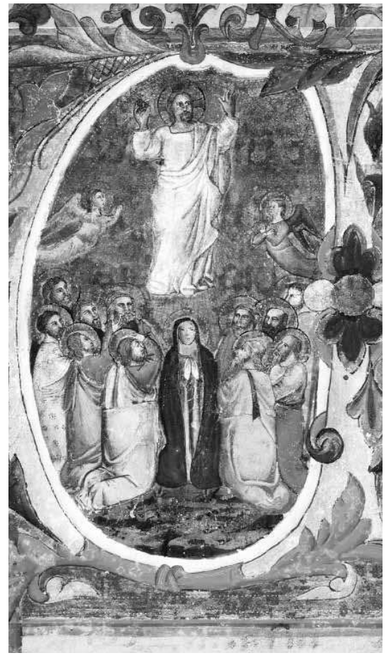

Fig. 17 "Ser Monte", Ascension, La Spezia, Museo Civico "Amedeo Lia" (Inv. No. 515).

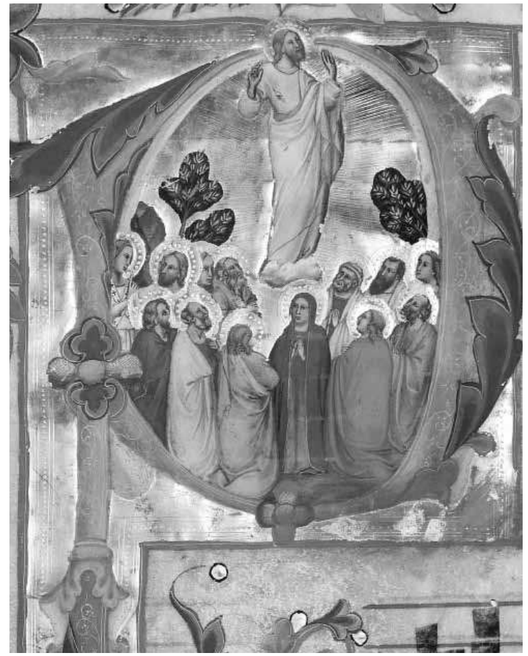

Fig. 18 "Ser Monte", Ascension, Florence, Opera di Santa Croce, archive, Ant. C, fol. 3v.

cally enriched with shadows rendered with tiny brushstrokes that thicken round the eyes and on the cheeks, in a manner not dissimilar to the kind of chiaroscuro proposed by "Ser Monte" in the Santa Croce miniatures. The oval face also seems to be indebted to the physiognomic types associated with this latter. Framed by thick hair, the face is characterized by broad cheek-bones, inspired by the same Gaddesque type repeatedly recalled in the miniatures of the Franciscan choir-books (cf. for example the Redeemer represented on fol. 53v of Antiphonary D; fig. 20), but also repeatedly drawn on by other artists of the circle of Gaddi, such as Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. In the other two folios respectively representing the *Redeemer in Glory, Saints and a donor* (fig. 21) and the *Presentation to the Temple*, the links with the Franciscan miniatures of "Ser Monte" can also be grasped in the massive volumes of the figures and in the tendency to simplify the contours.

The mediocre condition of the cuttings in the Museo Lia however precludes us from proposing their addition to the corpus of "Ser Monte" unless as a mere working hypothesis, in the hope that the discovery of other – better preserved – fragments would permit a better evaluation of the figurative language of the hand that painted them. On the other hand the stylistic evidence briefly suggested above converge with the results of some observations relating to iconography and the hypothesis of a possible provenance that derives from it. The provenance is unknown, and to this end the presence of a monk, perhaps the patron of the work, kneeling in devotion in the initial "A" of the introit to the 1st Sunday of Advent does not seem to be of much help, since the light pink colour of his habit does not enable us to identify the religious order to which he might have belonged. On the other hand, given that the devotee is presented to the Redeeemer (portrayed in the upper part of the initial) by St. Peter and that the Apostle on the

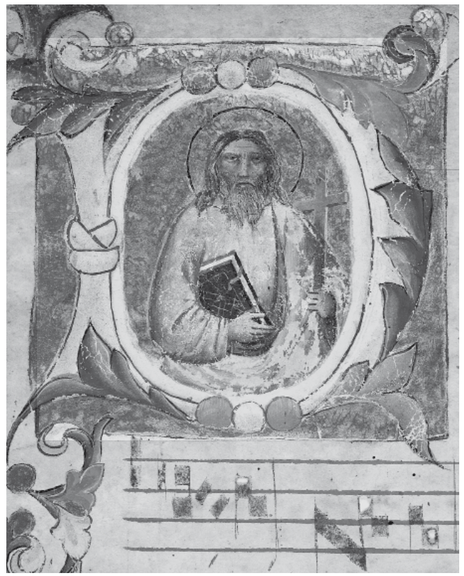

Fig. 19 "Ser Monte", St. Andrew, La Spezia, Museo Civico "Amedeo Lia" (Inv. No. 518).

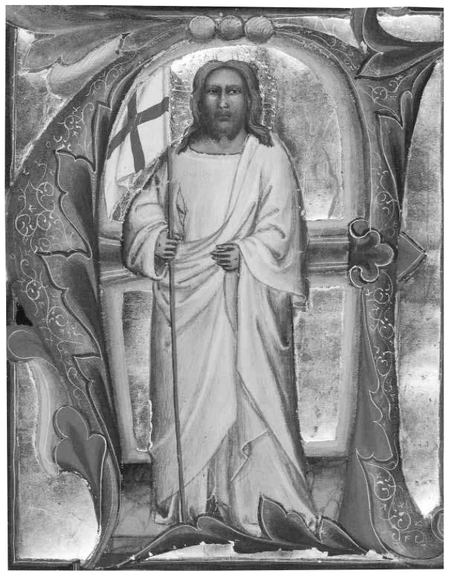

Fig. 20 "Ser Monte", Redemer, Florence, opera di Santa Croce, archive, Ant. D, fol. 53v.

other side can be identified as St. Thaddeus Apostle,[103] I wonder whether it might not be possible to infer a link between these miniatures and some documents published by Mirella Levi D'Ancona relating to an "*antifonario della Messa*" (i.e. a Gradual), part of a series produced for the Benedictine monastery of San Pier Maggiore by the rector Ser Taddeo, who was also responsible for the calligraphy.[104] According to the documents, the codices were illuminated between 1373 and 1378 by various artists: Maso (probably Tommaso del Mazza), Cenni di Francesco and Tuccio Vanni.[105] To the latter Ser Taddeo paid a gold florin on 13 March 1377 (1378 modern style) "*per lo minio di Natale e per quello di Resorresso, per lo minio dell'Ascensione penne Corpo di Cristo San Niccolò, Sant'Andrea*",[106] while other payments for "*l'antifonario secondo della Messa*" were made to him on 18 September of the same year.

The cuttings in the Museo Lia have no visible affinities with the style either of Cenni di Francesco or Tommaso del Mazza. On the other hand, it cannot escape us that the subject of two of the miniatures (Ascension and St. Andrew) (figs. 17, 19) coincides with two of the miniatures for which Tuccio Vanni was paid. Moreover, the text that accompanied them, reconstructed by the present writer on the basis of the still visible fragments, corresponds to a gradual (like the MS decorated by Tuccio).[107] The date 1378 specified in the documents, furthermore, is consistent with what we may assume was the approxi-

[103] The Apostle is holding an epistle, his specific attribute; cf. Kaftal, 1952, 965-968.

[104] The documents always mention Ser Taddeo di Andrea as a priest and chaplain of San Pier Maggiore, without any indications of his possible membership of the Benedictine order.

[105] Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 77, 182, 253-254.

[106] Levi D'Ancona, 1962, 253.

[107] See above n. 101.

mate date of the Lia miniature. An analysis of the style of these latter suggests that they were executed in a phase of Florentine miniature painting that was still profoundly linked to the example of "Ser Monte" but that is beginning to absorb elements of the richer and more sumptuous style of Sienese miniatures, as transmitted through the Florentine activity first of Lippo Vanni, then of Don Simone and Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci.

If this hypothesis is true, roughly a decade would have separated the miniatures of the Museo Lia from those ordered by Ser Taddeo for the Santa Croce choir-books,[108] but it is not improbable that the artistic preferences of the rector of the Benedictine monastery should have determined the choice of the team previously paid, by now deprived of the presence of Matteo di Pacino, who had died some years previously, but enriched by that of artists of a younger generation, such as Cenni di Francesco, who had in fact participated in the decoration of the Santa Croce choir-books, and Tommaso del Mazza.

Of the group involved by Ser Taddeo in the decoration of the choir-books for San Pier Maggiore, on the other hand, Tuccio Vanni, to whom was entrusted the execution of the main miniatures in the gradual, must have been the oldest, given that his enrolment in the Arte dei Medici e degli Speziali goes back to 1343.[109] This circumstance, to which can be added the other reports relating to the works executed for San Pier Maggiore in the same years in which Matteo di Pacino also received commissions from Ser Taddeo, helps to define a biographical profile compatible with the activity of "Ser Monte" both in terms of its time span and in terms of his collaboration first with Matteo di Pacino and then with Cenni di Francesco. All the evidence assembled above, whether derived from stylistic analysis or from the interpretation of the documents, would therefore seem to concur in supporting the hypothesis that the miniatures in the Museo Lia are to be identified with those executed by Tuccio Vanni in the gradual for the monastery of San Pier Maggiore, representing at the same time a late work of the activity of the miniaturist know with the provisional name of "Ser Monte".

If further research were to remove the doubts arising from the mediocre condition of the Lia miniatures, and confirm the reconstruction proposed here merely as a working hypothesis, it would then be possible to identify as Tuccio Vanni the artist together with whom Matteo di Pacino began the decoration of the new series of choir-books for the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in the mid-1360s.

Fig. 21 "Ser Monte", Redemer and the donor with San Peter and another Apostole, La Spezia, Museo Civico "Amedeo Lia" (Inv. No. 516).

[108] Ser Taddeo's responsibility for the decoration of the Santa Croce choir-books is documented by the manuscript annotation found by Ada Labriola (in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008b, 200). See supra n. 85.

[109] See above n. 52.

These contacts may explain, at least in part, the reasons for the growing interest in the painting of Andrea Orcagna and his brothers that can be felt in the works of Matteo di Pacino in the years 1360-1365. A consequence of this influence are paintings characterized by figures massive in build but fluent in movement; paintings in which the marked contours confer on the compositions an almost poster-like clarity, while the palette is based on the combination of bright but contrasting colours.

Later than, though not long after, the former Stroganoff triptych are two works commissioned for the church of Benedictine nuns of Sant'Ambrogio: the panel of *Saint Michael Archangel between Saints Bartholomew and Julian and a kneeling devotee*, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia (pl. LXVII) and the fresco of the *Madonna and Child enthroned flanked by Saints John the Baptist and Bartholomew* which is still preserved in the church, over the second altar to the right, the altar of the Bonsi Succhielli family (pl. LXVI).

The panel of *Saint Michael Archangel between Saints Bartholomew and Julian* in the Galleria dell'Accademia was conceived as an isolated work, through perhaps furnished with a predella with narrative scenes of the Saints portrayed in the panel itself. From the presence of Saint Michael in so prominent a position at the centre of the composition a provenance has been inferred from the Compagnia di San Michele della Pace, a lay confraternity that had its seat adjacent to the monastery, but the hypothesis has not been confirmed by archival documents.[110] A clue that it may have been painted in the seventh decade of the century has been deduced from the striking dress worn by the kneeling female devotee in the foreground: a long close-fitting long-sleeved dress, made of a precious material with pronounced vertical stripes, characterized by a relatively broad square neckline, leaving the neck and part of the shoulders exposed, and a girdle-jewel resting on her hip. This latter detail is closely matched in paintings produced in Florence between the sixth and seventh decade of the Trecento, as shown by comparison with the figure of Saint Catherine painted by Giovanni da Milano in the polyptych of the Spedale della Misericordia e Dolce at Prato and with the Martyr Saints painted in the foreground in the predella of the polyptych painted by the same artist for the church of Ognissanti.[111] Reflecting a social trend of the time, Matteo di Pacino includes nothing to suggest that the young lady in question was a member of a penitential confraternity; on the contrary he makes a point of displaying her wealth and social standing.

In the works previously discussed, Matteo had shown little interest in the representation of spatial depth, so little that he made no effort at all to foreshorten the decorative motifs of the cloth that covers the floor in the ex-Stroganoff triptych. In the *Saint Michael*, by contrast, the figures are inserted in a well defined space, whose depth is suggested by the marble veining of the floor, even if what is lacking is any coherent proportional relationship between the separate figures which seem suspended in the void, one next to the other. In the treatment of the individual figures the soft rounded volumes, modelled by light, that we noted in the triptych of 1361 and in the works most closely akin to it, have now given way to broader figures, more massive in form, more solemn in presence, who strike more natural poses, and whose brilliantly coloured garments – red, ochre, orange – tend to be smoother in unbroken expanse and more simply articulated with a few deeply channelled vertical folds. Only here and there, for example in the hem of Saint Julian's mantle, or that of the devotee's dress, or the way that the hem of the Archangel's mantle breaks on the ground, is the contour line ruffled in a way very similar to that we may note in the garments of the angels in the foreground of the ex-Stroganoff triptych, probably painted not long beforehand. In the faces the light is shaded with delicacy, but the painter seems to be mainly concerned to emphasise the contours and facial features with thick dark lines (as round the eyes of Bartholomew): a manner borrowed from the mature manner of Andrea Orcagna.

A date close to that of the panel of *St. Michael Archangel*, roughly in the middle of the seventh decade, can probably be given also to the fresco of the *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints John the Baptist and Bartholomew* placed over the second altar to the right in the Florentine church of Sant'Ambrogio: an altar then under the patronage of the Bonsi-Succhielli family (pl. LXVI). The Virgin is represented in a rigorously frontal pose, her profile closed within the regular and strongly simplified contours of her mantle. The Christ Child sits lustily in her lap, his hands held up to his mother's exposed breast. The two figures are framed by the elaborately pinnacled and crocketed gothic structure of the throne. To the side of the throne are placed the two Saints characterized by self-absorbed and meditative expressions. In their mantles we may note the tendency to bunch the fabrics in deep and ever more complex folds, as round the waist and over the left arm of the Baptist, accentuating the chiaroscuro contrast.

The fabrics, both those of the tunic and mantle of Saint Bartholomew and that of the cloth of honour on the Virgin's throne, are ornamented with small and rather simple motifs. These facilitate the task of modelling the figures, largely dispensing with the need to engage in the complicated task of foreshortening the pattern over the folds. On the other hand, the marked facial features of these figures, their frontal poses, as well as the static nature and greater spaciousness of the composition, confirm a growing affinity with the trends pursued by Andrea Orcagna and other artists working in contact with his atelier, such as the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella.

From the biography of the painter we deduced a possible chronological clue useful for pinpointing the date of the two works, both with a provenance from the church of Sant'Ambrogio. Matteo di Pacino, according to the surviving documents, resided in Via de' Pentolini at least since 9 February 1364. This street was situated close to the church; more precisely it corresponded to what is nor the Via de' Macci in the stretch between Piazza Sant'Ambrogio and Via Ghibellina, so just behind the monastery. Previously he had lived together with his father in the Via San Benedetto, situated on the other side of the river Arno close to the monastery of San Salvatore di Camaldoli. Although we have no precise documentary reference to confirm it, it is probable that the commission for the two paintings came to the painter in concomitance with his removal to the Via dei Pentolini, and therefore the date 1364, from which the documents show he was permanently resident there, ought to constitute a *terminus post quem* for their execution.

From the career of Matteo di Pacino so far traced one painting has been excluded: the *Madonna and Child* now in the Cappella del Crocifisso of the church of SS. Annunziata in Florence, centrepiece of a polyptych. It was commissioned for the high altar of this church by Forese dei Falconieri in 1362, and attributed to Matteo di Pacino by Miklós Boskovits. But the ascription to the Master of Barberino previously proposed by Werner Cohn seems to me more convincing.[112]

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[110] Tronci, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 171-173. The provenance of the panel from this Compagnia would seem however to be contradicted by the reports on its foundation in 1476. Cf. Artusi - Patruno, 1994, 290-295. In any event, the painting, at the time of the suppressions ordered by the Napoleonic government, was in the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, from which it passed into the storerooms at San Marco; see in this volume oo.

[111] This type of dress corresponds to a fashion introduced in the 1340s; albeit with some difference it can be recognized, for example, in the frescoes painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Sala del Buongoverno in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (Bellosi, in *Prospettiva*, 1977, 21-31, fig. 2). For comparisons with the works of Giovanni da Milano see *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*a*, 182-189; on the fashion and the use of such jewelled girdles see Liscia Bemporad, *ibid.*, 178-181. The devotee in our painting was unanimously identified as a young lady by Procacci, 1936, 34, Marcucci, 1965, 93-94 and Tronci in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 171.

[112] See above n. 38.

The polyptych with the Vision of Saint Bernard

The five-leaf altarpiece representing at its centre the *Vision of Saint Bernard with Saints Benedict, John the Evangelist, Quentin and Galgano*, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia (pls. LXVIII[1-4]), was formerly in the convent of Santa Maria delle Campora, a dependency of the Badia Fiorentina, where it remained until the suppressions ordered by the Napoleonic government.[113] On the basis of a letter of Andrea Pietro Giulianelli, published by Father Giuseppe Richa,[114] in which he recalled that the relics of St. Quentin, an early Christian martyr whose cult was especially widespread in France, were preserved at the monastery of San Salvatore at Badia a Settimo, Werner Cohn was the first to propose that the polyptych had come to the convent of Santa Maria delle Campora from this monastery.[115] This hypothesis was widely shared in the subsequent literature, which underlined the close connections between the iconography of the polyptych and Cistercian spirituality,[116] and also pointed out that the link with Badia a Settimo is clearly indicated by the inclusion in the polyptych of the twelfth-century Saint Galgano. To this Sienese saint was dedicated the Cistercian abbey near Siena, which later took over the former Benedictine house at Badia a Settimo. The report of the sacking of this Florentine monastery in 1364, during which the relics of Saint Quentin, thrown into a ditch in the attempt to steal the precious reliquary in which they were contained, and then miraculously recovered, then prompted the hypothesis that the polyptych had been commissioned to celebrate this miraculous event.[117]

Where the polyptych was situated within the monastic church is unknown, but the link with this episode has led to the supposition that it was placed on an altar dedicated to Saint Quentin, which the seventeenth-century sources place to the right of the *cappella maggiore*. The question, however, is not entirely resolved and other possibilities cannot be excluded. After their recovery the relics were indeed preserved, together with others owned by the monastery, in an altar to the right of the *cappella maggiore*, within a reliquary commissioned by the abbot, dom Tommaso di Bartolo Bartoli in 1381.[118] The fourteenth-century decoration of this altar is unknown, but it is known to have been restored by abbot Tommaso Bazzichini in the late sixteenth century; for this restoration he also commissioned two painted shutters with figures of Saints Peter and Paul, still extant.[119] At this time the altar seems to have been dedicated to Saint Peter, while the dedication to Saint Quentin was subsequent to a new campaign of work in the church, carried out from the 1620s on. During this seventeenth-century restoration, a proper chapel was built round the altar, based on a project, apparently, of Gherardo Silvani; it was subsequently decorated by Giovanni da san Giovanni with a cycle of frescoes commissioned, together with other works, by abbot Attilio Brunacci.[120]

The reports on the commissioning of works of art for the Cistercian abbey in the Trecento are vague and mainly concern the decoration of the chapel of San Jacopo, painted by Buonamico Buffalmacco in 1313, on the initiative of Jacopo Spini, and the production of a precious series of illuminated choir-books in roughly the same years.[121] The archival documents relating to the following decades point to the abbey's considerable landed property, mainly rented out to tenants and hence able to generate considerable income, invested in turn in the purchase of real estate. No particular events are recorded in the administration of the monastery until the 1360s, when as a result of repeated looting by the mercenary troops in the service of Pisa, major works of fortification were required, in large part funded by the republican government of Florence. In this period, the running of the monastery was largely in the hands of two members of the same family: dom Gregorio di Ser Cambio Cambi, prior in 1359, and dom Pietro Cambi, his nephew, first procurator, then abbot from 1361 to 1376. The leading role played by the latter transpires from the accounts (however dubious they may be) of his nomination by proclamation, rather than by the normal procedures of election.[122] In the years of his government the monastery was fortified and restored, and the church of San Martino alla Palma, dependency of the monastery, was also subjected to a major programme of reconstruction. The restoration work was mainly financed by the sale of real estate, but also thanks to a large bequest of Lippa di Cambio, sister of dom Gregorio and mother of dom Pietro. Left to the monastery in 1361 when the latter became abbot, the legacy could have been used by the new abbot at least in part used for the renovation of the decoration of the Cistercian church.[123] This was the period in which the polyptych painted by Matteo di Pacino falls, and various pieces of evidence suggest that this was not the only new work of art commissioned by abbot Pietro for the monastic church.

There are reports of two altars within the church: the one in the *cappella maggiore* and the other housing the relics of saints at the end of the right aisle. The reasons that raise doubts about the provenance of Matteo di Pacino's polyptych from this latter have been rehearsed; on the other hand, its placement on the high altar is improbable, due to the absence of any reference to the Saviour, to whom the church and monastery of Settimo were dedicated.

At this point, a plan of the monastery made in the early Seicento and attributed to Gherardo Silvani may come to our help. It shows the layout of the monastery prior to the renovation directed by the latter. To the left of the campanile we can clearly see a rectangular chapel dedicated to San Bernardo.[124] The chapel is reported in documents from 1463 on as seat of a confraternity named after the most venerated Saint of the Cistercian order. The monumental Vision *of Saint Bernard* painted by Anastagio Fontebuoni in c. 1620 at the request of abbot Brunacci was probably intended for its altar. Though I have been unable to find any documentary evidence to substantiate it, I believe it fairly

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[113] See in this volume 00.

[114] Richa, IX, 1761, 213.

[115] Werner Cohn's presumption of the provenance is reported in the form of an oral communication in Marcucci, 1965, 95.

[116] The hypothesis was confirmed and developed in greater depth, also in the light of further aspects relating to the iconography of the Vision of Saint Bernard, by Dal Prà, in *Riv. Cisterc.*, VII, 1990, 61-90.
A proposal previously made by Luigi Passerini and Gaetano Milanesi, who identified the polyptych with the one reported in 1432 in the chapel of San Bernardo in Palazzo Vecchio as a work of Bernardo Daddi painted in 1335 (Passerini - Milanesi, Ritratto di Dante, 1865, 17-18), has found no acceptance.

[117] Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 30.

[118] ASF, Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 396, filza 18, Memorie di Settimo.

[119] Romeo, 1980, 63.

[120] Spinelli, in *Paragone*, XL, 1989, No. 471, 26-52.

[121] On Buffalmacco's paintings see Bellosi, 1974, 63-67 and Offner, *Corpus*, III/I, 1986, 278-290, pls. XXXV-XXXV[12]. On the illuminated codices of Badia a Settimo see Guidotti, in *Miniatura italiana*, 419-441 and Guidotti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 1982, 223-252.

[122] Dom Bernardo Lamberteschi was abbot of Settimo from 1348; he died on 17 April 1361. The not entirely clear circumstances of his death and the equally controversial circumstances of the appointment of his successor, dom Pietro Cambi, on 22 April of the same year, prompted an investigation by the Camera Apostolica, which demanded the presentation of the corpse of the deceased abbot. The procedure was concluded in the following year without any measure being taken; the penalties previously inflicted were rescinded (ASF, Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 396, filza 18, Memorie di Settimo).

[123] On the bequest of Lippa di Cambio, wife of Cambino Cambi, see ASF, Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, 396, filza 18, Memorie di Settimo. On the history of Badia a Settimo and for documents reporting the sale of real estate between the seventh and eighth decade: ASF, Diplomatico, Cistercensi, 1365, 1 August (deliberation of the sale of flour-mills situated in the *popoli* of San Martino a Gangalandi and San Miniato a Signa, which the *Comune* of Florence threatened to demolish) and ASF, Diplomatico, Cistercensi, 1376, 1 August (alienation of lands for the reconstruction of the church of Buonsollazzo). On the thriving financial situation of the abbey at Badia a Settimo in the first half of the Trecento see Jones, in *Riv. Storia Chiesa*, X, 1956, 90-122.

[124] The chapel was destroyed following the collapse of the campanile during the Second World War. Spinelli, in *Paragone*, XL, 1989, No. 471, fig. 39.

probable that Matteo di Pacino's polyptych with the same iconography was located on the same altar at least until the second half of the Cinquecento. In 1567 the monastery, in a state of abandonment and serious economic difficulties, was sold by Pius V, by a bull dated 18 January 1567, to the Benedictines of the Badia Fiorentina, who retained possession of it until 1572. During this period, as rightly pointed out by Alberto Lenza, the polyptych was probably removed and transferred to the church of Santa Maria delle Campora, to replace the famous panel of the same subject by Filippino Lippi, now re-installed in the Badia Fiorentina where it still remains.[125] To fill the altar of San Bernardo thus left bare, the abbot Brunacci, promotor of a considerable programme of restoration and renovation, could then have commissioned the above-mentioned painting of Anastagio Fontebuoni.[126]

The commission of the polyptych for the chapel of San Bernardo might not have been the only, nor even the most important, of the artistic commissions supported by Pietro Cambi.

Some evidence, in the view of the present writer, would suggest that the high altar too received a new pictorial decoration and that this could be identified with the polyptych of Giovanni da Milano, now dismembered, that had at its centre the *Blessing Saviour enthroned between four angels* (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera). Other compartments of the polyptych have been identified: a lateral compartment with figures of *Saints* (Turin, Galleria Sabauda), two predella compartments, the one representing the *Resurrection of Christ*, the *Calling of Saint Peter* and the *Noli me tangere* the other the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* (New York, Alana Collection), and pinnacle panels of *Christ of the Apocalypse* (cf. Rev 1: 13) (at the centre), the *Madonna* (to the left) and *St. John the Baptist* (to the right) (London, National Gallery).[127] Recently it has been conjectured that the polyptych of the Lombard painter may have come from the Florentine church of San Salvatore del Vescovo, while not wholly discounting other hypotheses, such as a provenance from the monastery of San Salvatore di Camaldoli or, as we have argued, the Badia di San Salvatore at Settimo.[128]

A more substantial piece of evidence in support of the provenance of Giovanni da Milano's polyptych from the high altar of the Cistercian church at Badia a Settimo can be deduced, I believe, from a more precise identification of the Saints in the only lateral compartment that has come down to us (the panel now in Turin). This, placed to the right of Christ in the central panel (to the left from the viewer's point of view), was also the "place of honour" where the Saints to which most emphasis was to be given were situated. The representation revolved around Divine Judgement, represented by the figure of Christ the Judge in the main compartment, complemented by Christ of the Apocalypse with the Madonna and St. John the Baptist as intercessors in the three pinnacles. The Saints represented in the first two rows of the compartment to the right of Jesus – Saints Peter Apostle, James and an Evangelist Saint, followed in the row to the back by two Deacon Saints (Stephen and Lawrence) and the Patriarchs Moses and Abraham – represent the categories of holy men who, in the various epochs of the history of Salvation, are regarded as the supreme models of holiness: the Apostles, Patriarchs and Martyr Saints. The identification of the three saints in the third row is uncertain, but just from this can I believe be deduced the key to reconstruct the provenance of the work. Given that the first of them is wearing the white habit of the Benedictine and that behind him, in the last row, is a nun, she too belonging to the Benedictine family, presumably Saint Scolastica, it

[125] Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 31. For the provenance and history of Filippino Lippi's panel see Zambrano - Nelson, 2004, 346-347, fig. 265.

[126] Spinelli, in *Paragone*, XL, 1989, No. 471, 28. It is worth recalling that abbot Brunacci had also commissioned from the same painter a new altarpiece with the scene of Saint Martin resuscitating young boys for the altar of the church of San Martino alla Palma, dependency of the Cistercian monastery (Papi, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 1986*b*, III, 92; Spinelli, in *Paragone*, XL, 1989, No. 471, 27).

[127] Parenti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*a*, 242-249.

[128] Bernacchioni, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*a*, 99-100; Parenti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*a*, 242-249.

seems to me that an explicit attempt is being made here to flank the highest examples of holiness in the history of Salvation with the most exemplary models of the monastic life disciplined by the Rule of St. Benedict. In such a context, the hypothesis of a provenance of the polyptych from San Salvatore al Vescovo seems to me improbable, given that this church was officiated by canons regular (i.e. Augustinians).[129] On the other hand, given that the first saint to the left, devoid of attributes, may be identified as St. Benedict, St. Romuald (Camaldolese) or San Bernard (Cistercian), the provenance of the tryptych from a monastic community that followed the rule of Saint Benedict remains, according to the present writer, the most probable hypothesis. The two figures that flank this Saint, by contrast, wear a pluvial over their vestment and a mitre on their head, while that to the far right also supports a crozier. These attributes denote the two Saints as bishops or abbots. But their identification in the sphere of saints venerated in the Florentine area is not easy; I wonder if they couldn't be recognized as Saint Robert de Melesme and Saint Alberico, both founders, and respectively the first and second abbot of Citeaux, whom the sources also record as bishops.[130]

Moreover, other aspects of the iconography would seem to confirm this hypothesis of a provenance from the Cistercian church at Badia a Settimo. The monastery had a particular link with each of the three Saints portrayed in the foreground: (from left to right) Saint James Major (San Jacopo) was an object of special devotion, as well as titular of the chapel founded by the Spini in the early Trecento; the Evangelist Saint (carrying a folio) cannot be identified with certainty, but could be convincingly identified with Saint John, who appears in the monastery's title; Saint Peter, lastly, is given the place of honour as Prince of the Apostles and direct successor of Christ, supreme authority of the early Church from which the Cistercian community derived its inspiration, but he was also the protector Saint of the abbot in office at Settimo at the time when the polyptych was painted, dom Pietro Cambi.[131]

Given the lack of other evidence, the dating of Giovanni da Milano's dismantled polyptych must rest on an analysis of its figurative style. Its close kinship with the style of the frescoes in the Guidalotti Rinuccini Chapel in Santa Croce has rightly been underlined. In May 1365 Giovanni da Milano received written permission from the Capitani di Orsanmichele allowing him an extension of time until November of the same year by which to complete his cycle of frescoes in the chapel. According to the present writer, it is not improbable that it was just the simultaneous commission of the polyptych for the high altar of the Cistercian church that had slowed down his work on fresco-

[129] Richa, VI, 1757, 346-360; Follini - Rastrelli, 1791, III, 136-144; Cocchi, 1903, 125-126.

[130] Spahr, in *Enc. Catt.*, III, 1949, 1737-1743; Lekai, in *Diz. Ist. Perf.*, II, 1975, 1058-1098. Saint Robert, bishop and abbot of Molesme (1075-1098) founded the first reformed community in the heart of Burgundy in 1075, later called Citeaux (in 1098). He was canonized in 1222 and honoured with a feast "delle XII lezioni" from this year and with an even more solemn feast from 1259. See Cabrol - Leclerc, III, 1914, coll. 1779-181; Battista, in *Bibl. Sanctorum*, XI, 1968, coll. 238-245. The Blessed Alberic, second abbot of Citeaux, and Blessed Stephen Harding, founders together with Robert de Melesme of the new order, though canonized later (respectively in the seventeenth and eighteenth century), were venerated as Saints by their confreres. See Bedini, in *Bibl. Sanctorum*, I, 1961, coll. 668-670; Dimier, in *Bibl. Sanctorum*, XI, 1968, coll. 1398-1402.
A row of Bishop and Abbot Saints of the Cistercian Order was painted at the base of the dome of the church of the Cistercian monastery of Chiaravalle near Milan within the fourth decade of the Trecento and would probably have been very familiar to Giovanni da Milano. On the identification of the Saints painted in the drum below the dome of Chiaravalle see Travi, in *Chiaravalle*, 1992, 333, 369 nn. 31 and 32; Bandera, in *Un poema*, 2010, 32 and figs. on pages 53, 59, 67, 81, 85.

[131] We may note, tangentially, the correspondence between the composition of the figures in the main compartment of Giovanni da Milano's polyptych and that of the monumental sculptural relief, with the *Saviour enthroned between Saints Benedict and Bernard*, formerly walled into the tower outside the monastery, the so-called "colombaione", destroyed in the Second World War. Calzolai, 1958, fig. a p. 32; Cervini, in *Artista,* 1999, 76-87.

ing the sacristy of the Franciscan church, leading to his complete abandonment of the project after the completion of the middle register. At this point, perhaps by chance, Giovanni da Milano and Matteo di Pacino might have found themselves both simultaneously involved in the realization of a polyptych for the church at Settimo.[132]

For Matteo di Pacino the commission to paint a polyptych with the *Vision of St. Bernard* was an important one, perhaps the most important he had so far received. The five-leaf altarpiece now in the Galleria dell'Accademia was cited as a work of Andrea Orcagna in the art-historical literature until the early twentieth century. It is to Bernard Berenson that we owe its separation from the corpus of this Florentine painter. Richard Offner, in turn, was the first to recognize in it close affinities with the figurative style of the lower register of the frescoes in the Rinuccini Chapel in Santa Croce, the register that Giovanni da Milano had failed to complete. The close reading of the figurative style of the polyptych proposed by Offner finally diagnosed the gulf that divided the solemn and 'aulic' style of Andrea Orcagna from the more humanized and *mondaine* tone of the Cistercian polyptych, whose peculiar features the American connoisseur detected "in the heavy contours; in the figure the wrinkles have worn in the forehead; in the crow's feet and the folds at the root of the nose; in the continuous diagonal of the profile; in the loosely adjusted mask; in the cloven light often on the nose and chin; in the collapsible ears".[133] Offner placed the execution of the polyptych at least a decade before the Rinuccini frescoes. Nonetheless, in the close observation of naturalistic detail that characterises the facial features of his protagonists it is difficult not to see a reflection of the style of the Lombard master. The composition itself undoubtedly reflects the manner of Andrea di Cione: it is populated by monumental figures, enveloped in ample draperies *all'antica*. The four standing Saints in the laterals are portrayed standing on a pavement covered by a fabric patterned with precious floriated decorative motifs.[134] The robust volumes of the Saints in the polyptych are also inspired by the lesson of Orcagna; they are modelled with dense chiaroscuro and defined by energetic contours. On the other hand, the light plays on the surfaces and on the flesh parts with a delicacy, a subtlety, hitherto absent from the manner of Matteo di Pacino; it confers naturalism on the complexions of the faces, while the deep red and blue of the garments glitter with precious reflections that give them the texture of silk. An intense and brilliant luminosity harmonises the composition. It highlights such naturalistic details as the many botanical species growing round the prie-dieu at which Saint Bernard kneels, sharpening its mouldings and marquetry work, which cannot but recall the similar wooden structure painted by Giovanni da Milano in the predella of the Prato polyptych,[135] and also the panel of St. Luke painted by the Master of the Misericordia (pl. XIV). With the same meticulous care Matteo di Pacino describes the facial features of the two monks standing behind the kneeling Saint in the central compartment, and lovingly dwells on details of the narrative scenes in the predella, such as the wooden pulpit of the Sermon, the hairstyle of the executioner in the scene of the Decollation of Saint Quentin, or the lush vegetation of the landscape that forms the backdrop to the prayer of Saint Galgano before the sword immured in the rock.

[132] With a view to completing our picture of the huge commitment assumed by the abbot dom Pietro for the renovation of the decoration of the Cistercian church, it should be recalled that another major work with a provenance from the church is probably the *Crucifixion* painted by Jacopo di Cione and the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella, during these same years, now in London (National Gallery, Inv. No. 1468), see Davies, 1988, 54-56.

[133] Offner, 1927, 123.

[134] On this motif cf. Klesse, 1967, 388 No. 360. The motif used here is similar, but not identical, to that visible for example in the triptych with the *Trinity between Saint Romuald and Saint John the Evangelist* painted by Nardo di Cione in 1365 for a chapel of the chapterhouse of Santa Maria degli Angeli (*Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2003, 182-191). On the decorative motifs present in this triptych cf. Klesse, 1967, 330, No. 264f.

[135] Chiodo, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*a*, 182-189.

The monastery of Badia a Settimo was also responsible for administering the female Cistercian monastery of San Donato in Polverosa. It is therefore very probable that the monks played a role in the decision to commission a new cycle of frescoes for the nave and transept of the church of this community.[136]

The attribution to Matteo di Pacino of the decoration of the lunette at the head of the left transept, representing the *Assumption of the Virgin*, the *Trinity* and the *Blessing God the Father* (pls. LXIX[1-2]), and other frescoes detached and reinstalled, together with their related *sinopie*, on the right wall of the single nave representing the *Annunciation, Saint George Slaying the Dragon* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (pls. LXIX[3-5]), was proposed by Miklós Boskovits.[137] The paintings do not form part of a unified cycle. The painted lunette at the head of the left transept, which shows the figure of a kneeling nun, presumably the donor, was located in the area of the church reserved for the nuns and hence excluded from the view of the faithful. The other scenes, inserted in rectangular panels, were located along the walls of the church and would seem to be the result of individual decisions by the nuns or lay patrons to renew the decoration of the nave, perhaps following the damage it had suffered in the numerous episodes of depredation, sacking and plunder reported by the sources. Photos predating the detachment of the frescoes show that the *Annunciation* was located on the right wall of the nave, just beyond the door opening in this wall and immediately to the back of the wall that divided the nuns' choir from the nave.[138] On this same wall the decoration continued towards the entrance wall with Cenni di Francesco's *Adoration of the Magi*[139] and the Master of Carmignano's *Birth of the Baptist*,[140]

[136] The convent of San Donato, first assigned to the Agostiniani Portuensi, then the Umiliati, was entrusted to a community of Cistercian nuns at least since 1259, placed by Pope Alexander IV under the jurisdiction of the monks of Badia a Settimo. The Cistercian nuns lived there until the siege of Florence in 1529, when their convent became the headquarters of the troops of Ludovico di Lodrone. Not till 1559 did the nuns return there. In 1580 the Cistercians of Settimo renounced their jurisdiction over the monastery which passed to the Archbishop of Florence. The monastery was suppressed by the Napoleonic government in 1810 and its properties confiscated and expropriated by the Demanio (state property). At the time of the Restoration in 1814, the monastery, together with part of its expropriated real estate and artistic treasures, was granted to the Franciscans of Santa Croce, who sold it in turn to the conte Nicola Demidoff; he decided to convert it into his main residence.
The transept of the church, in which the choir of the nuns was situated, was separated from the nave by a wall pierced by two grated windows and a wrought-iron door. Three altars in the part of the church allocated to the lay congregation are reported: the high altar (*cappella maggiore*), dedicated to Saint Donatus, and two lateral altars respectively dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Thomas, Bishop (cf. D'Imperio, 1990, 65; Marini, in *Atti e Memorie*, 1997, 104; see also AAF, Visita pastorale mons. Martini, 1797, fol. 810). In Demidoff's time the whole monastery was completely reconstructed and the church converted to house the count's library. On the wall dividing the transept from the choir the restorer and painter Gaetano Bianchi painted a decoration in a revivalist style with the figure of *Saint Donatus enthroned*, at the centre of a complex geometrical decoration (D'Imperio, 1990, pl. XXI) interminglied with heraldic motifs according to a taste very widespread at the time.

[137] The frescoes were detached in 1965, together with their related *sinopie*. Displayed at the exhibition held at the Forte Belvedere in Florence in 1966, they were later re-installed on the walls of the church. It is not clear how far the original sequence was respected in this re-installation. Other than the murals attributed to Matteo di Pacino in the church, there is also another fresco of the *Adoration of the Magi*, with two Cistercian nuns represented on its margin. Accompanied by the inscription "per rimedio dell'anima sua 1383", it was attributed to Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni by Boskovits (1975, 358, pls. 56. 58). On this fresco see Bellosi, in *Paragone*, 1966, No. 201, 73-79, who doubted the authenticity of the date. The *Birth of the Baptist* now displayed, together with its respective sinopia, on the entrance wall is attributable, instead, to the Master of Carmignano, a painter active in the late years of the Trecento or early years of the Quattrocento (Fiorillo, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 334). The figures of Saints Peter and Paul in the right transept have been attributed, in turn, to Rossello di Jacopo (D'Imperio, 1990, 47-48).

[138] The photographs, taken prior to the detachment of the frescoes, are in the collection of the Gabinetto Fotografico with tje SSPMF (Inv. Nos. 128066, 128067, 128068). The door, just beyond which began Matteo di Pacino's fresco, is visible in photo No. 128064.

[139] See above, n. 137.

[140] See n. 129.

undoubtedly later in date. The original situation of the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* and the scene of *Saint George and the Dragon*, works of Matteo di Pacino, unfortunately cannot be precisely defined.[141]

The condition of the paintings does not facilitate an analysis of their figurative style. The fresco with the *Annunciation* is almost illegible, but retains in its composition and in the composed monumentality of its figures traits that permit its execution to be linked, albeit with extreme caution, with the phase of Matteo di Pacino's works for Badia a Settimo. The *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, *Saint George and the Dragon* and the lunette in the nuns' choir, on the other hand, are all more clearly, on the basis of their figurative style, assigned to Matteo di Pacino, but seem to indicate phase subsequent to that of the polyptych of St. Bernard.

In the two paintings of the nave, the space of the representation is shallow, with the protagonists forced to act in a narrow zone close to the foreground; it betrays the painter's inexperience in constructing a complex space, developed in depth and divided into different planes. In the episode of *Saint George* (pl. LXIX[5]), the dragon, now almost completely lost, dominates the foreground, its open maw transfixed by the lance of Saint George. The Saint himself remains impassive. He gallops forwards intrepidly, his horse rearing in alarm before the menacing dragon. To the far left, the princess, elegantly dressed in a twin-coloured dress and with her short blond hair curled upwards (with curling irons) from her neck, witnesses the scene being transacted before her with serene detachment. The slight torsion of her body and her splayed feet suggest, however, that she is timidly taking a step away from the scene of the conflict. The desire to make the scene immediately comprehensible prevails, mitigated only by the detailed description of the lady's dress or the serpentine body of the gigantic monster that rears up menacingly in the immediate foreground. Thick vegetation can be glimpsed in the background to the right. To the left, the foreground seems to be delimited by a rocky defile, above which a group of figures is placed, markedly smaller in proportions than the main protagonists, indicating presumably the distance between them and the scene of the action, which they are intent on observing, as if from a safe distance.

Similar considerations also apply to the fragment with the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (pl. LXIX[3]). Not even here, with the exception of the walls of a turreted city that can be glimpsed to the right, does the artist reveal any interest, or any skill, in expressing depth of space. He seems to concentrate, instead, on a meticulous description of the variety of poses and gestures of the executioners who are arranged tableau-like in two crowded groups to the side of the Saint. Placed at a higher level, the Saint, bound to a pole with cords round ankles and wrists, his body pierced by many arrows, dominates the centre of the composition. In spite of the precarious state of conservation, distinctive features of the painter can be recognized here, such as the vividly characterized expressions of the executioners, or the attention to curious details of dress (e.g. the variety of hats and helmets) and of hairstyles; the hair of the executioner seen from the back in the foreground is plaited together in a large pigtail. Some passages recall the frescoes of Nardo di Cione in the chapel of the Giochi and Bastari in the Badia Fiorentina.[142] The unusual delicacy of the modelling also reveals Nardo's influence, while the accentuation of some almost caricatural details echoes some grotesque observations in the predella of the Badia di Settimo polyptych. More composed is the tone of the fresco in the lunette, where the painter, as in other compositions, tries to bring the protagonists as close as possible to the spectators, adopting a style that already anticipates that of the frescoes in the Rinuccini Chapel in Santa Croce.

The three frescoes in this zone represent the *Virgin Assumed into Heaven gives her girdle to Saint Thomas,* the *Trinity* and the *Blessing God the Father* (pls. LXIX[1-2]) in the quatrefoil inscribed in an oculus at the centre. They are separated by a painted architectural mise-en-scène, decorated with

[141] The presence on the surface of these two scenes of pronounced damage caused by water infiltration would suggest a placement below the windows that pierce the left side of the nave.

[142] Offner, *Corpus*, 1960, IV/II, 98-100, pl. XXVIII.

cosmatesque motifs. The lunette is divided into two halves by a corkscrew colonnette (very similar to those we see in the lower tier of the frescoes in the sacristy of Santa Croce), supporting two semi-arches with the oculus with the Blessing God the Father in the spandrel above. The surface is damaged and shows some retouches. However, in contrast to the scenes painted in the nave, the figures have more robust forms, as especially shown by the figure of the crucified Jesus, and also by the rounded ovals of the faces of the angels supporting the mandorla of the *Assunta* and in those of the cherubim and seraphim round God the Father. The Virgin's dress and mantle are decorated with miniscule lozenge motifs; ingeniously foreshortened over the folds, they permit a very convincing sculptural rendering of the body below. But it is especially in the figure of the Almighty that Matteo displays his accomplishment in the description of the drapery, gathering the material in broad crescent folds round the hips of the figure.

The paintings of Matteo di Pacino in San Donato in Polverosa inaugurated a series of interventions aimed at enriching the decoration of the Cistercian church; it is not improbable to assume that these works coincided with a period of renovation of the monastic complex as a whole. Reports of the looting suffered by the monastery between the 1360s and 1370s are extant: first by the Pisans in 1364, then by the troops of Giovanni Acuto (the English *condottiere* Sir John Hawkwood) in 1370.[143] The documents of the monastery do not furnish any information useful for establishing a precise chronology of the paintings: we can do no more than conjecture. Suor Francesca, mother superior of the monastery in 1366, soon after resigned her post of abbess to Suor Paola Bardi, whom documents show to have assumed this post in 1371. To the latter's family also belonged the wife of Francesco di Cino Rinuccini, Filippa di Gualterotto dei Bardi, through whom it has been supposed that the commission to paint the frescoes in San Donato was given to Matteo di Pacino;[144] the hypothesis is also said to be supported by the financial resources of the nuns following the repayment of a loan of 904 florins by the monks of Settimo. A dating around 1370 could be compatible with the figurative style, given that the reminiscences of Nardo di Cione, who had died in 1366, are still fresh; on the other hand, as we have seen, Matteo di Pacino was already in contact with the monks of Settimo, responsible for the administration of the monastery of San Donato, ever since the time when he painted the polyptych with the *Vision of Saint Bernard*, and therefore it is hardly necessary to presuppose the involvement of Francesco Rinuccini of any other member of her family in the assignment of this commission to Matteo. As regards the loan, it was not in fact repaid by the monks; for in 1384, the abbot dom Pietro donated to San Donato a *podere* at San Martino alla Palma in lieu of discharging the debt.[145] On the other hand, an analysis of the figurative style, at least as regards the three scenes painted in the nave, reveals a less complex style and simpler compositions, suggesting that it might be more plausible to assume that these frescoes antedate rather than postdate the frescoes painted by Matteo in the Rinuccini Chapel.[146]

[143] D'Imperio, 1990, 45. The document reports the name of Suor Francesca, as abbess of the monastery.

[144] Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 35 assumes that it was the wife of Francesco Rinuccini who acted as intermediary for entrusting to Matteo the commission for the frescoes in San Donato in Polverosa.

[145] D'Imperio, 1990, 44.

[146] The year when Suor Paola de' Bardi assumed the post of abbess of the monastery is unknown and hence her involvement in the project is not excluded by a possible backdating of the frescoes in San Donato to years prior to 1371.

Towards the end of the seventh decade Matteo di Pacino probably obtained the most prestigious commission of his relatively short career: the completion of the cycle of frescoes begun by Giovanni da Milano in the chapel in the sacristy of Santa Croce (pls. LXX[1-8]).

The events that accompanied this important episode in Florentine Trecento painting are well known and can briefly be recapitulated. The chapel had been founded in execution of the last will and testament of Lapo di Litio Guidalotti. Its decoration was entrusted to Giovanni da Milano, to whom the Capitani di Orsanmichele had, on 26 May 1365, granted an extension to November of the same year as the deadline by which he should complete the work.[147] We don't know why the artist failed to do so, despite this extension in time. He interrupted the work after completing the decoration of the cross-vaulted ceiling with the Blessing Redeemer and figures of prophets, and after frescoing the narrative scenes of the first two tiers of the walls with episodes from the life of the Virgin (to the left) and of Mary Magdalene (to the right). The date of the commission given to Matteo di Pacino to complete the cycle of frescoes by painting the lower tier is unknown. However, some evidence is useful for a credible reconstruction of the chronology of his intervention.

A few days after the above-cited document, on 30 May 1365 the Capitani di Orsanmichele, with a new deliberation, devolved to the friars minor 50 florins from the estate of Lapo di Litio (which amounted altogether to 700 florins). There is then a gap in the documents until 2 June of the following year when, with a further deliberation, the Compagnia di Orsanmichele authorized the payment to the friars of Santa Croce of a *pietanza* (alms) of 10 florins, which was supposed to have been offered in September of the previous year on the occasion of the feast of the Birth of Mary. A few days later two further allocations were made to the friars of Santa Croce: on 5 June, twelve *libbre* (pounds) of florins (*fiorini piccoli*) were allocated to pay for the stained glass, while on 18 August ninety gold florins were allocated for the realization of the wrought-iron grating, or *cancello*, by which the chapel is closed.

The absence of other documents relating to the dispute with Giovanni da Milano, the sequence of payments made to the friars, the last one being that for the grating, might lead one to assume that the work on the chapel had been almost terminated. On the other hand, the prominent inscription that can still be read on the grating reports a far later date, 1371, and specifies the patronage by the heirs of Lapo Rinuccini. When the patronage of the chapel was acquired by Francesco di Cino Rinuccini, grandson of Lapo, and head of the family at the time, is unknown.[148] According to the present writer, however, the prominence of the date inscribed on the grating and the value as testimony it was destined to assume suggest that it does not refer merely to the completion of the chapel's decoration, but indicates the date when the patronage of the chapel by the Guidalotti family, perhaps no longer able to support the costs for the completion of the decoration after the exhaustion of the funds left by Lapo di Litio, was transferred to the Rinuccini.[149] On the other hand, since the funds allocated for the realization of the *cancello* came, as we have said, from the estate of Lapo di Litio, we would need to assume that Francesco Rinuccini limited himself to completing or modifying the already existing grating, commissioning the incorporation in it of the inscription with the name of his own family and the date when it had acquired the patronage. An intervention in many respects similar was also made inside the chapel where the Guidalotti coats of arms were repainted with those of the Rinuccini.

Matteo di Pacino completed the cycle begun by Giovanni da Milano by painting two episodes of the Life of the Virgin on the left wall (pls. LXX[1-2]) and a further two dedicated to the Life of Mary Magdalene on the right wall (pls. LXX[3-4]). On the intrados of the arch leading into the chapel the Lombard painter had painted busts of the Apostles with the articles of the Credo, and on the pilasters below full-length figures of Saint Francis and St. Louis of Toulouse; further below Matteo di Pacino then added the figures of Saint Anthony of Padua (to the left) (pl. LXX[7]) and the Blessed Andrea dei Conti Segni di Anagni (to the right) (pl. LXX[8]). [150]

The cycle, on the basis of Vasari's assertions, was considered a work of Taddeo Gaddi until the mid nineteenth century. Cavalcaselle and Crowe were the first to recognize the hand of Giovanni da Milano in the paintings of the ceiling and lunettes and in the frescoes of the middle tier: on the other hand, they judged the frescoes of the lower register extensively repainted. Subsequently, the presence of Giovanni da Milano in the chapel was confirmed by the documents discovered by Milanesi. The hypothesis of the intervention of a different painter in the lower part of the decoration then began to take shape in the observations of various authors, until Richard Offner identified a distinct personality in the frescoes of the lower tier, provisionally designated under the name of Rinuccini Master.[151]

The four episodes painted by Matteo di Pacino are framed by painted cosmatesque borders resembling those that surround the surviving frescoes of Giovanni da Milano. A significant difference, however, is introduced by the type of slender colonnette that divides the two episodes of each wall: those painted by the Lombard master have shafts of smooth marble, corresponding to a more sober and classicizing taste, while those that divide the scenes painted by Matteo di Pacino are of corkscrew type, like those painted by Taddeo Gaddi in the frescoes of the Baroncelli chapel. The circumstance, together with other small discrepancies such as the different dimensions of the rectangular panels (those in the lower tier are considerably higher than those above), or the absence of explanatory inscriptions between the first and second register (though these are present below the upper lunettes painted by Giovanni da Milano), are probably to be construed as the consequence of a clear break between the intervention of the Lombard master and that of the Florentine painter, whose work evidently took place without the support of precise instructions by the painter who had preceded him.

In the scenes painted by Giovanni da Milano the reference to the Florentine iconographic tradition is recognisable in the faithful quotations from the frescoes of Taddeo Gaddi in the Baroncelli

147 The testament of Lapo di Litio Guidalotti has not been found and its exact date is unknown. Another deliberation of the Capitani di Orsanmichele (*Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*a*, 299, Doc. X) awarded to the friars of Santa Croce the payment of a sum of money for the alms that had not been paid for the nine years "che ssi peno a chominciare e intitolare la detta chappella dopo la morte di Lapuccio finiti l'anno 135...". This latter date has been linked to the expiry of the nine years during which the alms had not been paid and it has thus been deduced that by 1350 the testator was already dead (Gregori, in *Santa Croce*, 1983, 162; *Eadem* in *Enc. Art. Med.*, VI, 1995, 736). According to the present writer the lump sum payment of 50 florins (instead of 90) made in 1366 for the nine years during which the alms had not been paid to the friars would refer to the period comprised between 1356 and 1364 (in 1365 the alms had been paid, albeit with some delay, as also in 1366; cf. *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*a*, 299, Doc. XI). The death of Lapo di Litio might thus have taken place just before 1356.

148 On Lapo Rinuccini see Aiazzi, 1840, 60-61. He was the grandfather of Francesco di Cino Rinuccini, and was appointed as his guardian when Francesco di Cino lost both parents and was left an orphan at the age of four in 1320. On Francesco di Cino Rinuccini see Aiazzi, 1840, 110-121.

149 The Guidalotti did not surrender the patronage but instead accepted the transfer of their chapel, named after the Birth of the Virgin, to the cloister. Here the obligations laid down by Lapo di Litio in his testament were regularly observed down to 1407, the year when the family ceded it to Michele di Banchi di Priore di Ser Bartolo. See Carl, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, 1981, 210.

150 Fot the latter's identification, see Kaftal, 1952, 49-50.

151 See above, 00. For an updated summary of the art-historical fortunes of the frescoes painted by Giovanni da Milano in the Guidalotti later Rinuccini Chapel see A. Lenza - D. Parenti, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2008*a*, 250-253.

chapel, but these borrowings are inserted in a context of great originality reflecting a different artistic vision, in which attention is focused on the individual characteristics of the figures, large in proportion to the available space and carefully studied and diversified in their expressions, gestures, and in particular dress, in part *all'antica*, in part derived from the daily reality of the time. The scenes painted by Matteo di Pacino also mark a significant change in the very different, though not equally dialectical, relation with the Florentine figurative tradition.

Examining Matteo's four rectangular scenes from left to right, the *Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple*, the episode with which the narrative of the Life of the Virgin begins in the lower tier, is a fairly close replication of the fresco of the same subject painted by Taddeo Gaddi in the Baroncelli chapel. Matteo's borrowing is no doubt a measure of the admiration of contemporaries for this composition; it was also cited by Antonio Vite in his frescoes in San Domenico at Pistoia[152] and probably reflects Taddeo's activity as a practising architect, though this (testified by Vasari at Orsanmichele and elsewhere) is not otherwise documented.[153] But Matteo's version is not a copy. The reduced proportions of the figures and the increased number of figures that throng the temple attribute to his scene a more bustling and crowded character than Gaddi's more solemn and measured composition. The monumental architectural mise-en-scène painted by Taddeo Gaddi has also been subjected to small alterations that reveal a more developed late-gothic taste: the building has slenderer, more elongated proportions; pointed arches replace round ones; sculpted banner-waving figures are placed over the spindly quadrangular pillars that support the vaulted roof. In this regard, echoes of contemporary architecture are not to be excluded, e.g. the projects for the cathedral that Matteo himself had been called to adjudicate in 1367[154] and especially Giotto's campanile, which is recalled in the tower that rises in the background of the scene to the right, absent in Gaddi's fresco. A further small change in comparison with a model so faithfully re-proposed may be noted in the composition of the two kneeling female devotees, represented in the foreground to the right. In Gaddi's fresco the two kneeling woman are wearing *all'antica* dress, with their arms crossed over their breast and their gaze devoutly fixed on protagonists of the scene. In Matteo di Pacino's fresco, by contrast, one of them is evidently a married lady with her head covered by a veil, while the other is a girl dressed, her hair ringletted and braided, according to the fashion of the time, in a way not all that different from that of the women bystanders in the scene of Joachim expelled from the temple in the lunette painted by Giovanni da Milano, perhaps a concealed reference to female members of the family that commissioned the decoration.

In comparison with the other works realized in the same years – the Badia a Settimo polyptych, the frescoes in San Donato in Polverosa – the cycle in the Franciscan church clearly reveals a particular commitment on the part of the artist. The narrative tone is more solemn and leaves little scope for the curious genre observations or grotesque features recognisable in the above-mentioned works. In this regard the artist was no doubt conditioned by his consciousness of the prestige of the chapel and perhaps also of the master who had preceded him in the enterprise. In the painting of the figures Matteo di Pacino thus conforms closely to the rules of the Orcagna atelier; his figures are modelled with firm chiaroscuro; they are tall and robust; and they wear ample garments channelled by deeply shadowed folds.

[152] Feraci, in *Proporzioni*, VII-VIII, 2006-2007, 17, fig. 16.

[153] An example of the success of the composition is also the well-known drawing now in the Louvre (Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 1222) which Oertel (in *Mitteilungen KIF*, 1940, 235-236) attributed to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel, whereas, according to Andrew Ladis (1982, 246), it is either an autograph drawing by Gaddi himself or by a member of his atelier. Taddeo Gaddi was praised for his extraordinary abilities as an architect for the first time by Filippo Villani.

[154] See in this volume oo.

In the following scene of the *Betrothal of the Virgin*, the relation with the same episode painted by Taddeo Gaddi is less evident. Gaddi has set the scene in an open space, delimited in the background by a wall beyond which lush-looking trees can be glimpsed; Matteo di Pacino's scene, by contrast, takes place inside a loggia, covered by a barrel vault, below which a cloth awning seems to be suspended, its colour now almost entirely lost. The composition evidently draws on other figurative sources, perhaps the lost frescoes with *Stories of the Virgin* painted by Andrea Orcagna in the choir of Santa Maria Novella, no more than ten years before those discussed here. As in the previous scene, the links with the circle of Orcagna are especially evident here: the artist lavishes a lot of attention on individually characterized facial features, with prominent jaw lines and a variety of beards. The two disappointed pretenders are prominently displayed in the foreground: one is bending forward as he breaks his staff over his raised left knee; the other is seen from the back, bending into the picture space in such a way as to suggest the depth of the structure in which the scene is taking place. Ample garments, fluted with just a few perpendicular folds, envelop bodies of massive physique, accentuating their monumental forms.

For the narrative of the Stories of Mary Magdalene on the opposite side of the sacristy the dependence on so authoritative an iconographic source as the frescoes painted by Giotto's atelier in the Palazzo del Podestà does not appear particularly significant. On the other hand, of the three episodes of the Stories of Mary Magdalene painted by Giovanni da Milano only in the scene of *Dinner in the House of the Pharisee*, painted in the upper lunette, and in the scene below with *Jesus conversing with the Magdalen* is it possible to recognize a link with the previous iconographic tradition. As for the scene of the *Resurrection of Lazarus*, the Lombard painter presented an original composition of his own of great visual impact.

Matteo di Pacino places the *Meeting between Jesus and the Magdalen* (pl. LXX[3]) in a lush *hortus conclusus*, surrounded by a wall, visible not only in the background, but also, unusually, in the foreground. The artist here experiments with a solution wholly in accordance with his own preferences, organizing the scene with essentially static groups of figures. Motionless in posture, relaxed in manner, the figures converse peaceably together, with solemn composure. The group of Holy Women talk at their ease, without showing any sign of fear or emotion, while the three angels explain to them what has happened. The landscape that forms the background to the two episodes offers a minute description of various botanical species similar to that encountered in the polyptych with the *Vision of Saint Bernard*; on the other hand, a reflection of the naturalistic vision of Giovanni da Milano is palpable in this scene, in the softness of the complexions, in the silky fabrics of the garments, in the profile of the kneeling Magdalen, and in the description of her long loosened blond tresses that fall over her shoulders and back.

The last scene refers to a miracle of the Saint reported by Jacopo da Varazze's *Legenda Aurea* (pl. LXX[4]).[155] The protagonists are the governor of Marseilles and his wife, who having obtained from the Saint the miracle of a long-awaited pregnancy embark on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. During the journey, however, the woman gives birth prematurely and dies in childbirth. Her husband buries

[155] According to Aiazzi the source of the episode is recognisable in the *Speculum Paolini*, a copy of which was preserved in the Library of the Franciscan convent (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XXI, sin. 1). The text in question in effect contains an account of the episode relating to the biography of Mary Magdalene illustrated by Matteo di Pacino in the Rinuccini Chapel frescoes; however, given that the same episode is also to be found in the far more widespread *Legenda Aurea* of Jacopo da Varazze (ed. 1995, 519-522), there is no good reason to suppose that the fresco in the Franciscan sacristy derives from the undoubtedly far more uncommon hagiography of the Venetian, Fra Paolino. Moreover the MS. in the Laurentian Library contains an annotation (fol. 149r) which shows its provenance from the collection of Fra Tedaldo della Casa, which was not donated to the Franciscan convent until 1406 (Bandini, IV, 1777, 155-157).

her on an island, abandoning alongside the tomb the newborn child (a boy), whom he was unable to feed. He then continues his journey towards Jerusalem where he meets Saint Peter, in whose company he visits the holy places. During his return journey, on arriving on the island where the tomb of his wife was situated, he goes to pay homage to her, but meets on the beach an infant boy who, on seeing him, runs away in his fear. The fresco illustrates the final part of the story. The man follows the little boy, and finds the body of his wife who lies as if asleep and then grasps hold of the little boy, having intuited that he is his son, while the child tries to find refuge under the mantle that covers the body of the mother. To the right the epilogue is represented, with the governor kneeling to give thanks for the miracle received.[156] The same episode is also represented among the scenes painted by Giotto in the Lower Basilica at Assisi, though here it occupies a secondary space in the panel with the arrival of the Magdalen in Marseilles. In the Rinuccini Chapel, by contrast, the emphasis placed on this episode as a model of exemplary faith probably responds to a wish of the family that commissioned the decoration of the chapel, or perhaps to a suggestion of the friars.

Matteo di Pacino reveals in a particularly clear way his own ability individually to characterise his protagonists in the portrayal of the two Franciscan Saints painted on the intrados of the arch leading into the Rinuccini Chapel (pls. LXX[7-8]). What is memorable about the image of *Saint Anthony of Padua* is his corpulent figure, his full round face, whose full cheeks depend to the side of the mouth, and whose solemn and immobile gaze is fixed on the spectator. The melancholic suffering face of the *Blessed Andrea di Anagni*, by contrast, seems a portrait from life: his cheeks are hollowed, his brow is furrowed, his gaze searching, conforming to the ascetic who had not hesitated to renounce the cardinalate to remain true to the vow of poverty imposed by the Franciscan Rule.

An important testimony of the existence of direct relations between Matteo di Pacino and Francesco di Cino Rinuccini can also be deduced from the history of a small painting that recently appeared on the art market with a correct attribution to this artist. It represents *Saint Ivo and a kneeling donor* (New York, collezione Alana) (pl. LXXI).[157] The small panel, intended for private devotion, seems to me very close in style to the above-mentioned frescoes in Santa Croce. The figures dressed in ample garments that envelop the bodies and break into deep tubular folds reflect the search for monumentality that accompanies the intervention of Matteo di Pacino in the cycle of the Franciscan church. The affinity with Matteo is also shown, in an even more significant manner, by the attempt to confer a personal and pregnant expression on the faces. This is evident both in the strongly characterized profile of the kneeling donor, with his prominent nose and powerful jaw, and in the face with its high cheekbones and furrowed brow of Saint Ivo, almost interchangeable with Saint Anthony of Padua (pl. LXX[7]) on the arch leading into the chapel of the Franciscan sacristy at Santa Croce.

Curiously an inscription preserved on the back of the painting, attesting its provenance from the collection of Prince Luigi Alberico Trivulzio (1868-1938), furnishes a clue to connect the execution of this small painting with the decoration of the chapel in Santa Croce and with Francesco Rinuccini himself. For the prince's grandfather, Giorgio Trivulzio, had in fact married (in 1831) one of the last descendents of the Rinuccini family, Marianna, sister of Emilia and Eleonora with whom the important Florentine family was extinguished in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the division of the family estate the chapel in Santa Croce went to Eleonora, who married Neri di Tommaso Corsini in 1834.[158] Marianna is recalled instead for having taken as a dowry to Milan, following her marriage with Giorgio Teodoro Trivulzio (1803-1856), a rich collection of manuscripts, incunables and works of art which went to swell the already lavish collections of the noble Milanese family. The works of art taken by Marianna to Milan must also have included Matteo di Pacino's small painting of *Saint Ivo*.[159] It is highly probable, in my view, that Matteo painted it at the time of his involvement in the decoration of the chapel in Santa Croce, and indeed the work can be considered proof of the existence of relations between the artist and Francesco Rinuccini.

At the time of the frescoes in the Franciscan church, Francesco Rinuccini was already of advanced age; I would therefore tend to exclude his possible identification with the donor represented in the painting. He is more likely to be Francesco's son Giovanni, born in 1343, whom his father had precociously launched on what would prove to be a difficult political career.[160] Of interest too is the choice of the saint portrayed in this little painting: Saint Ivo of Kermartin (in Brittany) (1253-1303), priest, judge and notary, patron saint of lawyers.[161] Generally invoked as an example of rectitude in administration and probity in public office, it is just in this light that the Saint might have been chosen as an example and protector for the young Rinuccini.

The decoration of the Rinuccini Chapel, however, was not completed until 1379, the date of the polyptych painted by Giovanni del Biondo for the altar and still fortunately *in situ*. The huge fortune at the disposal of Francesco Rinuccini would seem to discount the notion that the delay in completing the decoration of the chapel was due to financial constraints. The patronage of a chapel in Santa Croce was a sign of great distinction and Francesco Rinuccini had undoubtedly exerted all his influence within the Compagnia di Orsanmichele to obtain its transfer from the Guidalotti to his family; however, after having completed the decoration of the walls of the chapel, the work ground to a halt. Rinuccini's biography may help explain why this was so: for following 1371 his life was full of important diplomatic missions conducted in various parts of the peninsula, but these were also years of considerable financial commitment in support of the republican government of Florence, of which the documents suggest he was a creditor to the tune of 14,574 gold florins. This enormous economic leverage and political power began to give rise to concern and in fact on 28 March 1378, together with seven other citizens, Rinuccini was "warned" by the Parte Guelfa and consequently exiled. According to a (partisan) source, however, the condemnation was not "a punishment but a triumph": such were the protests of the people that the Capitani were soon after forced to recall him from exile and "pay him the honours he deserved and restore to him his former dignity".[162] Rinuccini's swift rehabilitation was a sensational event in Florentine history of the period, and I cannot help wondering whether the decision to enrich the chapel with Giovanni del Biondo's monumental polyptych might not be linked to its happy outcome.[163] In this case the date inscribed on the altarpiece would not refer just to its completion by Giovanni del Biondo, but could also assume a deeper symbolic value in relation to the biographical vicissitudes of the patron, who would die not many years later, in 1381.[164]

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156 The white-bearded man to the right, with his hands hidden in the sleeves of his tunic, was identified by Aiazzi with Francesco di Cino Rinuccini (Aiazzi, 1840, 322; Moisè, 1845, 161).

157 Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 34, fig. 10.

158 Gotti, 1886, 9. Eleonora Rinuccini later financed the renovation of the windows in the family chapel in the sacristy of Santa Croce, commissioning Luigi Del Moro to supervise the work (Restauri, in *Arte e Storia*, 1893, 159).

159 Marianna Rinuccini's dowry also included such important paintings as Antonello da Messina's *Portrait of a Man* now in Turin (Museo Civico; Zappia, in *Catania Exh. Cat.* 1982, 124) , a *Saint John the Baptist* by Jacopo del Sellaio now in the National Gallery of Washington (Luciano, in *Washington Mus. Cat.* 2003, 632) and the altarpiece of Filippo Lippi now in the Museo del Castello Sforzesco in Milan. In 1935 prince Luigi Alberico, from whose collection the Matteo di Pacino painting comes, negotiated the sale of the library and art collection with the dealer Accorsi in Turin, who was acting on behalf of the administration of Palazzo Madama. The deal was blocked by the government to prevent the impoverishment of the artistic heritage of the Lombard city. The prince then sold the family library to the *comune* of Milan (*Milan Libr. Cat.,* 1995), Antonello's portrait and other works were sold in turn to the *comune* of Turin, while other paintings, including the one being discussed here, were dispersed.

160 Aiazzi, 1840, 16-17.

161 Baldini, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCV, 2007, 91-99.

162 Aiazzi, 1840, 119: "renderlo ai meritati onori e alla primiera dignità".

163 Offner - Steinweg, *Corpus*, IV/V, 1969, 77-83, pls. XX-XX[8].

164 For a reconstruction of the biography of Francesco Rinuccini see Aiazzi, 1840, 110-121.

The tendency to give massive block-like forms to his figures, a reflection of Matteo's growing indebtedness to the manner of Jacopo di Cione and his circle, would suggest that another work should be close in date to the frescoes in Santa Croce and hence not much later than the close of the 1360s. I refer to the thirteen fragments with the *Vir dolorum between the Madonna and St. John, Apostles and Saint Francis*, reassembled in the form of a rectangular panel, and now in the Musei Vaticani (pl. LXXII). Despite the reduced size of the fragments, the painter has tried to confer a kind of sculptural emphasis on his figures: the Apostles have squared faces and broad shoulders; they are draped in *all'antica* dress. Their facial features are underlined by a thin dark contour line, while a strongly contrasted chiaroscuro models their volumes, emphasizing their furrowed cheeks and wrinkled skin. In this phase Matteo's work is closely akin to that of painters of the circle of Andrea and Jacopo di Cione, for example the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella, as shown by comparison with such works as the triptych with *Stories of the Passion of Christ* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana.[165]

The *Vir dolorum between the Madonna and St. John the Evangelist, Apostles and Saint Francis* formed part of a single horizontal panel, from which they have been cut out and then re-arranged in three registers, each comprising five figures, with the larger fragment of the Man of Sorrows between Mary and John at the centre. Given that the fragments have been glued onto a new support which precludes any view of the wood on the retro, the only clue for a reconstruction of the original arrangement of the figures to the side of the central group is represented by a fragment of a cross, symbol of martyrdom of St. Philip the Apostle, on the left margin of the little panel now placed at the centre of the lower row, in which a bearded Apostle holding a dagger, identifiable with Saint Simon the Apostle, is represented.[166] This circumstance indicates that the two apostles were placed side by side to the right of Christ, together with the fragments with St. Peter (presumably placed to the Virgin's side), Saints James Major, Thomas and Matthew, while on the other side would have been placed Saints Paul (behind John the Evangelist, forming a pendant with Saint Peter), Andrew, James Minor, Judas Thaddeus, Bartholomew and Francis.[167] If recomposed in this way, the whole altarpiece would have reached a total length of almost two metres and therefore it can be assumed to have had the function of a predella surmounted by a tabernacle or crucifix. The inclusion of Saint Francis suggests a provenance from a church linked to the order of Friars Minor and I cannot help wondering whether it might not have been destined for the altar of the Rinuccini Chapel, before the realization of Giovanni del Biondo's polyptych.[168]

The Annunciation in the church of Santa Lucia sul Prato

Among the works attributed to Matteo di Pacino, the *Annunciation* in the church of Santa Lucia sul Prato in Florence, fragmentary and much damaged by numerous retouches, represents an interesting case, especially because it prompts some considerations of more general character (pl. LXXIII). The fresco, placed over the first altar on the left wall, was attributed to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel (alias Matteo di Pacino) by Miklós Boskovits who pointed out its precarious condition and tentatively suggested a dating to the years 1370-1375. Previously, the work has been ascribed by scholars of the calibre of Pietro Toesca and Richard Offner to Nardo di Cione, while Bernard Berenson had even pronounced in favour of Maso di Banco.[169] These proposals are recognition of

[165] Boskovits, 1975, 375, fig. 93; Volbach, 1987, 26-27, fig. 43.
[166] See oo in this volume.
[167] For the identification of the Saints see in this volume oo.
[168] The combined fragments measure c. 184 cm. This length is compatible with that of the altar strill present in the chapel.
[169] See in this volume oo.

the fresco's high level of execution and especially point to a source to which, as we have seen in the previous pages, Matteo di Pacino did, on various occasions, effectively refer.

The attribution to Matteo, recently reaffirmed also by Alberto Lenza, is especially supported by the analysis of the figure of the Madonna, whose face corresponds to a facial type recurrent in the work of the painter, as shown by comparison with that of the Angel to the right of the Virgin in the central compartment of the polyptych with the *Vision of Saint Bernard* (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, pls. LXVIII[1-2]). In the figure of the archangel, on the other hand, an evaluation of the figurative style is made difficult by the almost complete repainting of the left side of his face and the retouches scattered all over. On the other hand, the curls of his hair, harmoniously distributed in stiff undulations to the sides of his face, correspond to the painter's manner, as exemplified by the *Vision of Saint Bernard* and by the frescoes in the church of Santa Croce (pls. LXX[1]); a dating not very far removed from these works, between the seventh and eighth decade of the Trecento, would therefore seem the most probable hypothesis.

The *Annunciation* in Santa Lucia, moreover, is an important testimony of a phenomenon of wider implication on which it is worth dwelling, if only briefly. From the third quarter of the Trecento we may note, in fact, a growing diffusion in Florentine churches of frescoes of this subject, whose composition either replicates, or closely derives from, the venerated image of the *Annunciation* placed on the inner entrance wall of the church of SS. Annunziata of the order of the Servants of Mary.[170] Matteo di Pacino's fresco in the church Santa Lucia sul Prato is one of the earliest examples that has come down to us, together with the *Annunciation* painted in the church of Ognissanti by the Master of Barberino, which includes an inscription, unfortunately no longer legible, with the name of the donor and the date 1369 (so an important *terminus ante quem* for the painting in the Servite church),[171] and a panel of Jacopo di Cione in the church of San Niccolò at Calenzano.[172]

Close to these versions would also seem to be the fragmentary *Annunciation* now preserved in the Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore and apparently still unpublished.[173] Another panel of the *Annunciation* by Jacopo di Cione in the church of Santo Spirito at Prato should date to m. 1385,[174] while even later are the paintings on the entrance wall of the church of San Marco and in Santa Maria Novella.[175]

[170] The phenomenon was investigated by Paatz (I, 1940, 98, 157-159 n. 231) who subdivided the derivations from the fresco in the Annunziata into four groups, on the basis of how close or not they are to the model.
[171] The inscription, transcribed by Father Antonio Tognocchi da Terrinca (Descrizione della chiesa e convento di Ognissanti, ms., 1680-1691, II/I, 40), is cited by Razzoli, 1898, 57. See also Scalella, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCII, 2004, 98, 100 n. 10, fig. 7.
[172] On Jacopo di Cione's panel see Boskovits, 1975, 54, 322, fig. 113. Paatz (I, 1940, 98, 157-159 n. 231) includes in the group of direct derivations from the fresco in the Annunziata both the *Annunciation* in Santa Lucia sul Prato and that in Ognissanti, but not that of Jacopo di Cione, though it is fair to say that the only disparity in this panel is in its format (taller than it is wide and with gabled termination), while the pose of the figures and the setting perfectly conform to the model.
[173] The fresco was discovered during the recent restoration of the palazzo housing the Opera in Piazza San Giovanni No. 7; the restoration was completed in 2008.
[174] Boskovits, 1975, 54, 329, pl. 89/b. Offner, 1981,50.
[175] Both these works are classified by Paatz (I, 1940, 98, 157-159 n. 231) in their group "B", the one, that is, that comprises paintings in which only some of the features that characterize the model in SS. Annunciata are visible. On the fresco in San Marco, probably by Bicci di Lorenzo see Paatz, III, 1952, 25 and 58 n. 80. The altar is on the entrance wall and was under the patronage of the Becchi, later Becchi Nettoli family.
For the fresco in Santa Maria Novella see Neri Lusanna, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXIII, 1985, 302-303, fig. 2. The painting in the Dominican church, which she assigns Pietro di Miniato, could according to Miklós Boskovits (oral communication) be more convincingly re-allocated to the catalogue of the Master of Carmignano (Fiorillo, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001).

As is well known, the fresco in SS. Annunziata substitutes a previous and highly venerated work, though it must have had a composition at least in part different.[176] In other Florentine versions of the Annunciation dating to the central decades of the Trecento, for example the panel of Andrea di Cione of 1346 [177] or that of the Arte dei Legnaioli now in the Accademia[178] no very precise reference to the painting in SS. Annunziata can be noted.

Since the fresco still preserved on the inner entrance wall of the church of SS. Annunziata was probably realized in years in which Matteo di Pacino was active on the Florentine artistic scene, and since his version in Santa Lucia clearly derives from it, it does not seem superfluous to examine this work in more detail here. Apart from its horizontal format, the peculiar features of the *Annunciation* in the Servite church consist of its architectural mise-en-scène and the attitude of the figures. The setting is characterized by the minute description of a domestic interior dominated by a large box seat of a kind that was common in the homes of the affluent bourgeoisie during this period; in front of it is a precious carpet with an ingeniously foreshortened oriental pattern. In the background a curtain probabily conceals the Virgin's bed, while a book, which she usually holds in one hand in mid-Trecento versions of the Annunciation, while with her other she makes a gesture of surprise, is here placed on a cushion on the box seat. But the most significant change in this version of the Annunciation is the figure of the Virgin herself. The more frequent gestures of surprise or reluctance are eliminated, replaced by her serene and trusting acceptance of God's will. Her hands are clasped; they rest submissively in her lap. She is ready to accept the Son of God. Her face is turned upwards while with a trustful expression she pronounces the words "Ecce ancilla Domini" ("Behold I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be to me according to your word"; Lk 1: 38). The letters of the invocation are transcribed with the letters reversed, and obliquely aligned, as they proceed from the Virgin's mouth to God the Father represented in the upper left, to emphasize the *in fieri* character of the action represented.

In conclusion, the entire composition of the fresco of the *Annunciation* in SS. Annunziata and the novel features that are recognizable in it seem governed by the intention to render the pictorial narrative more truthful. This is achieved on the one hand by the detailed description of the interior in which the episode takes place and on the other by a particular sensibility in rendering the psychological dimension of the protagonist. The repeated restorations undergone by the painting and the glass that now protects it, making it difficult to see, do not help the identification of the master who painted it. Yet its considerable accomplishment transpires even in its present damaged condition. Were its condition to permit it, it would be of great interest to conduct further investigations on the anonymous painter's relations with artists particularly involved on the front of the naturalistic rendering of real life details between the sixth and seventh decade of the Trecento, from Giovanni da Milano to Giottino.[179]

Matteo di Pacino was one of the first, together with Jacopo di Cione and the Master of Barberino, to copy the venerated image and it is interesting to note that the passage that created most difficulties for these painters, and those that followed them, was the design of the Virgin's right arm. In the original, Mary's right arm is skilfully foreshortened. The detail is infelicitously reproduced both in Jacopo di Cione's version in San Niccolò at Calenzano and in that of Matteo di Pacino (in which the right arm seems shorter than the left), while the Master of Barberino eliminates the problem altogether by representing the Virgin with her arms crossed over her breast, in a pose that mirrors that of the Archangel. This too is an indication of the considerable accomplishment of the SS. Annunziata painter.

[176] According to a tradition of dubious reliability, the painting was begun by the painter Bartolomeo in 1252 (Paatz, I, 1940, 98, 156 n. 230).

[177] Kreytenberg, 2000, 63-66, pl. 14a.

[178] Feraci, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 217-221.

[179] The latest documentary evidence regarding Giottino refers to works realized in the Vatican Palace in 1369. On this artist see in this volume 00.

Fragments of a lost cycle in the church of San Jacopo tra i Fossi

The recognition achieved by Matteo di Pacino towards the end of the seventh decade is also documented by the fragments of a lost cycle of frescoes in the church of San Jacopo tra i Fossi, a church officiated by the Vallombrosan order since the twelfth century. Of the original decoration of the church only a few fragments remain, including two busts of Apostles, painted on the intrados to the right of the present entrance to the church and attributed to Matteo di Pacino by Miklós Boskovits (oral communication) (pls. LXXIV[1-2]). Research in the historical archive of the Soprintendenza di Firenze has established that they were discovered in 1870.[180] This was when such works as Gherardo Starnina's *Resurrection of Lazarus* now in the Museo di Santa Croce, and the fresco of *Saint Eustace and stories of his life* attributed to the circle of Andrea del Castagno, were detached from the walls of the church and subsequently transferred elsewhere, while the fragments discussed here were left *in situ*.[181]

During the fourteen century, the orientation of the church of San Jacopo was reversed: the thirteenth-century entrance to the west, on the Via delle Brache, was closed and a new one opened on the opposite side, on the Via de' Benci, in the area of the original apse.[182] This change was a consequence of the importance assumed by this street during the previous century: it was there that the residences of the powerful Alberti family had been concentrated. Right opposite the new entrance of the church rose the family tower, which is still recognizable, and the *palazzetto* of Benedetto degli Alberti who, according to a clearly hostile chronicle of 1387, by virtue of his extraordinary economic power, was about to become the new lord of Florence.[183] The date of the beginning of the work of remodelling the church is not precisely known. However, since the area overlooking the new façade was called "platea Sancti Jacobi" in a document of 1369, this year has been indicated as a plausible *terminus ante quem* for the church's change in orientation, while the sum of 200 florins paid by Benedetto Alberti in 1387 for building work suggests that the work continued for several decades.[184] Documentary considerations apart, the assumption that the paintings here ascribed to Matteo di Pacino postdate these works is clearly implied by the siting of the surviving fragments. They adorn the intrados of an arch that opens in the left wall of the nave, to the right of someone entering the church from its present entrance, and evidently leading into a side chapel, now incorporated into the adjacent buildings.[185]

[180] See in this volume 00.

[181] The fragment of Gherardo Starnina is now in the Museo dell'Opera di Santa Croce (Becherucci, 1983, 173 No. 23). Its provenance from San Jacopo dei Fossi was proposed by Anneke de Vries (de Vries, in *Source*, XXVI, 2006, 1, 1-4) on the basis of the correspondence of the subject represented with a fresco reported in the church by Giorgio Vasari, who attributed it to Agnolo Gaddi. Independently the same provenance was identified by the present writer on the basis of archival documents (SSPMF, Archivio Storico, Direzione delle Regie Gallerie e Musei - Affari, 1870, Pos. 1, No. 54. *Relazione sul ritrovamento della Resurrezione di Lazzaro di Agnolo Gaddi. Marta e Maria a' piedi di Gesù e dietro il quale vedonsi alcuni Apostoli …a sinistra dell'antica porta oggi dietro l'Altare maggiore.*). The fresco of *Saint Eustace and stories of his life*, which formerly bore an inscription with the date 1467, was rediscovered instead on the wall to the right of the entrance and is now in the complex of Sant'Apollonia (Paatz, II, 1941, 425 n. 45, with bibliography).

[182] Paatz, II, 1941, 414-415.

[183] Mohlo - Sznura, 1986, 65. On the extensive real estate of the Alberti family on what is now the Via de' Benci, and the adjacent Via de' Neri, Borgo Santa Croce and Corso de' Tintori see Preyer, 2009, 3-33.

[184] In 1403 the abbot of San Salvi, dom Marco, who was responsible for the upkeep of the church, received a legacy of 50 florins as contribution for "riconciare la chiesa di San Jacopo tra le Fosse la quale era più che mezza ischoperta" (ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, 81, filza n. 61, fol. 16r).

[185] The date when the wall that closes the chapel was built is unknown. The early descriptions report Antonio da Sangallo's Crucifix on the first altar to the right on entering the church; it is now in the Cappella dei Pittori in SS. Annunziata (Paatz, II, 1941, 417).

The two fragments formed part of a cycle of the Twelve Apostles. They represent respectively St. Bartholomew, recognizable by his particular facial type and white mantle, decorated with little red flowers, and another apostle less easily identifiable due to the lack of attributes. Analogies with the figurative style of Matteo di Pacino can be found in the unfortunately much damaged figure of *St. Bartholomew* and especially in that of the other Apostle, comparable with passages in the Rinuccini Chapel cycle (e.g. in the *Miracle of Mary Magdalene*) and also in the frescoes of San Donato in Polverosa. The regular oval of the face, framed by stiff curls, the large eyes half closed by heavy eyelids, the fleshy lips and wispy beard recall models of Nardo di Cione, drawn on also by Matteo di Pacino. The execution of these frescoes would therefore seem to be close to, perhaps slightly preceding, Matteo's intervention in the lower tier of the Rinuccini Chapel murals.

The panel for the Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova and the works of Matteo's final years

The fragment with the *Almsgiving of a Blessed*, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (pl. LXXVII), has been convincingly referred to a phase close to that of the frescoes in San Donato in Polverosa. The characteristics of the support, formed of two vertically grained boards, exclude the provenance of the fragment from a predella (where the graining the wood is normally horizontal). It might have formed part of an altar frontal or *paliotto*, where both horizontal and vertical graining are possible,[186] but the most probable hypothesis is that the painting is the fragment of a hagiographic altarpiece with a full-length figure of the Saint at the centre and episodes from his life to either side.[187]

The protagonist in the Accademia fragment is usually identified with St. Anthony Abbot, on the basis of the presumed correspondence between what is shown in the painting and an episode narrated by Saint Athanasius, disciple of the hermit and author of his first biography.[188] According to this hagiographical account, the Saint, struck by a passage from the Gospel read during mass for deceased parents (Mt 19: 21: "If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor"), decided to follow the precept, donate all his worldly goods to the needy and retire to live a hermit's life in the desert. The representation in the Accademia painting, describing as it does an act of charity, can be plausibly connected with the episode described in Saint Athanasius' *vita* of the Saint, but it is fair to say that the theme of the voluntary abandonment of worldly goods is rather widespread in medieval hagiography, and so other hypotheses cannot be ruled out. In the Tuscan area this episode recurs in the biographies of Saints Donnino, Ranieri and Aegidius. Saint Donnino can be excluded, since he is usually portrayed as a knight,[189] while the identification with Saint Ranieri (or Raynerius), especially venerated in Pisa (where he is buried in the cathedral), seems improbable.[190] As regards Saint Aegidius (or Giles), the question is more complex. The narrative of the relevant episode in the biography of the Saint in the *Legenda aurea*, one of the hagiographic texts most widespread in this period, corresponds only vaguely with the story depicted in the Accademia fragment. According to the account of Jacopo da Varazze, Aegidius, born in Greece to a family of royal descent, on going to church, is said to have donated his mantle to a poor invalid lying in front of the entrance. The instant healing of the sick man following this gesture of charity, inducing the Saint to devolve all his worldly goods to the poor and henceforth to live in a hermitage.[191] In Matteo di Pacino's panel the episode represented is more particularly a scene of almsgiving and, what is more, any allusion to the episode of the mantle is lacking. So the identification of the protagonist with Saint Aegidius would seem *prima facie* to be excluded. However, a miniature in the Gradual-Antiphonary produced for the church of Sant'Aegidius, painted by Bartolomeo di Fruosino in 1421 (Firenze, Museo di San Marco, Inv. 557, fol. 2r) seems to suggest otherwise. For here the figure of the protagonist shows, in my view, affinities with the youthful Saint at the centre of Matteo di Pacino's fragment and, given that the name of the figure, "Aegidius graecus", is clearly indicated in capital letters at the foot of the miniature,[192] it seems to me legitimate to take into consideration the hypothesis that the legend represented in our altarpiece refers to this Saint. This identification of the protagonist of the Accademia panel with Saint Aegidius is further corroborated by a piece of information contained in documents relating to the biography of Matteo di Pacino.

Payments received by Matteo between 1371 and 1374 from the Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova for various minor works include two sums cashed respectively on 28 November 1373 and 4 June of the following year referring to a panel painted for *gl'infermi*.[193] The sums in question, of equal amount, probably represent an advance and the balance due on its completion: in the earlier document it can be inferred that the work had not yet been painted, while in the second document payment is evidently being made for a work that had by now been completed. The panel, painted for the invalids, was not placed in the church dedicated to Sant'Aegidius adjacent to the Spedale, but in the chapel situated at the north-western end of the men's hospital, the Spedale degli Uomini, which was laid out parallel to the nave of the church.[194] The earliest reports relating to the furniture of the chapel refer to its renovation in the late sixteenth century, during which the church was further enlarged and the new chapel endowed with a marble altar surmounted by a Crucifix that the sources attribute to Giambologna.[195]

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186 The *pala* of Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani with *St. John the Evangelist and stories of his life*, in the church of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia has a horizontally grained support (Boskovits, 1975, 318), while the wood is vertical in Mariotto di Cristofano's polyptych with *Stories of Christ and the Virgin* (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. No. 1890/8508) (Fremantle, 1975, 558, No. 1165).

187 Comparanda for an ideal reconstruction of the panel as the fragment of a larger altarpiece might be, for instance, the panel of Jacopo del Casentino with *San Miniato and stories of his life* still in the church of San Miniato al Monte (Offner, *Corpus,* III/II, 1987, 458-471), Andrea Orcagna's triptych with Saint Matthew and stories of his life for the church of Orsanmichele (Offner, *Corpus,* IV/III, 1965, 20-26, pl. I; Kreytenberg, 2000, 166-169) and the triptych of Giovanni del Biondo with *Saint Giovanni Gualberto and stories of his life* in the church of Santa Croce (Offner, *Corpus,* IV/V Part II), 1969, 14-16, pls. I-I[8]; Padoa Rizzo, in *Florence Exh. Cat.* 2006, 125-127). From a chronological point of view, Matteo di Pacino's altarpiece would fall between that of Andrea Orcagna and that of Giovanni del Biondo. Andrea Orcagna's work, perhaps intended to be "wrapped round" one of the pillars in the church of Orsanmichele, required the abandonment of the single panel format and the adoption instead of a structure adjustable to the particular morphology of the site for which it was intended. Subsequently, however, the tripartite model was resumed, as shown by the work of Giovanni del Biondo, but the type of the single panel was probably not wholly abandoned.

188 Kaftal, 1952, 61-76. The painting was also classified as a scene from the *Life of St. Anthony* in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 169.

189 Cf. Giovanni del Biondo's polyptych for the church of San Donnino at Campi Bisenzio, with the *Madonna and Child enthroned between Saints Donnino and John the Baptist*, with episodes of the life of the Saint in the predella (Offner, *Corpus*, IV/V, 1969, 138-139, pl. XXIX[6]).

190 Kaftal, 1952, 873-884, fig. 987. In the scene of the *Almsgiving of Saint Ranieri* frescoed by Andrea Bonaiuti in the Camposanto di Pisa the Saint is dressed as a knight (Tripps, *Corpus*, IV/VII, part I, 1996, 214-233, pl. XXXIV[2]).

191 Jacobus a Varagine, ed. 1846, 582: " Aegidius Athenis ex regia stirpe progenitus et sacris litteris ab infantia eruditus, dum quadam die ad ecclesiam pergeret, cuidam aegro in platea iacenti et elemosinam petenti tunicam suam tribuit, qua indutus sanitatem integram mox recepit. Post hoc, parentibus suis in domino quiescentibus, patrimonii sui Christum fecit heredem."

192 Chiarelli, 1968, 64. The miniature is reproduced by Kaftal, 1952, fig. 536. for the choir-books of Santa Maria Nuova and the Gradual now in San Marco in particular see Levi D'Ancona, 1994, 112, figs. 51-52. On Bartolomeo di Fruosino see Zambrelli, in *Diz. Miniatori*, 2003, 64-66, with bibliography and Levi D'Ancona, 2003, 101-108.

193 See in this volume 00.

194 Paatz, IV, 1952, 5-8. On the various transformations of the hospital complex see Diana, 2005, 45-99, fig. 4.

195 Kaftal, IV, 1952, 26. The Crucifix, which is thought to be lost, was described, together with the chapel that housed it, by Antonio Cocchi in 1742 (Cocchi, ed. Mannelli Goggioli, 2000, 124-128). Accompanied by two stucco angels, it can perhaps be identified with the one now placed on the high altar of the church, made of papier maché painted to look like bronze (Teodori, in *Il Tesoro,* 2009, 60, figs. 7-8).

Nothing is unfortunately known of its appearance or funishings in the fourteenth century. On the other hand, since provision was already made in the Statutes of 1331 for the daily celebration of Mass in the patients' wards, in the Spedale degli Uomini – on the north-western side opposite the entrance –, it follows that an altar must necessarily have been installed here and on it the panel painted by Matteo di Pacino would have been placed.[196]

If the protagonist of the Accademia fragment were Sant'Aegidius, we could then assume that the fragment could have formed part of the panel painted by Matteo di Pacino between 1373 and 1374, also because such a dating is compatible with the date suggested by an analysis of its figurative style. These dates are slightly later than those reported by the documents for the paintings executed by Tuccio Vanni in the Spedale delle Donne, a circumstance that in some way re-proposes the hypothesis of a close link between Tuccio Vanni and Matteo di Pacino.[197]

The architectural setting of the Accademia fragment and its landscape have unfortunately been almost completely lost, with the one exception of the building behind the scene of almsgiving itself, which seems to have the sole function of forming a backdrop and delimiting the space of the action. In his description of the cripples and down-and-outs Matteo di Pacino grasps in full the opportunity to give proof of his narrative abilities for naturalistic description of the disabilities or mutilations – a wooden peg-leg, a bandaged limb – of the figures who, in ragged clothes and with importunate gestures, press round the young protagonist elegantly clad at the centre. In the design which minutely incises the contours and emphasizes the almost caricatural facial features, we can grasp an important affinity with the executioners who jostle round Saint Sebastian in the fresco of San Donato in Polverosa, while the colour, in spite of the worn pictorial surface, gives every indication of having been rich and mellow, with a chiaroscuro carefully calibrated to heighten the three-dimensionality of the forms and the effect of light on the fabrics, in a way not dissimilar from what we have already observed in the fragments with the *Vir Dolorum between the Apostles and Saint Francis* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pl. LXXII), or in the compartments of the predella of the Badia di Settimo polyptych.

Close in date to the panel of Saint Aegidius is probably the polyptych to which the compartment with *Saint Blaise visited in prison by a widow* once belonged; it is now in the Villa La Pietra at Florence (New York University) (pl. LXXVI). In this case the reduced size of the panel and the horizontal graining of the wood suggest its provenance from the predella of a dismembered and dispersed polyptych, still unidentified. The scene takes place in a barrel-vaulted room. Looking onto it is the grated window of the dark cell in which the Saint is imprisoned. The widow, followed by a small group of cripples and beggars, offers Saint Blaise the head of the pig that he had saved from the jaws of a wolf and a tall candle made from the tallow of the same animal. The episode is not among those most frequently illustrated in the life of the Saint; all the more reason for presuming that it formed part of a predella entirely dedicated to the life of Saint Blaise, also comprising such episodes as his retreat to escape the persecutions of Domitian, the return of the pig to the widow and lastly his martyrdom by being tortured with iron carding combs.[198]

[196] As examples of this type of furnishing of fourteenth-century hospitals in Tuscany we may cite the Spedale della Misericordia e Dolce in Prato, cf. Carrara- Mannini, 1993, 89-94 and the women's ward (Spedale delle Donne) in the Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova itself, see Palmeri, 2010, 49-55.

[197] See above n. 00.

[198] Kaftal, 1952, 201-210. Generally in the case of isolated representations, artists preferred to illustrate the scene of martyrdom; the episode represented here recurs in predellas entirely dedicated to illustrating the life of the Saint, for example that painted by Allegretto Nuzi for a dispersed polyptych, divided between various collections (Labriola, in *New York Coll. Cat.* 2009, 12-15).

The figures have rather squat proportions. Their expressions are acutely characterized, their volumes emphasized by an accentuated chiaroscuro, as we have already seen in the fragment with the *Almsgiving of Saint Aegidius* or in the fragments in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (pl. LXXII). In general, however, we may note in the contours a tendency to simplification, while the expressions of the faces, which have features less harsh than those in the Accademia panel, indicate a rather close affinity with the stylistic preferences of the painters who gravitated round the circle of Jacopo di Cione, in particular the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella.

A reconstruction of the activity of this latter master, though still under discussion, shows a career path developed on the margins of the *bottega* of Andrea and Jacopo di Cione, though the forms of his works are clearly distinguishable from those of these latter. The anonymous master shows a constant predilection for massive figures, defined by thick contours, faces that are austere, and sometimes frowning, in expression.[199] This artist does not seem to have been attracted by the pursuit of the figural elegance and fable-like atmosphere cultivated by Jacopo di Cione until the early 1370s, the period to which belongs the execution of the polyptych for the church of San Pier Maggiore; subsequently, however, Jacopo, ever since his *Coronation of the Virgin* painted for the Zecca between 1372 and 1373,[200] would tend to privilege a simplification of design and a sterner tone in his narrative scenes, drawing ever closer to the style of the still anonymous artist.[201]

In the years comprised between the end of the decoration of the Rinuccini Chapel in 1371 and the Saint Aegidius panel completed in June 1374, presumably not long before the painter's death, we can place the large panel with *Saints Cosmas and Damian and stories of their life* now in the Raleigh Museum of Art (NC) (pls. LXXV[1-2]) and the fragment with *Saints James and Bartholomew* (pl. LXXVIII) in the Musée de Tessé in Le Mans; in both these works it seems to me that the closeness to Jacopo di Cione is particularly evident. The Kress Collection *Saints* in Raleigh are rigid and immobile. Standing in absolutely frontal poses, they are closely akin to the Saints painted on the intrados of the arches in the Rinuccini Chapel, though their contours are harsher and more incisive, and their pictorial technique – here tempera and not fresco – is more meticulous in the definition of every detail. The artist limits himself to defining the forms with chiaroscural passages and traces the profiles with a firm hand, trying to compose poses and gestures according to a rigorously balanced scheme. The tunics worn by the two saints are simplified in shape and fluted by long parallel perpendicular folds that conceal the anatomical forms of the bodies. The faces are solemn and meditative. The only trace of vivacity in this iconic image is represented by some flourishes in the hems of the clothing, e.g. the fur-lined sleeves of the Saint to the left, reminiscent of the similar motif in the small panel of *Saint Ivo* in the Alana collection (pl. LXXI).

The predella scenes, illustrating the *Miracle and Martyrdom of the two Saints* (pls. LXXV[1-2]), seem more perfunctory in manner; the setting of the two episodes is more summarily described and although the narrative effectively summarises the legend of the two twin brothers according to the version given by Jacopo da Varazze,[202] the figures appear devoid of the vivid characterization that distinguishes similar scenes in Matteo. In the first compartment we see to the right the two physician Saints who have just disinterred a cadaver, black of skin (an Ethiopian according to the legend), and amputated one of its legs, to transplant it on the custodian of the church dedicated to them. The two physicians then place the patient's diseased leg in the grave, and take away the healthy one,

[199] See in this volume 00.

[200] Offner - Steinweg, Corpus, IV/III, 1965, 88-93; Labriola, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 127-135.

[201] The culmination in this development would be the polyptych representing the *Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints Catherine, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and Helena*, painted by the two in collaboration in 1379, formerly in the Fischel collection in Vienna (Boskovits, 1975, 54, 210 n. 38, 330, 376, pl. 53)

[202] Iacopo da Varazze, ed. 1995, 788-789.

accompanied by an assistant who holds two knives, still blood-stained. To the left the patient lies on the bed with the black leg by now transplanted, while the two Saints converse together, satisfied by the result of the surgical operation they have just concluded.

The panel of *Saints James and Bartholomew* in the Musée de Tessé in Le Mans (France) (pl. LXXVIII), attributed by Bernard Berenson to Jacopo di Cione and by Richard Offner to the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella, was re-assigned to Matteo di Pacino by Miklós Boskovits.[203] Something of the "compendious style" of the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella is evoked by the pursuit of austerity in composition and classicizing forms; on the other hand, the execution is more fluid, the modelling more precise and the facial types of Matteo di Pacino can clearly be recognized in the squared forms of the faces and the type of chiaroscuro constructed through the regular application of delicate brushstrokes of light colour that accompanies the rotundities of the modelling, while allowing the darker hues underneath to show through. On the basis of similar considerations the attribution of the Musée de Tessé panel to Matteo di Pacino can be confirmed. To approximately the same years can be dated the fragment of a predella with *St. James*, formerly with the dealers Finarte at Milan (pl. LXXIX[1]), attributed by Bernard Berenson to Jacopo di Cione and given to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel (alias Matteo di Pacino) by Boskovits, who recognized that another fragment, representing the *Man of Sorrows* (Vir dolorum) (pl. LXXIX[2]) must have belonged to the same dismantled and dispersed polyptych. The provenace of the two fragments from the same work is clearly shown by the correspondence of their measurements and their decoration, both painted and punched. In both cases the figures are based on a model of sober neogiottesque classicism, which recalls the figurative style of Jacopo di Cione in the three-quarter profile of the oblong face of Saint James and in the light that accompanies the modelling.

* * *

At this point, the artistic career of Matteo di Pacino seems to have reached his conclusion. In 1374, as a reading of the documents suggests, he disappeared from the Florentine artistic scene, probably died during the plague epidemic that struck the city between May and November that year.[204]

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[203] See in this volume 00.

[204] Frari, 1811, 439.

DOCUMENTS AND AUTHENTICATED FACTS AND DATES OF MATTEO DI PACINO

1358 (modern style), January 23

ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 20222 (Tino di Ser Attaviano)
fol. 87v

Macteus Pacini Guiducci purchases a house in the *popolo* of San Michele di Curatola.

1359, June 25

ASF, Arte dei Medici e Speziali, 9[1]
fol. 41v

Matteus Pacini Ducci pittor populi Sancti Ambroxi descriptus fuit in presente matricula per me Bartolo Mauri notaro atque dictus quia promisit iuravit et se supposuit dictae artis die vigesimoquinto iuni anni domini mcclviiii indictione XII[2]

COLNAGHI, 1928, 179
HAINES, in *Riv. Arte*, XLI, 1989, 188
FREY, 1885, 322
LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana,* 2005, 36

1361 (modern style)

Inscription on the polyptych in Rome (pl. LX)
AN(N)I·DOMINI·M·CCC·L·X·MACTEUS·PACINI·MEPI(N)S(I)T·
ADI·XX·DIMA(R)ÇO

CAVALCASELLE - CROWE, I, 474, 1864
COLNAGHI, 1928, 179

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[1] The Book (Libro 9) contains, apart from the *matricole* from July 1358 to July 1386, extracts from the previous registers, including a list of those enrolled between 1353 and 1359 with the indication of the exact date of their enrolment. The name of Matteo di Pacino is included in this list, copied by the notaries of the guild, Domenico di Allegretto Nuti and Bartolomeo Ser Nelli Ghetti. The enrolment of Matteo di Pacino in the artists' guild was originally contained in the lost "Libro Quinto segnato E" (fol. 28) relating to enrolments in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali between 1353 and 1359. An extract of this latter, though partial compared with the version transcribed in Libro 9, can be found in ASF, Arte dei Medici e Speziali, 7, fol. 111v: *Matteo di Pacino di Duccio dipintore.* On the reconstruction of the lost *libri di matricole* see Haines, in *Riv. Arte*, XLI, 1989, 173-207.

[2] The document is a copy made between 1 May and 31 August 1363.

1362
ASF, Compagnie religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo, Z, I, Compagnia di San Zanobi, 38, fol. 34v
Matteus Pacini listed among the officeholders (*consiglieri*) of the confraternity[3]

1364, April 10[4]
ASF, Prestanze, 40, fol. 98v

Pacino magistri Mactheus pictor in via sancti Benedicti, f. 2

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 36

1364, June 23
ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo e aggregate alle Montalve, San Pier Maggiore, 50, fol. 4

Matteo di Pacino dipintore dee dare a me ser Taddeo prestagli a dì 23 di giugno 1364 I fiorini d'oro

Poggi, in SIRÉN, 1908, 100 n. 5
LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 36 n. 5

1364, September 6
ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo e aggregate alle Montalve, San Pier Maggiore, 50, fol. 4

E dee dare, prestagli a di 6 di Settembre fiorini II d'oro

Poggi, in SIRÉN, 1908, 100 n. 5

1367, October 27
AOSMF, Libro di Stieri, fols. 10-13

[3] The document is reported by Werner Cohn in a manuscript note preserved in the Archive of the Corpus of Florentine Painting.

[4] From this date onwards payments of tax followed regularly until July 1373. The payments of *prestanze* show that the artist was resident in Via San Benedetto until 1364, while from 1369 he was living in Via de' Pentolini. See ASF, *ibid.*, 51, fol. 94r (1363, 8 June); ASF, *ibid.*, 58, fol. 99v (1363, 8 July); ASF, *ibid.*, 66, fol. 120v (1363, 5 September); ASF, *ibid.*, 81, fol. 143v (1364, 9 February); ASF, *ibid.*, 93, fol. 16r (1364, March); ASF, *ibid.*, 96, fol. 142v (1364, April); ASF, *ibid.*, 98, fol. 42v (1364, April); ASF, *ibid.*, 101, fol. 144v (1364, June); ASF, *ibid.*, 106, fol. 143v (1364, July); ASF, *ibid.*, 111, fol. 131v (1364, July); ASF, *ibid.*, 112, fol. 112r (1364, July); ASF, *ibid.*, 119, fol. 132v (1364, August); ASF, *ibid.*, 135, fol. 134r (1369, 13 April); ASF, *ibid.*, 140, fol. 115r (1369, May); ASF, *ibid.*, 142, fol. 37r (1369, May); ASF, *ibid.*, 146, fol. 149v (1369, June); ASF, *ibid.*, 147, fol. 55r (1369, 16 July); ASF, *ibid.*, 150, fol. 140v (1369, July); ASF, *ibid.*, 153, fol. 96v (1369, 18 August); ASF, *ibid.*, 157, fol. 140r (1369, September); ASF, *ibid.*, 162, fol. 101r (1369, November); ASF, *ibid.*, 175, fol. 124v (1369, December); ASF, *ibid.*, 180, fol. 141r (1370, February); ASF, *ibid.*, 185, fol. 167v (1370, March); ASF, *ibid.*, 190, fol. 55r (1370, March); ASF, *ibid.*, 193, fol. 140v (1370, March); ASF, *ibid.*, 195, fol. 125r (1370, June); ASF, *ibid.*, 200, fol. 151v (1370, September); ASF, *ibid.*, 213, fol. 144r (1371, January); ASF, *ibid.*, 225, fol. 152v (1371, 16 August); ASF, *ibid.*, 231, fol. 136v (1373, 11 July).

Di xxvii del… mese d'ottobre il simile chonsiglio renderono e dierono tutti choloro che appresso diremo: Che la detta chiessicciuola fatta nella chasa de l'opera a lato al champanile, trovata per le detti maestri e dipintori, pare loro più bella e più honorevole per la città di Firenze, e a similitudine di quella la detta chiesa si deba edificare e fare. Cioè Romigi d'Andrea Rondinelli, Ristoro di Michele Ristori, Piero di Nei di Lippo, Pepo d'Antonio degli Albizzi, Giovanni del Cece, Simone di messer Bindo Altoviti, Matteo Pacini

GUASTI, 1887, 202
COLNAGHI, 1928, 179

1368, August 23
ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo e aggregate alle Montalve, San Pier Maggiore, 50, fol. 4

E dee dare a di 23 d'Aghosto 1368, per oncie 1/2 d'azzurro d'oltremare, fiorini I d'oro. Anne dato ingessare e mettere d'oro la tavoletta mia a uno colmo, fiorini I

Poggi, in SIRÉN, 1908, 100 n. 5

1369, June 23
ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo e aggregate alle Montalve, San Pier Maggiore, 50, fol. 4

Matteo di Pacino dipintore dee dare a me Ser Taddeo prestogli adì 23 di giugno 1369 lire 2

1369, September 6
ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo e aggregate alle Montalve, San Pier Maggiore, 50, fol. 4

E dee dare, prestagli a di 6 di Settembre fiorini II d'oro

Poggi, in SIRÉN, 1908, 100 n. 5

1371
ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo e aggregate alle Montalve, San Pier Maggiore, 50, fol. 8v

L'opera di San Pier Maggiore dee dare paghai per lei… per rechatura 1 colmo della tavola da casa Matteo di Pacino soldi 1 denari 6
…per cento pezzi d'oro per li fregi e drappi delle fighure d'aghosto… fiorini uno d'oro
…per portare e rechare la tavola a Santa Maria Nuova quando si verniciò adì 19 di settembre soldi 6
…e per rechare e portare la predella a Santa Maria Nuova a verniciare soldi 3.[5]

[5] These payments to Matteo di Pacino are followed (fols. 12v - 13r) by various payments (June - October) to the painters Tuccio di Vanni and Francesco, perhaps for frescoes in the chapel where Matteo's painted panel was placed. See in this volume 00.

1371, February 12
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 40v

A Matteo Pacini di XII febbraio per otto asce di taglio per torchi soldi XVI

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1371, August 16
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 42

Pagammo a Matteo Pacini di XVI d'aghosto per cinabro per dipignere due lettiere nello spedale soldi VII

See LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1371, October 4
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 43

A Matteo Pacini dipintore di di IIII d'ottobre per cinabro per dipingere due lettiere nello spedale soldi VII
…
a Matteo Pacini dipintore per mettere a oro il cappello della lampana di Santo Luca per parte di paghamento fiorini uno d'oro solamente in oro

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1371, October 16
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 43v

Paghammo di XVI d'ottobre a Matteo Pacini per cinabro per dipingere lettiere nello spedale soldi sette

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1371, October 30
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 43v

A Matteo Pacini dipintore di XXX d'ottobre per chompimento di paghamento per dorare il chappello della lanpana di Santo Luca libbre 1 e soldi 13 [...] *fiorini 2 in oro e per dipingere il detto chappello per sua fatica fiorini 1 d'oro e libbre 1 e soldi 13 in tutto somma 2 fiorini*

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana* XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1372, April 6
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 116v

A Matteo Pacini dipintore di detto per dipingere una lettiera nello spedale soldi sette

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1372, October 21
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 118

Paghammo a Matteo Pacini di detto per cholori per dipingere le lettiere di Chavalchante di Chavalchante per parte di paghamento di sua fatica in tutto libbre 1 e soldi dieci

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1372, October 30
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 118v

A Matteo Pacini di detto per chompimento di paghamento di dipingere dodici lettiere nello spedale per Chavalchante di Chavalchanti libbre cinque

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1372, December 11
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fols. 187v-188

Paghammo a Matteo Pacini di detto per parte di paghamento di dipintura delle lettiere che lasciò Chavalchante di Chavalchanti libbre due e soldi dieci
…
a Matteo Pacini per parte di paghamento di pintura delle lettiere di Chavalchante lire due

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1373, January 18
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 188v

Paghammo a Matteo Pacini di XVIII di gennaio per dipingere otto lettiere di Chavalchante e un'altra lettiera nello Spedale delle femmine per chompimento di paghamento soldi 15

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1373, November 28
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 251

A Matteo dipintore dì detto per oro pe la tavola degli infermi ch'el ha dipignere libbre una e soldi 15

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1374, June 9
ASF, Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, 4426, Libro di Uscita, fol. 253

A Matteo Pacini dipintore per chompimento di paghamento della tavola degl'infermi che ha dipinta fiorini tre d'oro e libbre 1 e soldi 15 di VIIII di giugno

LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 11

1374
ASF, Accademia del Disegno, 1, fol. 12

Matteo Pacini popolo di S. Ambrogio dipintore (MCCC)LXXIIII

GUALANDI, 1845, 186
FREY, 1885, 322 n. 1
LENZA, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 37 n. 12

LIST OF PLATES

Pl. LIX[1]	Panel: Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*) between the Madonna, St. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene	ALTENBURG, Lindenau Museum No. 17
Pl. LIX[2]	Panel: St. John the Baptist between Saints Dominic and Thomas Aquinas	BERLIN, Gemäldegalerie No. 1526
Pl. LIX[3]	Panel: Six angels and nine cherubim	BERLIN, Gemäldegalerie No. 1525
Pl. LIX [4]	Panel: Eleven music-making angels	NEW YORK, Bob P. Haboldt (formerly)
Pl. LX	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin	ROME, Garofalo collection
Pls. LXI[1-3]	Three illuminations in an antiphonary	FLORENCE, archive of the convent of Santa Croce, Antiphonary C
Pls. LXII[1-5]	Five illuminations in an antiphonary	FLORENCE, archive of the convent of Santa Croce, Gradual P
Pl. LXIII	Panel: Virgin Mary Crowned	LOCATION UNKNOWN
Pls. LXIV[1-4]	Triptych: Coronation of the Virgin, between Saints Martin Bishop and John the Baptist	ROME, Order of St. John of Jerusalem
Pl. LXV	Tabernacle: Crucifixion; left shutter: the Angel of the Annunciation and Saint Francis; right shutter: the Virgin Annunciate and a Martyr Saint	BESANÇON, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archeologie No. 897.1.148
Pl. LXVI	Fresco: Madonna and Child enthroned between Saints John the Baptist and Bartholomew	FLORENCE, church of Sant'Ambrogio
Pl. LXVII	Panel: St. Michael Archangel between Saints Bartholomew and Julian, with a kneeling devotee	FLORENCE, Galleria dell'Accademia No. 6134

Pls. LXVIII[1-4]	Polyptych: Vision of Saint Bernard between Saints Benedict, John the Evangelist, Quintin and Galgano; in the predella: St. Benedict ordering St. Maurus to save St. Placidus from drowning; St. John the Evangelist drinking from the poisoned cup; St. Bernard among the monks with his five brothers; St. Bernard preaching at Sarbat and distributing the miraculous bread; Decapitation of St. Quintin; St. Galgano praying before the sword fixed in the rock	FLORENCE, Galleria dell'Accademia No. 8463
Pls. LXIX[1-5]	Frescoes: Madonna of the Girdle and Trinity in Glory, Annunciation, Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, St. George and the Dragon	FLORENCE, church of San Donato in Polverosa
Pls. LXX[1-8]	Frescoes: to the left: Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple, Betrothal of the Virgin; to the right: Noli me tangere and Maries at the Tomb, Miracle of Mary Magdalene; in the soffit of the arch: St. Anthony of Padua, the Blessed Andrea dei conti di Segni	FLORENCE, church of Santa Croce, sacristy, Rinuccini chapel
Pl. LXXI	Panel: St. Ivo of Kermartin and a kneeling devotee	NEW YORK, Alana collection
Pl. LXXII	Panels: Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*) between the Madonna, the twelve Apostles and St. Francis	VATICAN CITY, Pinacoteca Vaticana No. 561
Pl. LXXIII	Fresco: Annunciation	FLORENCE, church of Santa Lucia sul Prato
Pl. LXXIV[1-2]	FRESCOES: Apostle Saint and Saint Bartholomew	FLORENCE, church of San Jacopo tra i Fossi
Pls. LXXV[1-2]	Panel: Saints Cosmas and Damian; in the predella Healing of an Invalid, Decapitation of Saints	RALEIGH (NC), North Carolina Museum of Art No. 1171
Pl. LXXVI	Panel: St. Blaise visited in prison by a widow	FLORENCE, New York University, Villa La Pietra
Pl. LXXVII	Panel: Alms of St. Giles	FLORENCE, Galleria dell'Accademia No. 460
Pl. LXXVIII	Panel: Saints James Major and Bartholomew	LE MANS, Musée de Tessé No. 6

Pl. LXXIX[1]	Panel: Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*)	PARIS, Jean-François Heim (formerly)
Pl. LXXIX[2]	Panel: Saint James Major	MILAN, Finarte (formerly)

CATALOGUE

MATTEO DI PACINO

ALTENBURG
LINDENAU MUSEUM
Inv. No. 17 (formerly 131)

PL. LIX[1]

PANEL
Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*) with the grieving Madonna and St. John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene kneeling before the tomb, two curtain-supporting angels; .385 x .233 m (.33 x .19 m painted surface)
[date:1355-1360]

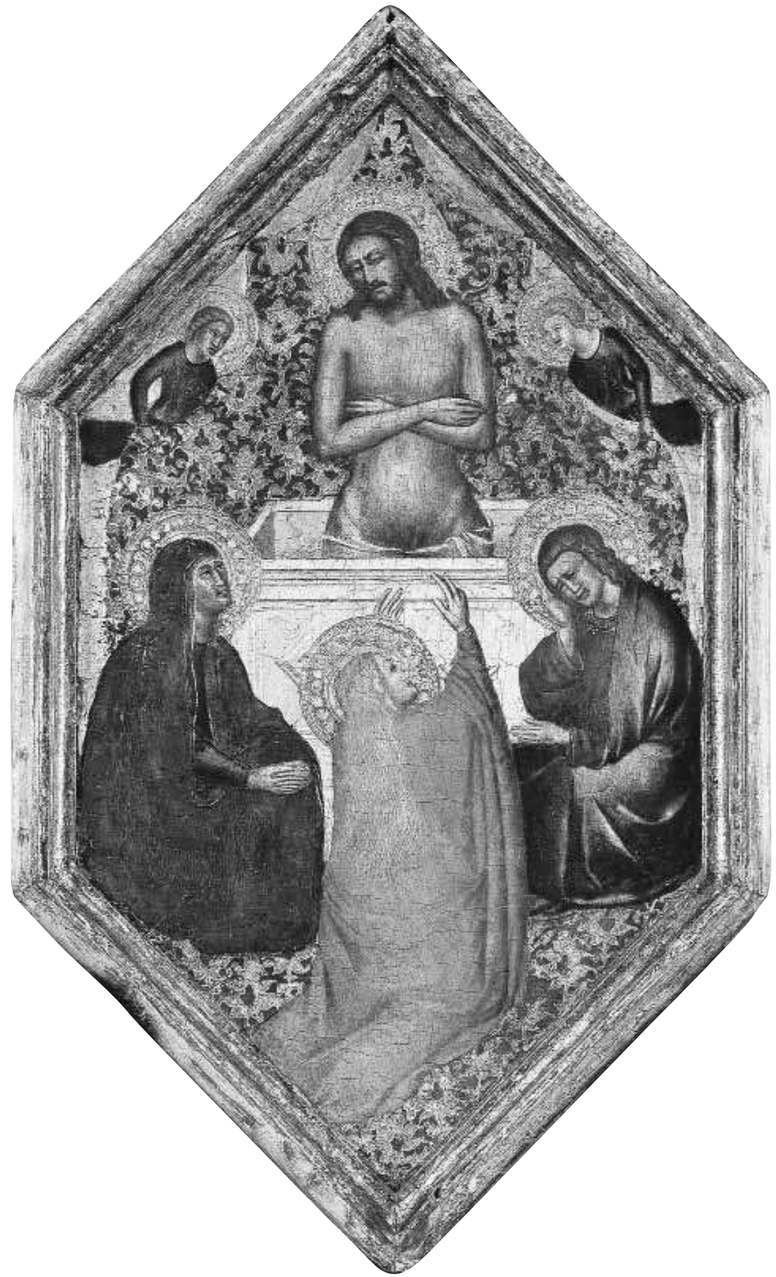
STATE
Painted on a vertically grained panel, the painting retains its profile and also, at least in large part, its original frame. A painted decoration with a pattern of small white stars on a blue ground, it too original, is visible on the back of the panel. The panel was restored in 2004.[1] Photographs taken prior to this date (b) show the pictorial surface darkened by grime and retouches, the latter especially visible in the Magdalen's face, in the dress and halo of the Virgin Mary, in the figure of St. John the Evangelist, and in the angels' faces. During the recent cleaning, these retouches were removed and pigment losses pictorially integrated. The modern gilding of the frame was also eliminated on the same occasion (d).

HISTORY
The painting is recorded for the first time in the catalogue of the collection of baron Bernhard August von Lindenau (1786-1866) at Altenburg,[2] but without any information about when, how or from whom it was acquired (a). The panel is not self-sufficient, but forms part of a dismembered polyptych, of which three other components are known: two in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (pls. LIX[2-3]), and a third formerly with the dealer Bob. P. Habolt in New York in 1989 (c) (pl. LIX[4]). The presence of two Dominican saints and a kneeling friar wearing the habit of the Order of Preachers in one of the two compartments now in Berlin has suggested the provenance of the polyptych from a convent of that order (c, e). Prompted by the circumstance that the compartment formerly in New York comes from the collection of Giuseppe Toscanelli in Pisa, it has further been inferred that the altarpiece comes from the church of the Dominicans in that city (c).[3]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1848 QUANDT - SCHULZ, 23
(a) *N. 131. …Florentinische Schule des 14ten Jahrhunderts.*
1898 BECKER, 17 (1915, 26-27)
Dem Anschein nach Teilstück eines größeren, zusammengesetzen Werkes… Christus hat finstere, beinahe wilde Züge und Maria das an Taddeo Gaddis Weise erinnerde, vorgebaute Kinn und die lange, gerade Nase.
1952 GABELENTZ, 56 (1955, 57; 1956, 57; 1962, 44)
Umkreis des Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Ende 14 Jahrhundert
1961 OERTEL, 127, fig. 40 (Inv. No. 17)
(b) *Florentinischer Meister aus dem Umkreis des Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Ende des 14.*

[1] The restoration was conducted by Holger Manzke under the direction of the Administration of the Lindenau Museum.
[2] Baron Bernhard August von Lindenau purchased a large part of the paintings included in his collection in Rome, thanks to the contacts he established during his stay in this city between 1843 and 1844. On the formation of the collection and on the Florentine paintings in particular, see *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2005, 11-16.
[3] See for a comment in this volume 00.



Jahrhunderts. Reports a further three compartments from the same polyptych in the Berlin Museums and in a private collection (see in this volume pls. LIX[2-4])... *vielleicht als Aufsätze auf den Giebelspitzen eines Polyptychons.*

1967 KLESSE, 289, No. 196
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (Umkreis)... Ende des 14.Jahrhunderts. Reports the presence of the same decoration on the cloth of honour supported by two angels in the background in the Berlin and former New York panels (see in this volume pls. LIX[2-4]).

1975 BOSKOVITS, 202 n. 107
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini (Matteo di Pacino). Commenting on the identification of the Master of the Cappella Rinuccini with Matteo di Pacino proposed by Luciano Bellosi, the author notes that the *tavolette sopra citate potrebbero trovare posto comodamente nel catalogo* of this anonymous master.[4]

1988 BOSKOVITS, 112-113, pl. 168
(c) *Matteo di Pacino... um 1360... das Altarwerk für eine Dominikanerkirche bestimmt. Der Umstand, daß eine der Tafeln sich ehemals in der Sammlung Toscanelli befand, deren Werke größtenteils aus Pisa stammen, läßt daran denken, daß unser Polyptychon aus dieser Gegend gestammt haben könnte.*

1989 NEW YORK EXH. CAT., 29
(d) *Matteo di Pacino*

1996 BERLIN MUS CAT., 76
Matteo di Pacino... Giebelaufsätze der Seitentafeln eines Polyptychons

2005a TRIPPS, IN FLORENCE
(e) EXH. CAT., 141-144
Matteo di Pacino. Considers it plausible to assume that *si tratti di cuspidi della cimasa di un polittico, in modo analogo a quelli del polittico di Niccolò di Pietro Gerini e Pietro Nelli nella collegiata dell'Impruneta presso Firenze...*

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 29
Matteo di Pacino

2008a TRAVI, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 268
Matteo di Pacino.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photographs.

[4] Boskovits (1975, 357) had already accepted the identification between the Master of the Cappella Rinuccini and Matteo di Pacino proposed by Luciano Bellosi, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XVII, 1973, 179-181, even though he continued to use the traditional provisional name in this book.

MATTEO DI PACINO

BERLIN
GEMÄLDEGALERIE - *Inv. Nos. 1525, 1526* PLS. LIX[2-3]

PANELS
Six Angeli in adoration, four Seraphim and three Cherubim (No. 1525); .396 x .231 m; .338 x .189 m (painted surface);
Saint John the Baptist between Saints Dominic and Thomas Aquinas, a kneeling Dominican friar[1] (No. 1526); .388 x .236 m; .332 x .194 m (painted surface)
[date: 1355-1360]

STATE
Both paintings were executed on a wooden support with vertical graining. The frame is original but is covered by a later (perhaps nineteenth-century) coating of silver paint, below which no trace of the original gilding remains (d). The rear of both panels is painted blue. Inv. No. 1525 also retains on its *verso* a decoration of white stars, no longer visible in the other panel, but similar to the pattern observable on the back of the panel now in Altenburg (Inv. No. 17) (pl. LIX[1]). Also visible on the rear is the trace of a horizontal batten (2 cm high and 16 cm long); the batten itself has since been removed, leaving the underlying wood exposed. An ink inscription with the No. 62, corresponding to the number with which both panels are identified in the labels of the Solly collection (together with an attribution to Gherardo Starnina), is also present on the back of both panels. Two other numbers are also present on the back of panel Inv. No. 1525: No. 622 and, in red, No. 554, while the *verso* of Inv. No. 1526 is inscribed with No. 621 and No. 553.
The two compartments were restored in 1981 (d). The pictorial surface is worn and damaged in various points. Many scratches can be seen in Inv. No. 1526, especially in the figures of the two Dominican Saints. The inscriptions on the Baptist's scroll and on the open book held by St. Thomas Aquinas are the result of modern, perhaps nineteenth-century, integrations. Wormhole damage can be noted in both panels.

HISTORY
The two panels entered the Galleries in Berlin as part of the collection of Edward Solly, which was sold *en bloc* to the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III in 1821 (a). From 1837 to 1942 they were on display in Münster, first in the *Museum des westfälischen Kunstvereins*, then in the art collection of the University in this city (b, c, d). They were then returned to the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1864 PARTHEY, II, 576
(a) *Starnina*

1882 MÜNSTER MUS. CAT., 4,
(b) *Nos. 348, 349*
Starnina

1886 BERLIN MUS. CAT., 178
Gherardo Starnina zugeschrieben

1931 BERLIN MUS. CAT., 645
(c) *Starnina, Gherardo zugeschrieben*.

1961 OERTEL, 127, fig. 41
Florentinischer Meister aus dem Umkreis des Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts. Identifies other compartments of the same polyptych at Altenburg and in a private collection (see in this volume pls. LIX[1], LIX[4])

1967 KLESSE, 289, No. 196a–b
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (Umkreis)… Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts

1975 BOSKOVITS, 202 n. 107
Matteo di Pacino… le tre tavolette… potrebbero trovar posto comodamente nel catalogo del Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini

1986 BERLIN MUS. CAT., figs. 1140–1141
Matteo di Pacino

1988 BOSKOVITS, 112–113, pls. 168–173
(d) *Matteo di Pacino… Nach den in Kat. 1526 dargestellten Dominikanerheiligen zu schliessen, war das Altarwerk für eine Dominikanerkirche bestimmt. Der Umstand, daß eine der Tafeln sich ehemals in der Sammlung Toscanelli befand, deren Werke größtenteils aus Pisa stammen, läßt daran denken, daß unser Polyptychon aus dieser Gegend gestammt haben könnte… um 1360*
Ähnliche Giebelaufsätze, allerdings mandorlaartiger Form, hatte ursprünlich das heute nur fragmentarisch erhaltene Polyptychon der Collegiata von Impruneta bei Florenz.

1996 BERLIN MUS. CAT., 76, figs. 2120–2121
Matteo di Pacino

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 29
Matteo di Pacino

2005a TRIPPS, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 141
Matteo di Pacino.

2008a TRAVI, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 268
Matteo di Pacino

PHOTOGRAPHS
Museum Photographs.

MATTEO DI PACINO

NEW YORK
BOB P. HABOLDT & Co. (formerly) PL. LIX[4]

PANEL
Eleven music-making angels; .42 x .25 m
[date: 1355-1360]

STATE
At the time it appeared on the art market (a) the little panel was darkened by a thick layer of grime and overpainting. A photo taken in 1929 (d) shows that it had been subjected to a not otherwise documented cleaning. A further treatment was carried out in 1988 (Gertrude Blumel, New York).[1] A photograph taken when the painting was in New York shows the painting in fairly fine condition; a small integration can be noted in the background [close to the frame] in the upper right; it also comprises part of the halo of one of the angels.

HISTORY
The painting was in the Toscanelli collection in Pisa in 1883 (a). In 1911 it was presented for sale in London as part of the collection of Sir William Neville Abdy (1844-1910) (Essex, United Kingdom) (b), while in 1925 it was auctioned in Paris as part of the Albert Lehmann collection (c). Reported with the dealer Kleinberger in New York in 1929 (d, e), it then resurfaced in Paris as part of the Riche collection (e). In 1988 the panel was presented at a sale in Monte Carlo (f). It was with Bob H. Haboldt & Corporation in New York in 1989 (g).

Exhibitions: New York 1929 (d); New York 1989 (g)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1883 MILANESI, No. 10, pl. 1
(a) *Giotto*
1911 LONDON SALE CAT., Christie's, 5
(b) May, lot 84
Fra Angelico (school of)
1925 PARIS SALE CAT., Hôtel Drouot, 12
(c) June, lot 224
École de Fra Angelico
1929 NEW YORK EXH. CAT., No 1
Agnolo Gaddi. The painting was accompanied by an expertise by Lionello Venturi dated January 1929
1929 *Sammler*, in DER CICERONE, 333,
(d) fig. on 336
Agnolo Gaddi. The painting appears here in a condition different from that it presented in 1883 (a).
1961 OERTEL, 127
(e) *Florentinischer Meister aus dem Umkreis des Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts.* Part of the same dismembered polyptych as the panels in Altenburg and Berlin (pls. LIX[1-3]). Some details on provenance.
1967 KLESSE, 289, No. 196c
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (Umkreis)… Ende des 14.Jahrhunderts
1975 BOSKOVITS, 202 n. 107
Matteo di Pacino… le tre tavolette… potrebbero trovar posto comodamente nel catalogo del Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini[2]
1986 LEONE DE CASTRIS, 383 n. 19, 390
fig. 5
Roberto d'Oderisio… Sarebbe molto bello poter credere che traccia dell'originale Dormitio - Cor-

[1] Written communication from Everett Fahy to Miklós Boskovits of 29 October 1988 (archive of Miklós Boskovits). At the time the painting was with the dealer Bob P. Haboldt (New York).
[2] See in this volume 00.

onatio di Giotto e compagni per Castelnuovo sia da riconoscere nel frammentario e guasto Coro di Angeli venduto all'asta Toscanelli di Firenze nel 1883… e tuttora reperibile nelle "files" della Witt Library di Londra col nome di Giotto[3]

1987 BOSKOVITS, 112-113, pl. 168
Matteo di Pacino… um 1360

1988 (f) MONACO SALE CAT., 18 June, lot 804
École de Toscane du dernier quart du XIVe siècle… entourage d'Agnolo Gaddi

1989 (g) NEW YORK EXH. CAT., 26
Matteo di Pacino

1996 BERLIN MUS. CAT., 76
Matteo di Pacino

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 29
Matteo di Pacino

2005 TRIPPS, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 141-143, fig. 2
Matteo di Pacino

2008a TRAVI, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 268
Matteo di Pacino

PHOTOGRAPHS
Scott Bowron Photography, New York.

[3] The hypothesis, however, seems to have been abandoned even by the author himself, given that no trace of it can be found in his more recent study on Giotto's Neapolitan activity, in his treatment of which much space is devoted to identifying possible derivations from the lost model of Giotto (Leone de Castris, 2006, 198-216).

MATTEO DI PACINO

ROME
RAFFAELE GAROFALO COLLECTION (formerly) PL. LX

PANEL
Coronation of the Virgin between four angels and Saints Lucy, Apollonia, Peter and Paul; .64 x .377 m
[date: 1355-1360]

STATE
The wooden support seems slightly cropped along all sides and inserted into a modern frame. The pictorial surface, though slightly rubbed in a uniform manner, seems on the whole well preserved, though a few small retouches can be detected here and there. Known also from a photograph taken in the 1930s, the panel does not appear subsequently to have undergone any major restoration.

HISTORY
The painting was in the possession of Gustavo and Giuseppe Volterra in Florence until 1930 (a, b, c). In 2000 it was presented for sale by the auction house Christie's in Rome (c). In 2004 it was reported in the collection of Raffaele Garofalo in Rome (d).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1975 (a) BOSKOVITS, 359, fig. 51
Matteo di Pacino, 1375-1380

1981 OFFNER, 86, fig. 166
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, school

1995 (b) TAMASSIA, 227
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini. Reports that a photographic plate taken at the time the painting was present in the Volterra collection was in the possession of the Soprintendenza in Florence.

2000 (c) ROME SALE CAT., Christie's, 4 December, lot 710
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini, Matteo di Pacino o Pacini… Federico Zeri… [expertise]… *lo data verso il 1377-1380 e ne rimarca il legame stilistico con i modi di Jacopo di Cione*

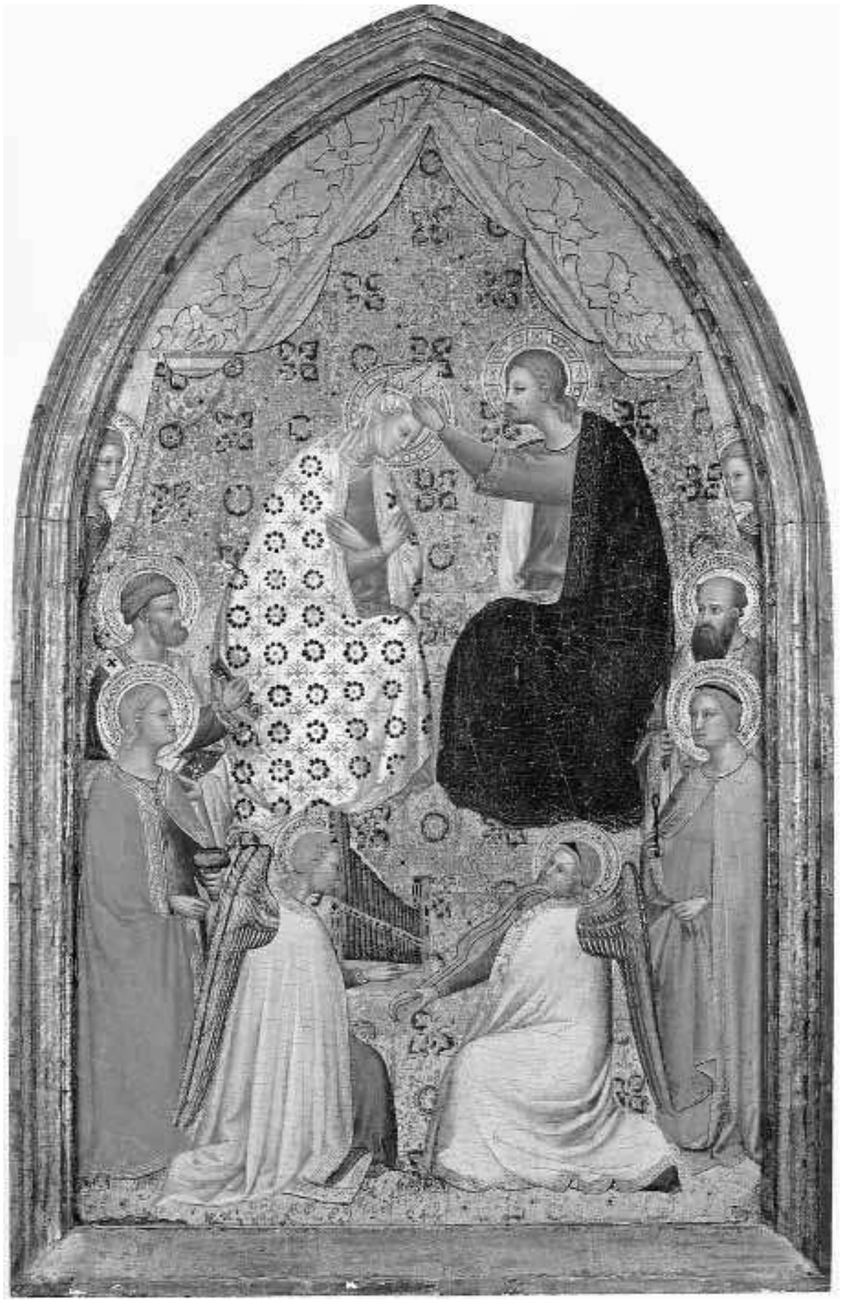
2001 KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHRB., LXII, 153
Matteo di Pacino

2004 (d) RANUCCI, in LA COLLEZIONE, 2
Matteo di Pacino… la vicinanza con gli affreschi eseguiti da Giovanni da Milano in Santa Croce… mi inducono a collocare maggiormente a ridosso del 1370 la data di compimento

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 30
Matteo di Pacino slightly later than the former Stroganoff polyptych and the Madonna and Child from SS. Annunziata in Florence[1] […] *crescente avvicinamento ai modi di Nardo di Cione nella condotta pittorica più pastosa e nelle fisionomie*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; SSPMF, Florence, 51600.

[1] See in this volume 00.



MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
OPERA DI SANTA CROCE, ARCHIVE
Antiphonary C

PLS. LXI[1-3]

THREE HISTORIATED INITIALS IN AN ANTIPHONARY[1]
Initial V, Ascension (fol. 18r; pl. LXI[1]);[2] Initial D, Pentecost (fol. 32r; pl. LXI[2]);[3] Initial C, Christ in glory surrounded by seraphim (fol. 71r; pl. LXI[3])[4]
[date: 1360-1365]

STATE
The volume has been recently restored.[5] The folia had all been cropped during an early restoration. The miniatures are in fine condition, apart from a few tiny colour losses.

HISTORY
The volume forms part of a series of choirbooks, *ad usum Romanae Ecclesiae*, produced for the liturgical furnishings of the church of Santa Croce. It was still in use in 1802, year of the compilation of an index added after the last page.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[6]

1972 BOSKOVITS, in PARAGONE, XXIII, 1972, No. 265, 51 n. 4
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini
1975 BOSKOVITS, 233 n. 132
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini
2001 KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHRB., LXII, 153
Matteo di Pacino
2004 KANTER, in DIZ. MINIATORI ITAL., 751-752
Matteo di Pacino… i bordi decorati delle miniature nel cod. P e C di Santa Croce sono… concepiti nello stile più antico di Pacino di Bonaguida e sono perciò stati dipinti prima che Matteo iniziasse la sua collaborazione con Don Simone (1380 circa)
2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 32
Matteo di Pacino … stretta parentela stilistica con la predella della Visione di San Bernardo (see in this volume pls. LXVIII[1-4]) *ma il marcato plasticismo dei panneggi suggerisce una data posteriore a quest'opera.*
2008b LABRIOLA, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 75 n. 17
Matteo di Pacino

PHOTOGRAPHS
Florence, Opera di Santa Croce, archive; Corpus, Archive.

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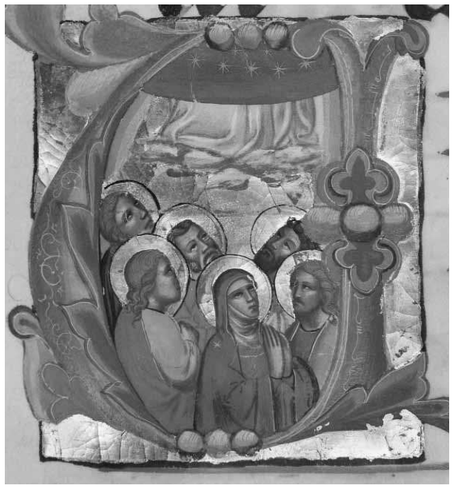
1 For a summary description of the manuscript see in this volume oo n. 79. Apart from those attributed to Matteo di Pacino, the codex contains the following historiated initials: "Ser Monte", Initial P (*Post Passionem suam*), Ascension (fol. 3v; 685 x 500 mm); "Ser Monte", Initial D (*Dum complerentur dies pentecostes*), Pentecost (fol. 29r; 670 x 480 mm); Quattrocento miniaturist, Initial I (*Immolabit hedum multitudo filiorum Israhel*), Man of Sorrows (fol. 102v; 395 x 205 mm).
2 *Viri Galilei* (antiphon *ad laudes* for the feast of the Ascension); 225 x 150 mm
3 *Dum complerentur dies pentecostes* (antiphon *ad laudes* for the feast of Pentecost); 270 x 142 mm
4 *Confirmat hoc misterum* (Matins, I responsory of I Nocturn for the feast of Holy Trinity; 720 x 452 mm
5 Information kindly furnished by Claudia Timossi., curator of the Santa Croce archive.
6 See also in this volume oo n. 78.

PL. LXI[1-3]



MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
OPERA DI SANTA CROCE, ARCHIVE
Gradual P

PLS. LXII[1-5]

FIVE HISTORIATED INITIALS
IN A GRADUAL[1]
Initial V, Ascension (fol. 59v; pl. LXII[1]);[2] Initial S, Pentecost (fol. 97r; pl. LXII[2]);[3] Initial B, the Holy Trinity, (fol. 119r; pl. LXII[3]);[4] Initial C, Celebration of the Eucharist (fol. 124v; pl. LXII[4]);[5] Initial E, Saints James and Philip (fol. 134r; pl. LXII[5])[6]
[date:1360-1365]

STATE
All the folia were cropped during an early restoration, but the miniatures are on the whole well preserved, apart from small areas of rubbing and flaked pigment.

HISTORY
The volume formed part of a series of choirbooks, *ad usum Romanae Ecclesiae*, commissioned for the liturgical use of the church of Santa Croce.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1950 LEVI, in RIV. ARTE, XXVI, 195-196
Arte fiorentina del XIV secolo. Only cites the miniature on fol. 97r (Pentecost)
1965 OFFNER, CORPUS, IV/III, 41 n. 16
Painted by the Rinuccini Master. Only cites the miniature on fol. 97r (Pentecost).
1972 BOSKOVITS, in PARAGONE, XXIII, 1972, No. 265, 51 n. 4
Considers the miniatures on fols. 59v, 119r e 134r to be the work of the *Maestro della cappella Rinuccini*
1975 BOSKOVITS, 233 n. 132
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini
2001 KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHRB., LXII, 153
Matteo di Pacino
2004 KANTER, in DIZ. MINIATORI ITAL., 751
Matteo di Pacino
2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA,

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1 For a summary description of the manuscript see in this volume 00 n. 79. Apart from those executed by Matteo di Pacino, the codex contains the following historiated initials: "Ser Monte", Initial R (*Resurrexi et ad huc tecum sum*), *Resurrection and Holy Women at the Tomb* (fol. 1r; 715 x 526 mm); Don Simone, Initial N (*Non autem gloria oportet*), (fol. 137r; 720 x 520 mm) *Adoration of the Cross*; *Idem*, Initial B (*Benedicite Dominum omnes angeli eius*), (fol. 141r; 706 x 490 mm); the *Blessing Redimer, Saint Michael Archangel*; *Idem*, Initial P (*Protexisti me Deus a conventu*), (fol. 145v; 690 x 500 mm) *Saint George on horseback, piercing the Dragon*; *Idem*, Initial S (*Santi tui Domine benedicente gloriam*), *Santi*, (fol. 150v; 700 x 500 mm).

2 *Viri Galilei quid admira* (*Introitus*); 680 x 490 mm.

3 *Spiritus Domini replevi* (*Introitus*); 723 x 500 mm.
Eugenia Laura Levi (in *Riv. Arte*, XXVI, 1950, 193-197) suggested that the iconographic source of this miniature be identified in a lost fresco of the same subject, which according to Lorenzo Ghiberti in his *Commentarii*, had been painted by Maso di Banco above the door of the church of Santo Spirito; from this same prototype also derives, she argued, the fresco of Andrea Bonaiuti on the ceiling of the Cappellone degli Spagnoli next to Santa Maria Novella (Steinweg, Corpus, 1969, 58-59) and Jacopo di Cione's compartment in the upper tier of the polyptych for the church of San Pier Maggiore (Offner, *Corpus*, IV/ III, 1965, pl. III[22]. See also in this volume 00.

4 *Benedicta sit sancta trinitate* (*Introitus* of the feast of the Holy Trinity); 723 x 500 mm.

5 The text *Cibavit eos ex adipe* (*Introitus* of the feast of Corpus Domini); 720 x 485 mm. Boskovits (in Paragone, 1972, No. 265, 54 n. 23) includes this miniature among those executed, in his view, by Don Simone.

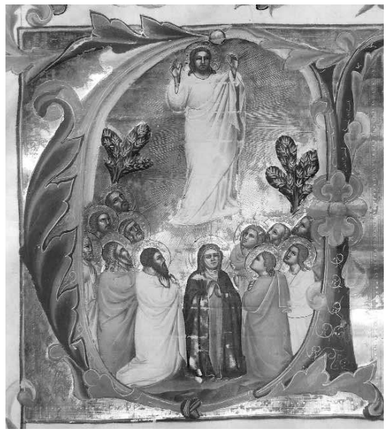
6 *Exclamaverunt ad te domine in tempore* (*Introitus* of the feast of Saints James and Philip); 710 x 480 mm.

XCIII, 32
Si nota più decisamente l'influsso dell'Orcagna che, insieme al coerente rapporto proporzionale tra le figure e l'ambiente e le composzioni più ariose, indicano una datazione leggermente successiva [than that of Antiphonary C]. Attributes for the first time the initial C on fol. 124v to Matteo di Pacino

2008b LABRIOLA, in FLORENCE EXH.

CAT., 2008, 200
Matteo di Pacino… 1365-1370. Concurs with the attribution of the miniature on fol. 124v to this artist

PHOTOGRAPHS
Florence, Opera di Santa Croce, Archive; Corpus, Archive.



MATTEO DI PACINO

PARIS
ART MARKET (formerly) PL. LXIII

PANEL
Virgin crowned[1]
[date:1360-1365]

STATE
The work is the fragment of a Coronation of the Virgin, probably not dissimilar from the image shown at the centre of the triptych now in Rome (pls. LXIV[1-3]). The pictorial surface is gravely damaged in the area around the head of the Virgin and along the right side of the fragment. Here, a circular loss, at the centre of which only a fragment of colour remains, can be noted over the Redeemer's wrists. Woodworm perforation and other small losses are scattered all over the surface.

HISTORY
In January 1935 the painting was with the dealer Seligmann at Paris, apparently having entered his possession from Paul Bottenwieser in Berlin.[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY
2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 28, fig. 3
Matteo di Pacino… Stilisticamente prossimo al polittico [ex-Stroganoff] *(pls. LXIV[1-3] in this volume)… inedito… vi si notano strette somiglianze fisiognomiche, ombreggiature similmente intense negli incarnati e un'analogo ricerca di vistosi effetti decorativi; ma il più marcato linearismo e la tendenza a stilizzare le forme tendono ad anticipare l'esecuzione a cavallo fra il sesto e settimo decennio.*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Boskovits Archive.

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1 See in this volume 00.
2 According to a handwritten annotation of Hans Gronau on the back of the photograph of the fragment in the Boskovits Archive, Gronau had received the photograph in question from Paul Bottenwieser (Berlin) in January 1935, but by this time, he reports, the painting was in the possession of Seligmann in Paris.

MATTEO DI PACINO

ROME
ORDER OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM PLS. LXIV[1-3]

POLYPTYCH
Coronation of the Virgin,[1] music-making angels *below*; Saints Martin Bishop and John the Baptist *in the side panels*; dove of the Holy Spirit, busts of Saints Peter and Paul *in the gables*; 1.80 x 1.60 m. [date: 1361]

STATE
The tripartite frame, the colonnettes with slender barley-sugar shafts, the pinnacles and lavish crocketed ornamentation of the triangular gables, are the result of a nineteenth-century restoration; dating to the same period are also the central gable (h 47cm) with the image of the dove of the Holy Spirit, set in a trefoil, and the smaller lateral gables (h 6 cm) (c). The central panel is damaged by a crack, now stuccoed and integrated, which runs through it from top to bottom, following the joint between the boards that make up the support. Another crack, it too stuccoed and retouched, runs through the figure of Saint Paul in the right gable. In the seraphim portrayed to the sides of and above the main group the colour is heavily worn, perhaps as a result of prolonged exposure to damp. Along the lower margin of the panel some pronounced integrations can be noted, but otherwise the surface is in altogether fine condition. In the two lateral compartments the pictorial surface is more heavily rubbed, perhaps as a result of an over-energetic cleaning at an early date; retouches on new stucco can be noted in Saint Martin's halo and in some punch-decorated marginal areas of the gable.

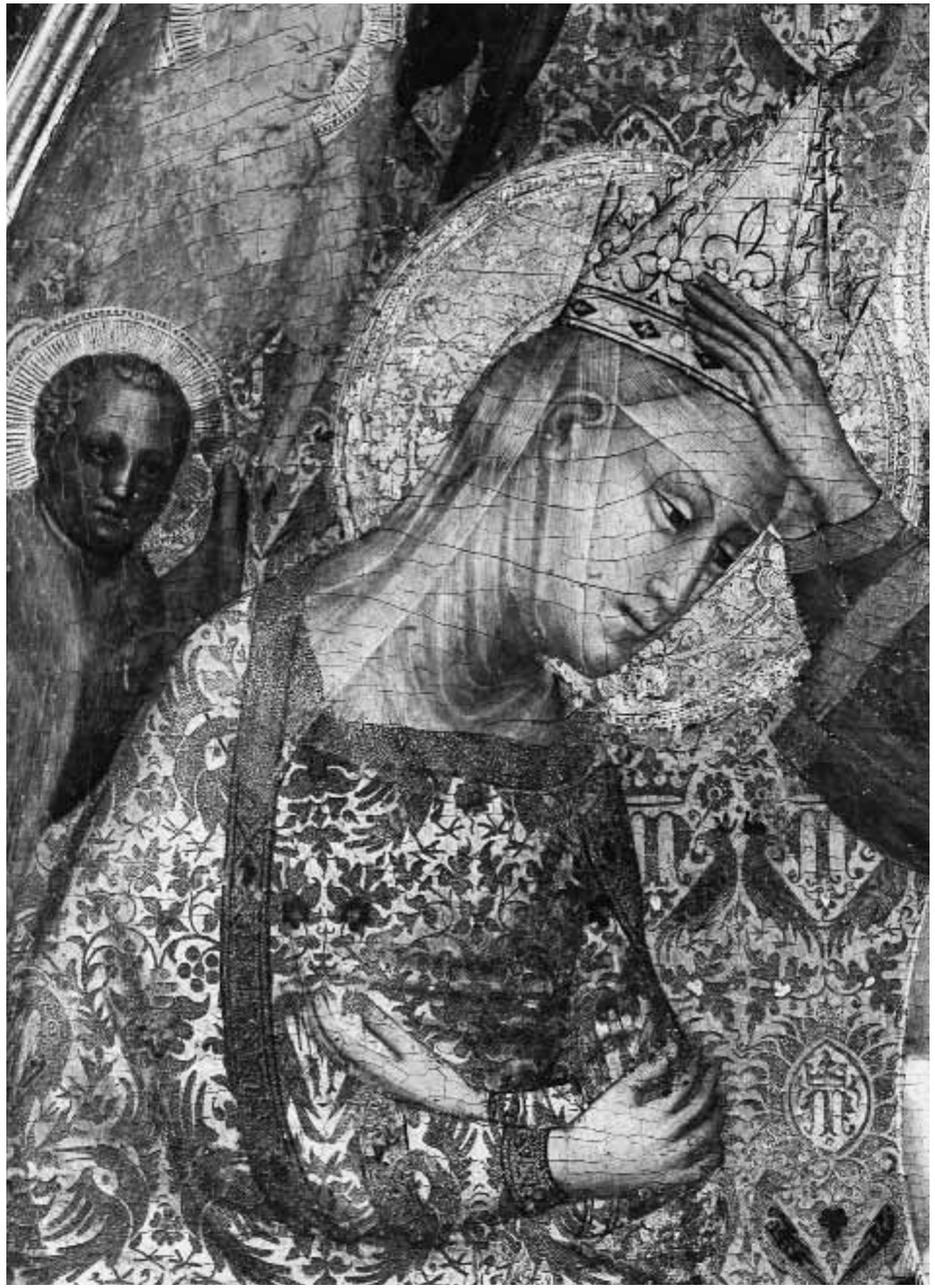
HISTORY
Just after the mid nineteenth-century the triptych was reported in the possession of the Corvisieri brothers (dealers) in Rome (a). It was later purchased by count Grigorij Stroganoff (1829-1910) for his own collection in the same city, probably towards the end of the same century (b, c). Subsequently it was reported with the dealer Giorgio Sangiorgi (Rome),[2] and then in the collection of the Rossi di Montalera family (Rome, Palazzo Orsini), by whom it was bequeathed to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem in Rome (c).

INSCRIPTION:
SANTUS • MARTINUS • EP[ISCOPU]S• / ANNI • DOMINI •M•CCC•L•X• MACTEUS • PACINI •ME PI[N]S[I]T • ADI • XX • DI MA[R]ÇO / SANTUS • IOHANNES • BAT[TISTA]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1864 CAVALCASELLE - CROWE, I, 474
(a) (II, 1883, 197; ed. by Douglas, II, 1903, 252)
Matteo Pacini in the style of the Gaddi… in the hands of Signor Corvisieri at Rome
1912 MUÑOZ, 13, pl. IV
(b) *Matteo Pacini… imitateur de Agnolo Gaddi … acheté chez les frères Corvisieri, antiquaires à Rome*
1914 KHVOSHINSKY - SALMI, II, 38, fig. 38
Matteo di Pacino

[1] See in this volume 00. On the motif of the Madonna's wimple see Ragionieri, in *Giotto a Bologna*, 2010, 37-45.
[2] Corpus files.



1924 VITZTHUM - VOLBACH, 305
As Matteo di Pacino… *Mischung der Stileigentumlichkeiten Daddis und Orcagnas*

1924 van MARLE, III, 406
as Matteo di Pacino… *a weak and somewhat vulgar adherent of the Daddesque tradition revealing in certain details the influence of Orcagna*

1928 COLNAGHI, 179
Matteo di Pacino

1930 THIEME - BECKER, XXIV, 258
Matteo di Pacino

1930-1931 BERENSON, in DEDALO, XI, 986
Matteo Pacini… quasi altrettanto daddesco che orcagnesco

1945 GRONAU, in BURL. MAG., LXXXVI, 140 n. 14
Matteo di Pacino… a painter of very modest quality…

1947 OFFNER, CORPUS, III/V, 289
Matteo di Pacino

1951 DAVIES, 305
Matteo di Pacino

1951 TOESCA, 644 n. 164
Matteo di Pacino

1958 KLESSE, 91, 102
Matteo di Pacino. The decoration of the Madonna's mantle is similar to that used by Nardo di Cione in the *Madonna and Child* now in Balmville (NY);[3] a motif similar to the one adopted by Matteo for the cloth of honour, but in which the letter "M" is intertwined with an "A", is found in Gherardo Starnina's *Madonna* in the Rijksmuseum of Amsterdam.[4]

1963 MARCUCCI, in JAHR. BERLINER MUS.,V, 31-32
Matteo Pacini… mostra, ad onta di qualche condiscendenza orcagnesca, di avere assimilato lo stile di Giottino nel passaggio da quello masesco più sostenuto a quello più morbido del tabernacolo di via del Leone… la sua Incoronazione appare dipendente da quella del Bargello[5]

1965 MARCUCCI, 92
Matteo Pacini. Considers it the work of the same artist as the *Madonna and Child between Saints Peter and Paul*, with the *Vir dolorum and the martyrdoms of Saints Catherine and Agatha* in the predella, in the Galleria dell'Accademia (pl. XIII in this volume)

1967 KLESSE, 476 No. 508
Matteo di Pacino… 1360

1973 BELLOSI, in MITTEILUNGEN KIF, XVII, 179-182, figs. 1, 2, 4, 7
Matteo di Pacino… gli stilemi di questo dipinto conducono direttamente a quel pittore anonimo che terminò gli affreschi di Giovanni da Milano in Santa Croce… La Madonna può essere confrontata con certe parti del polittico dell'Accademia (pls. LXVIII[1-3]) in this volume)

1975 BOSKOVITS, 35, 202 n. 107
Matteo di Pacino. Concurs with the identification of this artist with the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1975 FREMANTLE, 584, fig. 1230
Matteo Pacini. Follower of Daddi and collaborator of the Cioni. It has recently been suggested that he is the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

[3] Offner, *Corpus,* IV/II, 1960, 28-29, pl. IV.

[4] In other words, the *Madonna of Humility* attributed to Agnolo Gaddi (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. No. A 3431); cf. Amsterdam Mus. Cat., 1976, 521.

[5] Marcucci, 1965, 91. The painting was attributed to the Master of the Christ Church Coronation by Federico Zeri (in *Gaz. B.-Arts*, LXXI, 1968, 70), an attribution confirmed by Boskovits (1975, 212 n. 56) and endorsed in the more recent reconsideration of the activity of this anonymous master (Scalella, in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXIX, 2001, 120, fig. 10).

1975 DIZ. BOLAFFI,VII, 289
Matteo di Pacino di Duccio

1986 BIAGI, in PITTURA IN ITALIA, 637-638
Matteo di Pacino

1987 VOLBACH, 38
Matteo di Pacino

2001 KANTER, in WALL. - RICH. JAHRB., 152, 153
Matteo di Pacino

2004 KANTER, in DIZ. MINIATORI ITAL., 751
Matteo di Pacino

2005 LENZA, 27, 28, 39 n. 25, fig. 1

(c) *Matteo di Pacino… 1361… ricerca di sinteticità formale tramite contorni poco mossi, l'accostamento di forme dilatate e ampie stesure di colore ricordano i modi* of Bernardo Daddi and Maso di Banco[6]

PHOTOGRAPHS
Vasari photo, Rome, Nos. 13393-13402.

[6] The author refers in particular to such youthful works of Giovanni del Biondo as the *Annunciation* in Buffalo, the polyptych divided between New Haven and the Pinacoteca Vaticana, and the frescoes in the church of San Francesco at Castelfiorentino (OFFNER - STEINWEG, *Corpus*, IV/IV, 1967, pls. VIII-XI, XIX[1-6].

MATTEO DI PACINO

BESANÇON
MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS ET D'ARCHEOLOGIE - *Inv. No.* 897.1.148 PL.LXV

TABERNACLE
Jesus on the Cross, between the Virgin Mary, Saint John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene, and two angels in flight *at the centre*; Saint Francis and the Angel of the Annunciation *in the left shutter*; Saint Lawrence Martyr and the Virgin Annunciate *in the right shutter*; .760 x .605 m (open); .760 x .325 (closed); .495 x .235 m (central panel, painted surface); .495 x .085 m (shutters, painted surface)
[date: 1360-1365]

STATE
The three panels of the portable triptych are inserted in a modern frame with hinged shutters and crocketed gables. The gold ground has been extensively renovated and retouches can be detected in the pictorial surface, especially in the central compartment. The cracks visible on the painted surface were repaired in an early, probably nineteenth-century restoration. Extensive retouches can also be noted in the faces of the Virgin Mary, the Magdalen and John the Evangelist.

HISTORY
The tabernacle belonged to the collection of Jean-Louis-Eugène Willemot (1807- 1889), as part of which it was bequeathed to the Musée de Besançon in 1889. Exhibited to the public together with other paintings donated by Willemot in a room of the Palais Granvelle in this city since 1898,[1] it had been transferred to the city's Musée des Beaux-Arts by 1949(a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY[2]
1949 BESANÇON MUS. CAT., 3 No. 5
(a) *Tommaso (École de)*[3]
2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 35, fig. 12
Matteo di Pacino… nella produzione di piccolo formato prevale… l'immediatezza della comunicazione e risulta particolarmente forte l'influenza di Jacopo di Cione

PHOTOGRAPHS
Paris, J. E. Bulloz; Besançon, Photo Pierre Guenat.

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1 *Besançon Exh. Cat.*, 1994, 153-154.
2 In the manuscript inventory of the museum (1897), which generally repeats the classification with which the paintings have been registered in the J.L.E. Willemot collection, the tabernacle is cited as a work of "*Giottino* (*Florence milieu du XIVe s.*)". Communication kindly furnished by the museum.
3 It's not clear to what painter this attribution refers. The reference might be to Niccolò di Tommaso but, since the tabernacle had hitherto (when it forned part of the Willemot collection) been classified as a work of Giottino, whom Vasari (ed. Milanesi, 1878, I, 621-630) calls "Tommaso di Stefano, detto Giottino" it is more plausible to assume that the classification of the tabernacle as a work of "Tommaso, École de" is intended simply to re-state the accepted attribution at the time.

MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
CHURCH OF SANT'AMBROGIO

PL. LXVI

FRESCO
Madonna "lactans"[1] enthroned between Saints John the Baptist and Bartholomew; 3.35 x 1.84 m [date: c. 1365]

STATE
The fresco (second altar to the right of the church) was detached from the wall by Dino Dini in 1965 and applied to a masonite support. A mural drawing of an earlier period was found below the original plaster;[2] the framed bust of Saint Ambrose in its lower part was added towards the end of the XIV[th] century on a fresh plaster surface. Extensive areas of paint loss may be noted in the lower part of the fresco and to the sides of the full-length figures of Saints; these losses were in large part caused by the necessary work for the reconstruction of the altar and the addition of a stone frame to the fresco above. Another prominent loss can be seen above the head of St. Bartholomew; it is prolonged to the upper margin of the fresco, following the line of a crack in the plaster support. Altogether the paint surface is impoverished by wear and tear, and damaged by numerous small scattered areas of paint loss.

HISTORY
The fresco was reportedly commissioned by Domenico di Bonsi de' Succhielli, who lived in the second half of the XIV century, recorded by documents as Ghibelline and magnate in 1378.[3] The chapel, named after the Birth of the Virgin, was renovated by Benedetto Bonsi, a descendent of the latter, in 1486.[4] The tomb of another member of the family, Bernardo Francesco, was installed in it in 1592; on this occasion Domenico Cresti, called Il Passignano, was commissioned to paint a new altarpiece for the chapel, which had in the meantime been re-dedicated to the Madonna del Rosario.[5] The fresco was rediscovered in 1839 and restored by Antonio Marini in 1842 (a).

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1 On the iconographic motif of *Maria lactans*, or *Madonna del Latte*, apart from the earlier contributions of Meiss, 1951, 146-156, Braunfels, in *Lex. Christl. Ikon.*, III, 1971, 158-159 and Schiller, IV-2, 1980, pp. 191-192, who all tackle the theme in the wider context of Marian iconography, see the more specific contributions dedicated to this question by Bonani - Baldassarre Bonani, 1995 (with previous bibliography); Williamson, 1996, pp. 129-315 and Williamson, 2009, 112-130.

2 The mural drawing in question represents Saint Onophrius and episodes of his life, attributed to the Master of Figline by Millard Meiss (Meiss, in *Boll. Arte*, LI, 1966, 149-150). See also Ragionieri, in *Il Maestro di Figline*, 1980, 39-40; Boskovits, *Corpus*, III/IX, 1984, 333-334.

3 The chapel's patronage by Domenico di Bonsi de'Succhielli is recorded in ASF, Ceramelli Papiani, No. 872 (Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 41 n. 55). In contrast to what is maintained by Lenza, however, the stone tablet walled into the atrium of the entrance to the monastery on the left side of the church does not refer to this patron, but probably to his eponymous son. It reads: "S(ER) BONSI DI DOMENICO DI BONSI DE SUCHIELI E SUORUM DISCE(N)DE(N)TI MCCCCXIII" (cf. Busignani Bencini, 1982, 233). The inscription is also reproduced in Artusi - Patruno, 1996, 143. See also Richa, 1755, 318.

4 ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, 79, No. 122, fol. 34v (Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 41 n. 56): "Benedetto Bonsi addì 18 di Gen(naio) 1485 (1486 modern style) ordinò nella chiesa di Santo Ambruogio una chappella e così ha dimandato licenzia del vicario dell'arcivescovo di Firenze sotto il titolo di nostra donna e presentò per Chappellano di detta Ser Girolamo di... fu accettato e confermato sotto detto dì, di tutto fu roghato ser Ghabriello, notaio di vescovado…".

5 Passignano's altarpiece, now lost, is recorded by Follini - Rastrelli, VII, 1797, 57; Prezzolini, 1855, I, 340. The tomb of Bernardo di Francesco Bonsi Succhielli is mentioned by Carocci 1880, 151.

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1855 BURCKHARDT, 752
Angelo Gaddi (?)

1875 FRANCIONI, 228
Altare de' Bonsi Succhielli… scuola di Giotto. La famiglia de' Bonsi Succhielli aveva qui presso la sepoltura con arme che si vede ne' capitelli delle colonne

1900 ORZALESI, 9
(a) *Attribuito ad Angelo Gaddi fiorentino… Tale affresco conosciuto sotto il titolo della Madonna del Latte, fu scoperto nel 1839 e restaurato ad opera del Prof. Antonio Marini nel 1842*

1924 van MARLE, III, 488
Nardo di Cione… but together with the Madonna and Child with Saints in the New York Historical Society *school productions.*[6]

1929 SALMI, in RIV. ARTE, XI, 145
Fra il dipinto dell'Accademia [polyptych with the Vision of St. Bernard, pls. LXVI[1-3]], *che è notevolmente orcagnesco e gli affreschi di Santa Croce* [Rinuccini Chapel] (pls. LXX[1-6]) *in cui prevalgono tendenze nardesche, credo si possa inserire un affresco… che partecipa degli influssi dei due pittori di cui l'anonimo "Maestro Rinuccini" è un modesto satellite*

1930 ALLODOLI, 13
Attribuito alla scuola di Giotto

1939 GRAVINA, 5
Attribuita al fiorentino Angelo Gaddi. Conosciuta col titolo di Madonna del Latte

1940 PAATZ, I, 28
Art des Niccolò di Tommaso

1966 MEISS, in BOLL. ARTE, LI, 149
Seguace di Nardo di Cione

1973 BELLOSI, in MITTEILUNGEN KIF, XVII, 182
Matteo di Pacino

1975 BOSKOVITS, 358, fig. 57
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini… 1365-1370

1975 FREMANTLE, 199, fig. 395
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1981 OFFNER, 26
Master of Vatican busts

1986 BIAGI, in PITTURA IN ITALIA, 637-638
Matteo di Pacino

1996 ARTUSI - PATRUNO, 158
Agnolo Gaddi… anche se c'è chi lo attribuisce a Matteo di Pacino. Some details on the history of the building.

2001 KANTER, in WALL. - RICH. JAHRB., 152-153
Matteo di Pacino

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 28, 32, fig. 7
Matteo di Pacino… cerca di coniugare la quieta e maestosa solennità dell'impianto compositivo della tradizione giottesca col naturalismo sottile di Giovanni da Milano.

PHOTOGRAPHS
Alinari, Florence, 36337; Brogi, 15455; SSPMF, Nos. 132970, 320290, ex art. 15 n. 9461.

[6] Offner.....

MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA - *Inv. 1890 No. 6134* PL. LXVII

PANEL
Saint Michael Archangel between Saints Bartholomew and Julian with a kneeling female donor; 1.58 x .865 m
[date: c. 1365]

STATE
The painting was restored in 1960,[1] when the support was consolidated and the pictorial surface cleaned. The wooden support is traversed by a vertical crack that runs along the joint between the boards, passing to the side of the kneeling female donor and between the figures of Saints Bartholomew and Michael; this has caused some minor flaking of pigment along the line of the crack. Other small colour losses can be noted at the centre of the faux-marble pavement. The gold ground is slightly worn and damaged by craquelure, especially in the upper part of the triangular gable. Otherwise the colour is fairly well preserved for a painting of this age. The metal foil finishes of Saint Bartholomew's knife and Saint Michael's sword and buckler are now oxidized.

HISTORY
The painting was removed from the suppressed monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in 1810 (a). On 15 March 1853 it was transferred from the storerooms of the Accademia di Belle Arti to those of the Uffizi, where it is still documented in 1881 (b) and in 1890 (c). On permanent display in the Galleria dell'Accademia since 1933 (d).

INSCRIPTIONS
SANTUS BAR/TOLOMEUS; SANTUS MIKA/EL ARCANGIELUS; SANTUS IULI/ANUS

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1808-1810 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., No. 80
(a) *Florence, S. Ambrogio: Un Quadro a punta di sopra, rappresentante San Michele Arcangelo, e Due Santi. Opera antica in Tavola. Alto braccia 3:2 5\6, largo braccia 3:2 1\3*

1810-1813 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., No. 70

1880-1881 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., II Categoria, No.
(b) 345
Fiorentino, Sec. XIV

1890 FLORENCE MUS. CAT.,
(c) vol. VIII, 164, No. 6134
Fiorentino, Sec. XIV, 2ª metà.

1916 SIRÉN, 61-62
Ambrogio di Baldese

1924 GARNERI, 447
Ignoto

1927 van MARLE, IX, 88
Pseudo Ambrogio di Baldese (Uffizi, storeroom No. 4608)[2]

1932 BERENSON, 237, (1936, 204)
Rinuccini Master?

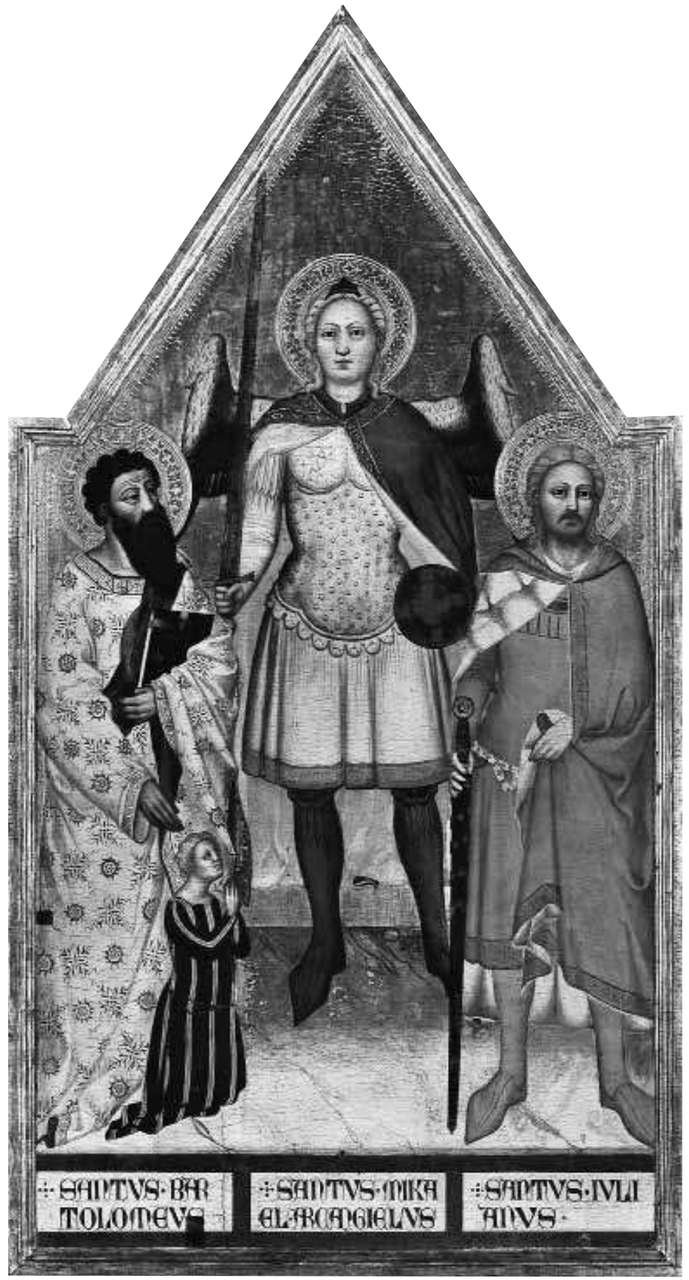
1936 PROCACCI, 34 (1951, 34)
Ignoto maestro fiorentino di tendenze orcagnesche

[1] The restoration was conducted by A. Vermehren, U. Geissler and B. Schleicher, while the pictorial surface was cleaned by E.F. Scheffel (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, archive).

1950 MARABOTTINI, 103
Does not support the attribution to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel
1963 BERENSON, I, 143
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel
1965 MARCUCCI, 93-94
(d) *Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… Lavoro ancora giovanile di quel mediocre Maestro.* It suggests he was trained in the 1350s, in a typically Florentine milieu still dominated by Bernardo Daddi and by the Orcagna brothers... The work should probably date to the 1360s
1967 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS IV/IV, 35 n. 1
Orcagnesque Master of the Vatican Busts. They note the close affinities both in composition and in measurements with the panel representing Saint Francis between Saints Anthony of Padua and Louis of Toulouse by Giovanni del Biondo in the Musée d'Histoire et d'Art in Luxembourg
1969 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS IV/V, 60 n. 2
Master of the Vatican Busts
1975 BOSKOVITS, 358
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… 1365-1370
1975 DIZ. BOLAFFI,VII, 289
Matteo di Pacino
1975 FREMANTLE, 198, fig. 393
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel
1981 OFFNER, 26
Master of Vatican Busts
1987 BONSANTI, 66-67
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini
1999 FALLETTI - ANGLANI, 92
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini
2001 KANTER, in WALL. - RICH. JAHRB., 152-153
Matteo di Pacino
2003 TRONCI, in BOSKOVITS - TARTUFERI, 171-173
Matteo di Pacino… il riferimento a una fase relativamente precoce… pare convincente… intorno al 1360. To the same stylistic phase should also belong the Vir dolorum and Saints in the Pinacoteca Vaticana (see in this volume pl. LXXII)…
strette affinità con Nardo di Cione
2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 30, 39 n. 32
Matteo di Pacino… mostra di avere assimilato appieno l'insegnamento nardesco… databile verso la metà degli anni Sessanta

PHOTOGRAPHS
SSPMF Nos. 118848 (post-restoration, 1962); 117203-117204 (during the restoration); 512400 (1998); 512425 (colour photo, 1998), ex art. 15, 1970; 574480-574484; Alinari, Florence, Cal 3705M (colour).

[2] The inventory number reported here is the one assigned to the painting when it was in the storerooms of the Uffizi.



MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA - *Inv. 1890 No. 8463* PLS. LXVIII[1-3]

POLYPTYCH
Vision of Saint Bernard[1] flanked (to the left) by Saints Benedict[2] and John the Evangelist,[3] (to the right) by Saints Quentin (Quintinus)[4] and Galgano;[5] *in the gable medallions*, the Blessing Redeemer (at the centre); the Angel of the Annunciation (to the left) and the Virgin Annunciate (to the right); *in the predella*, Saint Benedict ordering Saint Maur to save Saint Placidus from drowning, Saint John the Evangelist drinking from the poisoned cup, Saint Bernard among his monks and his five brothers; Saint Bernard preaching at Sarbat and distributing the miraculous bread;[6] Decapitation of Saint Quentin, Saint Galgano praying before the sword transfixed in the rock; 1.75 x 2.00 m *entire*; 1.44 x .695 m *central compartment*; 1.23 x .66 m *left compartment*; 1.235 x .665 cm *right compartment*; .285 x 2.00 cm predella [date: 1365-1370]

INSCRIPTIONS
REGINA CELI MATER / CRUCIFIXI

[1] The origin of this subject is disputed. According to some (Celletti, in *Bibl. Sanctorum*, 1965, III, 40; Dal Prà, 1990, 52-57) it derives from a passage in the Saint's biography in which reference is made to the apparition of the Virgin to Saint Bernard during a life-threatening illness; according to others (Clark, in *Studies in Iconography*, VII, 1981-1982, 175-187), perhaps more plausibly, the episode derives from a passage in Saint Bernard's *Homilies* in which the Saint refers to the Vision of the Virgin that he had experienced when he was writing the book. The trees depicted in the background, identified as a cedar of Lebanon, an olive, two palms and two pines (from which according to the legend the wood of Christ's cross was hewn), as well as the branches of oak and beech that can be glimpsed behind the back of the kneeling Saint, have been interpreted as Christological and Marian symbols (Palmeri, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 174). The oak and the beech, in particular, are considered Marian attributes (Levi D'Ancona, 1977, 62-63, 84-87, 250-255, 261-269, 279-289, 302-307). The text that Saint Bernard is shown writing in the book opened on the lectern in front of him and the words pronounced by the Virgin, reported in the form of a "speaking" inscription, are taken from the *Liber de Passione Christi et doloribus et planctibus matris eius* (in PL, CLXXXII, cols. 1133-1138), a text that was attributed to Saint Bernard himself during the Middle Ages, but whose author was later identified as the abbot Ogedio of Lucerio (d. 1215) (Dal Prà, 1990, 57).

[2] Kaftal, 1952, 145, 154. The Saint is wearing the white habit of the reformed Benedictine orders and holds in his hands the crosier and a bundle of rods alluding to the practice of self-flagellation. The themes of obedience and discipline are also touched on in the episode depicted in the predella compartment below, based on a passage in the life of the Saint recounted by Jacopo da Varazze (ed. 1995, Cap. XLIX, 258). Saint Maur, ordered by Saint Benedict to save from drowning Saint Placidus, who has fallen into the river, is able to do so by walking on the water and grasping his companion by the hair. The successful rescue does not depend on Saint Maur's abilities, but is the consequence of his obedience.

[3] Kaftal, 1952, 560, 564. Saint John is holding the book in one hand and a quill in the other. He is represented according to the usual facial type, with long hair and forked beard. The scene in the predella below refers to an episode recounted in the apocryphal tradition: Aristodemus, high priest of the Temple of Diana, challenges the apostle to show the superiority of the Christian God by drinking out of a poisoned cup. The potion remains without effect for the Saint, but proves lethal for the two pagan priests who are shown slumped on the ground in the foreground. See Jacopo da Varazze, ed. 1995, Cap. IX, 70-71.

[4] Kaftal, 1952, 865. Saint Quentin is portrayed as a youth. He holds the palm of martyrdom in his left hand and two long spits, instruments of his martyrdom, in his right. His decapitation is shown in the predella compartment below. See Jacopo da Varazze, ed. 1995, Cap. CLX, 875.

[5] Kaftal, 1952, 424. Saint Galgano is portrayed as a young knight with a sword. In the predella compartment below the Saint is portrayed praying before the sword immured in the rock, in the form of a cross. See Susi, 1993, 193.

[6] Kaftal, 1952, 180. In the first of the two episodes Saint Bernard is represented together with the monks of his com

DIC MATER / DOMINI SI I(N) / JERUSALEM / ERAS Q(UANDO) / CAPTUS / FUIT FILIU / S TU / U / [S CUI IL] / LA / RESPONDIT (on Saint Bernard's book) ; I(E) R(USA)L(E)M ERAM Q(UA)N(DO) HOC AUDIVI (inscription between the figures of the Virgin and Saint Bernard)[7]

STATE

In the main compartments and in the predella the gold ground is worn in a uniform manner. The pictorial surface on the other hand is fairly well preserved, despite some woodworm damage and retouches visible at various points; a larger integration can be seen in the bust of Saint Galgano.

A late nineteenth-century photograph (Alinari, No. 1570) and others taken in the following decades (Alinari, No. 25094; Reali) testify to a state of conservation different from that we now see. The gold ground was rubbed at various points, while conspicuous integrations of the pictorial surface were visible in the central part of the figure of Saint Galgano. In the predella the two compartments furthest to the left were damaged by horizontal cracks in the wooden support, while small colour losses were scattered all over. The painting has since been restored; but when this restoration was conducted is not documented; perhaps prior to presentation in an exhibition in 1982 (e). The colour losses were then integrated, while the large overpainting in the bust of Saint San Galgano was eliminated and repainted.

HISTORY

The polyptych was removed from the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria della Campora at the time of the Napoleonic suppressions of religious congregations (1808-1810) and transferred to the storerooms at San Marco (a, b). From there it was later transferred to the Galleria dell'Accademia where it was reported to have been exhibited from 1817 (c).

The monastery of Le Campora, however, does not seem to have been the polyptych's original destination. On the basis of its iconographic features, a provenance from the Cistercian Abbey of San Salvatore a Settimo has been convincingly inferred.[8] Its transfer from Badia a Settimo to the monastery of Le Campora however is undocumented; various hypotheses have been advanced (f, g).[9]

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1810-1813 (b) FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 79 No. 702 *Firenze. Santa Maria della Badia dalle Campora. Un quadro rappresentante San Bernardo in ginocchioni che scrive davanti alla Madonna e altri Santi. Opera antica in buono stato. Alto braccia 3:3, largo braccia 3:3 1/3*

1817 (c) COLZI, 28 *Tommaso di Stefano detto Giottino*

1836 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 35-36 Thomas surnommè Giottino

1840 ROSINI, II, 131-132 *Giottino*

1842 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 12 (1847, 10-11) *Thomas surnommè Giottino… Tiré de la maison de campagne du Convent de l'Abbaye de Florence*

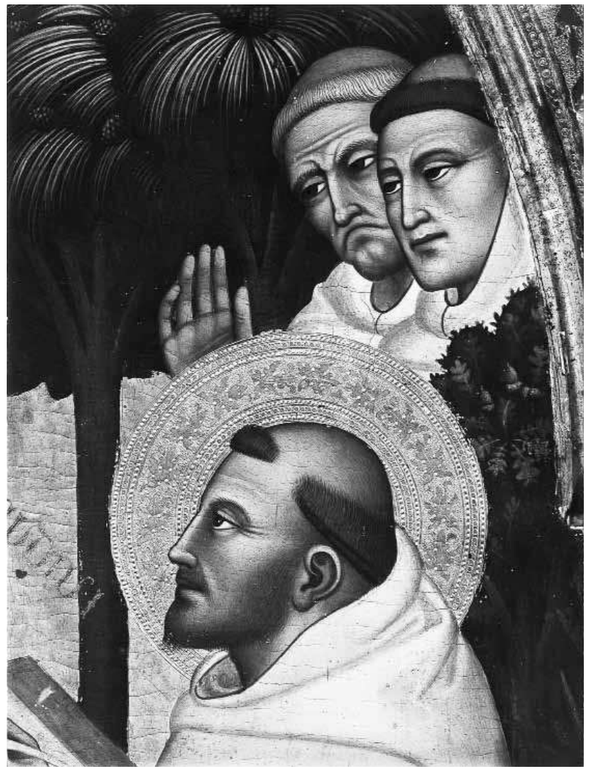
1850 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 10 (9th ed., 1851, 10; 10th ed., 1852, 10; 12th ed., 1854, 13th ed., 1855, 12; 14th ed., 1856, 7; 17th

munity as he welcomes his five brothers. One of these, Gerardo, shows a wound in his side, suffered during a fight just as Bernard had foreseen (PL, vol. CLXXXV, 232-236). The other compartment refers to Saint Bernard's efforts to stamp out heresy: to convince the inhabitants of Sarlat (France, Dordogne) not to abandon the true faith, the Saint distributes blessed bread, after confirming its thaumaturgic power (PL, vol. CLXXXV, 313).

7 See above n. 1.

8 Cohn, in Marcucci, 1965, 94-95.

9 See oo in this volume for some remarks on the question by the present author.



ed., 1859, 8; 18th ed., 1861, 8; 1864, 8)
Inconnu du XIVe siècle

1858 UCCELLI, 81
Tavola in tre scompartimenti attribuita a Giottino… era già nel monastero della Campora

1859 MASSELLI, No. 69
Scuola di Giotto

1865 MILANESI, in PASSERINI - MILANESI, 17-18 (reprinted in MILANESI, 1873, 118)
Recalls the presence of a panel painted by Bernardo Daddi in the chapel of San Bernardo in the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence in 1335. *Forse è quella tavola che oggi si vede nella detta Galleria* (dell'Accademia) *nella Sala de' quadri grandi, sotto il numero 14.*

1873 HORNER, II, 336
Early unknown artist. It is clear in colour, and sweet and true in expression. The two heads behind St. Bernard, looking over him, are full of character and in excellent contrast

1883 BACCIOTTI, 116, No. 14
Unknown

1884 BURKHARDT, 528
Niccolò di Pietro Gerini

1884 PIERACCINI, 51-52 (1893, 71; 1901, 59)
Ignoto del secolo XIV.. Il cav. Milanesi crede che questo quadro sia stato dipinto da Bernardo Daddi per la cappella della Signoria

1890 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., ms., vol. X, 151, No. 8463
Andrea Orcagna, dal convento delle Campora

1904 ALINARI, 85 No. 138
École de Giotto

1905 SUIDA, 13-15
Andrea Orcagna… Die Figuren der Verkündigung stimmen beinahe ganz genau mit denen des Reliefs in Orsanmichele überein

1905 WULFF, in MONATSH. KUNSTWISS., I, 157
Zwischen Giovanni da Milano und der Orcagna-Schule stehender jüngerer Meister

1907 VENTURI, V, 772
Reports Suida's attribution to *Andrea Orcagna*

1907 CRUTTWELL, 276-277 No. 138
School of Orcagna

1907 SUIDA, in RIV. ARTE, V, 44
Andrea Orcagna

1909 BERENSON, 161
Andrea Orcagna and his brothers. Cites the polyptych with the Inv. No. 14

1910 GARNERI, 223 (1924, 448)
Attribuito tanto ad Andrea Orcagna che a Bernardo Daddi

1914 KHVOSHINSKY - SALMI, II, 27
Andrea di Cione detto l'Orcagna (cited with the No. 138)

1917 SIRÉN, I, 230
Rather advanced stage of Orcagna's activity, when his younger brothers or other helpers took a considerably part in execution of his paintings

1924 van MARLE, III, 465-466, fig. 261
Andrea Orcagna (?)… Certainly… do not possess the qualities of Andrea's later productions; …in the excellent rendering of the plastic relief of the draping, the skilfull application of light and shade… led me to suppose that we have here examples of the master's earlier style

1924 VITZTHUM - VOLBACH, 302, 307
Orcagnawerkstatt

1924-1926 SIRÉN, in JAHRBÜCHER
BUDAPEST, IV, 17, fig. 9
Pseudo-Nardo[10]

1925 NEWELL, 137
Andrea di Cione

1926 GOMBOSI, 137
Nardo di Cione

1927 OFFNER, 122-124
Rinuccini Master... here imitating a *design by Orcagna… the predella reveals more numerous affinities to the lower Rinuccini frescoes than other parts of the altarpiece… earlier in its painter's activity than the frescoes which are larger and looser in treatment… of the epoch of Orcagna's Strozzi altarpieces.*

1927-1928 GOMBOSI, in JAHRBÜCHER
BUDAPEST, V, 8-9, (summary in German) 220
Nardo di Cione

1928 LUMACHI, 316
Andrea Orcagna

1929 SALMI, in RIV. ARTE, XI, 144-145
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… notevolmente orcagnesco… derivato (lo dimostra la mediocre predella) dal trittico di Andrea in Santa Maria Novella.

1929 TOESCA, 78-79 n. 25
Seguace di Andrea di Cione

1930-1931 LONGHI, in DEDALO, XI, 290
pala Orcagnesca

1931 HAUTECOEUR, 165
Excludes the polyptych from the catalogue of Andrea Orcagna, together with the Pentecost in the Galleria dell'Accademia[11] and the Madonna and Child in Budapest,[12] concidering that *le dessin de ces oeuvres est trop faible pour qu'on puisse les attribuer à un tel home*

1932 BERENSON, 237 (1936, 204)
Rinuccini Master, between Orcagna and Giovanni del Biondo

1933 BERENSON, in BOLL. ARTE, XI, 538-539
seguace dell'Orcagna influenzato da Giovanni da Milano e successore di questi nella decorazione della sagrestia di Santa Croce, il così detto Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini…

1936 PROCACCI, 28
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini

1937 GRONAU, 85 n. 137
Meister der Rinuccini-Kapelle

1938 MARCHINI, in RIV. ARTE, XX, 236
In the Annunciation painted in the roundels in the gables the composition follows the scheme most widespread in Florence in the Trecento.

1940 PAATZ, I, 292
Rinuccini-Meister zugeschrieben

1946 COLETTI, LI, pl. 116
quasi certamente di Jacopo (di Cione)

1947 ANTAL, 225-226 n. 140
Rinuccini Master… about 1366-69… characteristic of his dramatic narrative manner are the predella panels of his altarpiece with the Vision of St. Bernard

1950 MARABOTTINI, 105-106
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… colorista raro, con una gamma brillante, degna di un miniatore, ma col senso del volume e della prospettiva… contatti con l'Orcagna evidentissimi

1951 MEISS, 77 n. 19
Rinuccini Master[13]

1951 PROCACCI, 28
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini

1951 TOESCA, 637
Bottega dell'Orcagna

1952 KAFTAL, 178-182, figs. 189, 191
Master of the Rinuccini chapel

1959 LONGHI, in PARAGONE, IX, 111, 11-12
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… imbrattamuri della brigata orcagnesca

1961 DAVIES, 397
… ascribed to Orcagna and others. Notes that the inscription on Saint Bernard's book coincides with that on the book held by the same Saint in the predella

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[10] The scholar, who does not cite the Hungarian name of the journal in question, connects the polyptych with the predella compartment of the Adoration of the Magi (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Inv. No. 33), now attributed to the Master of the Ashmolean Museum Predella (see in this volume 00), arguing that both works were executed by a follower of Nardo di Cione.

[11] On this polyptych, which is unanimously considered a work of Andrea Orcagna, see Offner, *Corpus*, IV/I, 1962, 74-77, pl. VI and Tartuferi, in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 43-47.

[12] Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Inv. No. 2540 (50). On this painting, attributed to Jacopo di Cione by Bernard Berenson (in *Dedalo*, XI, 1931, 1057), see Offner, *Corpus*, IV/III, 1965, 124-125, pl. XII.

[13] The first saint to the right is mistakenly identified by Meiss as Sebastian and not Quentin.

of the Crucifixion in the National Gallery in London (Inv. No. 1468)

1963 BERENSON, I, 143, figs. 282-284
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1963 CELLETTI, in BIBL. SANCTORUM, III, 40
Orcagna

1965 MARCUCCI, 94-96

(c) *Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… la sua stretta vicinanza agli affreschi dello stesso pittore nella cappella Rinuccini fa pensare a una data fra il 65 e il 70*

1965 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, IV/III, 75
Rinuccini Master. Observes that the text of the dialogue between the Virgin and Saint Bernard is repeated verbatim in the book held by the Cistercian Saint in the predella of Jacopo di Cione's Crucifixion and Saints in the National Gallery in London (Inv. No. 1468)

1967 KLESSE, 388 No. 360
Meister der Rinuccini Kapelle. Classifies the decorative motif of the cloth that covers the floor.

1973 BELLOSI, 180, fig. 3
Matteo di Pacino… sotto la coriacea durezza della materia pittorica brilla ancora il ricordo di una certa affabilità femminile

1974 JANKE, 45-46, fig. 28
Attributed to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1975 BOSKOVITS, 34, 202 n. 106, 213 n. 58, 358, pl. 31
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… 1365-1370… La visione mistica di San Bernardo perde completamente l'aspetto miracoloso per guadagnare invece in corposità, in sobria chiarezza

1975 DIZ. BOLAFFI, VII, 288
Matteo di Pacino, before 1370

1975 (d) FREMANTLE, 195, 200-202, figs. 397, 399, 402-404
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1981-1982 CLARK, VII, in *Studies in Iconography*, 184 n. 5
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1981 OFFNER, 24
Rinuccini Master

1982 DAL PRÀ, in FLORENCE EXH. (e) CAT., 74-75, fig. 14
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… Assumes the provenance of the polyptych from the Cistercian Abbey of Settimo due to the inclusion of Saint Quentin[14]

1984 PAFFRATH, II, 40
Meister des Rinuccini-Altares… letzes Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts

1986 BIAGI, in PITTURA IN ITALIA, 637-638
Matteo di Pacino

1987 BONSANTI, 67
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini

1988 TURNER, I, 315-316, figs. 139-140
Rinuccini Master

1988 GORDON, in DAVIES, 55
Ascribed to Orcagna and others

1990 BERTANI, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 106
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini

1990 CIARDI DUPRÉ DAL POGGETTO, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 27
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini pittore non mediocre

1990 DAL PRÀ, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 38, 40
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini.

1990 DAL PRÀ in RIVISTA CISTERCENSE, VII, 61-90[15]
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini. Supports the alleged provenance from the Cistercian Abbey of Settimo on the basis of iconographic features.

1991 WIGNY, 454
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini

1994 TARTUFERI, in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 40
Matteo di Pacino… gradevole interpretazione del linguaggio orcagnesco caratterizzata soprattutto dalla felice intonazione cromatica

1997 FREULER, CORPUS, IV/VII, 295
Rinuccini Master

1999 FALLETTI - ANGLANI, 92
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini

2001 KANTER, in WALL. - RICH. JAHRB., 152-153
Matteo di Pacino

2003 PALMERI, in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., (f) 174-181
Matteo di Pacino… nella descrizione minuziosa dell'inginocchiatoio di San Bernardo, con la sua modanatura e la decorazione a intarsio, nonché nella raffigurazione dei fiori e delle piante dello scomparto centrale… è legittimo ipotizzare un riflesso dell'esperienza diretta della visione di "timbro nordico" cara a Giovanni da Milano

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, (g) XCIII, 28, 30, 31, fig. 5
Matteo di Pacino… affinità particolarmente strette con i due trittici di Nardo di Cione entrambi datati 1365, la Trinità e Santi della Galleria dell'Accademia a Firenze e la Madonna con il Bambino in trono tra i SS. Gregorio e Giobbe (Firenze, Gallerie…) per la forte resa plastica degli incarnati, per l'impasto cromatico… ma certe asprezze del disegno ricordano anche brani della Pentecoste (Firenze, Galleria dell'Accademia), una delle ultime opere dell'Orcagna.[16]

PHOTOGRAPHS
Alinari, Florence, 1570; Anderson, 25094; Brogi, Florence, Nos. 2406, 24200-3; Reali, Florence (negatives at the National Gallery of Art, Washington) 427-32; SSPMF, Nos 379127 (1985), 512393 (1998); 512429 (colour, 1998), 512438-512443 (details in colour, 1998); 549588 (retro); 574024-574043.

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[14] Notes a tradition reported by Giuseppe Richa (IX, 1761, 213), according to which the bones of Saint Quentin were preserved in a chapel of Badia a Settimo.

[15] Dal Prà's contribution is updated to 1986.

[16] See Offner, *Corpus*, IV/II, 1960, 88-96; Tartuferi in *Florence Mus. Cat.*, 2003, 182-191; Tartuferi in *Florence Exh. Cat.*, 2006, 111-118.

MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
SAN DONATO IN POLVEROSA

PLS. LXIX[1-5]

FRESCOES
Assumption of the Virgin,[1] Thronus Gratiae,[2] Blessing God the Father *in the left transept*; Annunciation, Saint George and the Dragon,[3] Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian[4] *in the nave*.

STATE
The frescoes were detached and restored in 1965 (a). Following restoration they were returned to the church, though only in part maintaining their original location. The lunette with the Assumption of Mary and the Trinity was re-installed at the end of the left transept. Its pictorial surface is worn and compromised by retouches scattered all over. Of the scenes originally placed in the nave the most substantial damage concerns that of the Annunciation, now almost illegible. The lower part of the fresco of the Matyrdom of Saint Sebastian has been almost completely lost: an area corresponding to roughly a third of the entire frescoed surface has been destroyed. Other smaller areas of pigment loss are scattered all over the pictorial surface and have only in part been retouched. The metal foil finishes of the weapons have also been lost, leaving visible the imprint of the material used to secure their adherence to the plaster. The condition of the other narrative scene, that of St. George and the Dragon, is also poor. Here too much of the lower part of the fresco has been lost: of the figure of the dragon all that remains is the fragment of the head with open maw and coiled neck. Other extensive areas of paint loss also damage the figure of the princess to the left and the figures and landscape in the background. The whole of the surface is damaged by flaked pigment due to the use of an abrasive substance in an earlier restoration, perhaps linked to the removal of the whitewash by which the frescoes had been covered.

Exhibition: Florence, Forte Belvedere, 1966 (a).

INSCRIPTIONS
In the book held by the Almighty in the transept lunette: DIG/NUS/ES/DOM/INE (Rev 5: 9).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1967 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, IV/IV, 129 n. 1
Notes in the composition of the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian, *from the late Trecento, the influence* [detectible in] *the central and right-hand foreground figures* of the Martyrdom of this Saint painted by Giovanni del Biondo at the centre of the triptych for the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence.[5]

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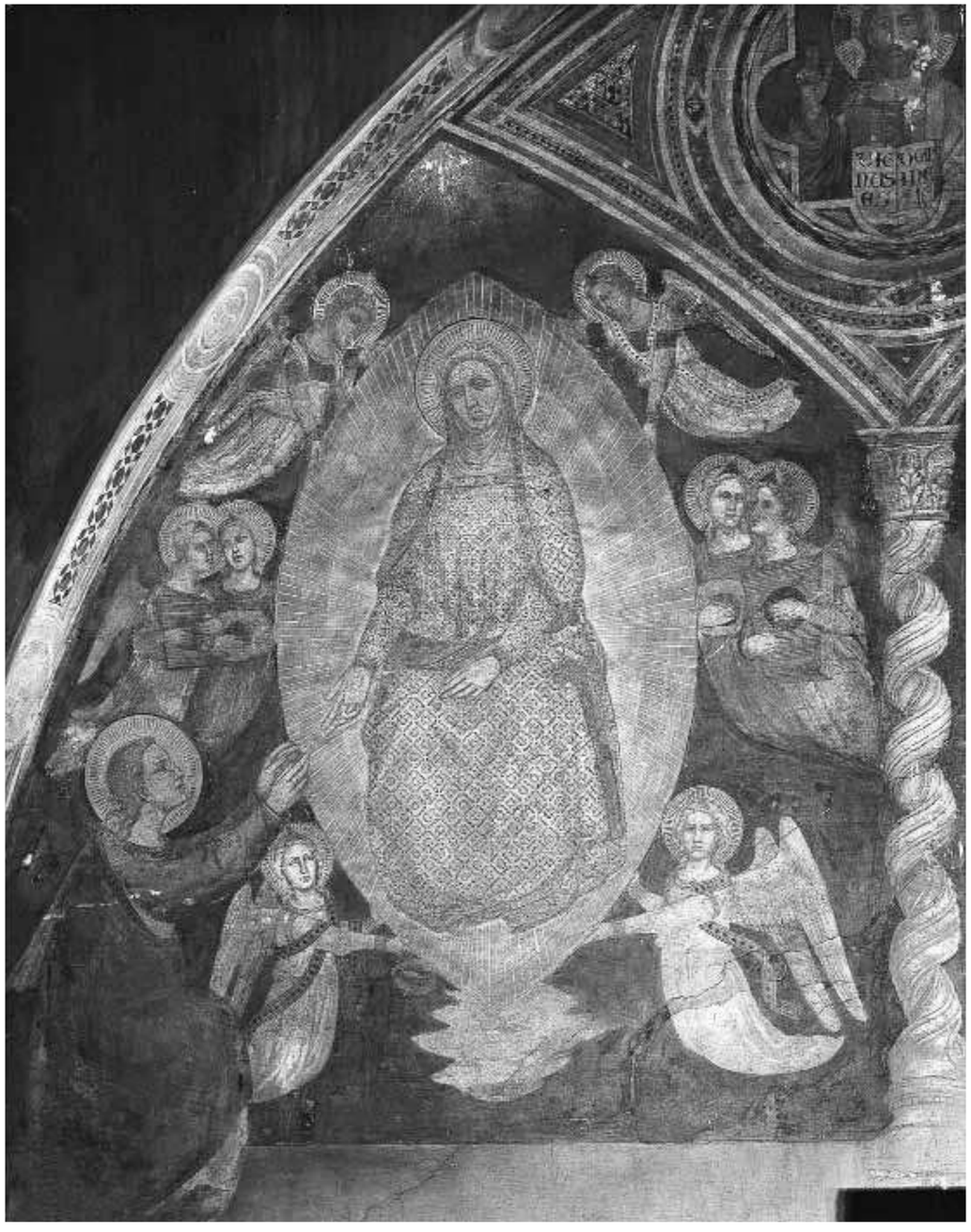
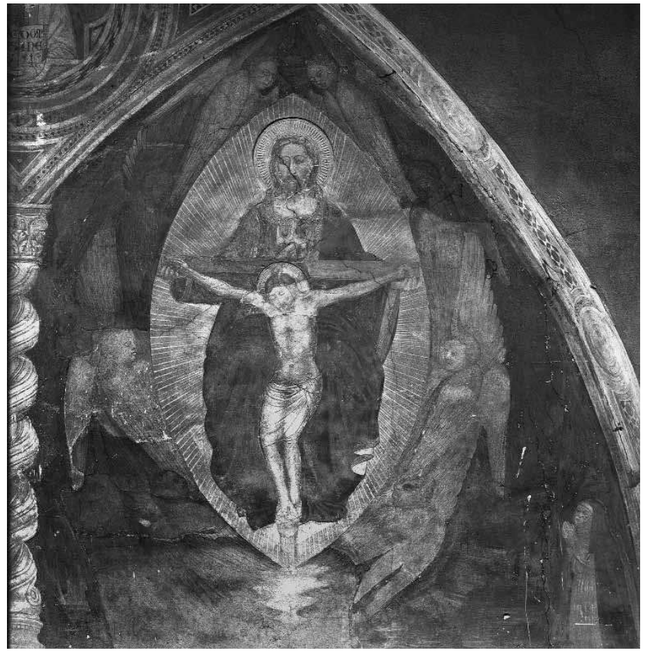
1 On the Assumption of Mary see Fournée, in Lex., II, 1970, 276-283.
2 On this iconographic motif see G. Schiller, I, 1966, 18; Braunfels, in Christl. Ikon., I, 1994, pp. 526-537; and the monographic contribution of Iacobone, 1997. As regards the diffusion of the iconography of the Thronus Gratiae in Florence and its environs see Offner, Corpus, III/VI, 145-147.
3 Kaftal, 1952, 444.
4 Kaftal, 1952, 917-925.
5 Reflections of this same compositional idea are also identified by Offner in two frescoes respectively in the church of San Lorenzo at Signa attributed to Pietro Nelli by Luciano Bellosi (in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XVII, 1973, 194 n. 11; Alinari, Firenze, No. 31179) and in the church of Sant'Ambrogio in Florence attributed to Pietro di Miniato (Boskovits, 1975, 131, 416 fig. 423).



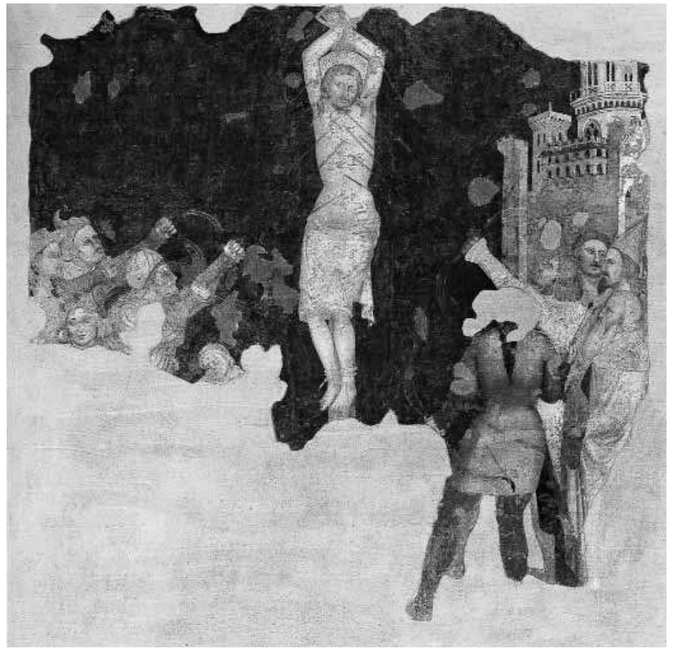
1973 BELLOSI, in MITTEILUNGEN
(a) KIF, XVII, 182
Matteo di Pacino
1974 TCI FIRENZE, 373
Seguace di Nardo di Cione (sec. XIV)
1975 BOSKOVITS, 358
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini … 1365-1370
1975 DIZ. BOLAFFI,VII, 288-289
Matteo di Pacino... già nell'ottavo decennio
1975 FREMANTLE, 199, fig. 398
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel
1983 CONTI, 111
Matteo di Pacino
1986 BIAGI, in PITTURA IN ITALIA, 638
Matteo di Pacino only in relation to the fresco of Saint George and the Dragon
1990 D'IMPERIO, 46-47
Matteo di Pacino
1993 TCI FIRENZE, 548
Matteo di Pacino
1997 MARINI, in ATTI E MEMORIE, LXII, 111
Matteo di Pacino… che avrebbe lavorato a San Donato negli anni fra il 1365 e il 1370
1999 BERNACCHIONI, in FLORENCE GUIDES, 233
Matteo di Pacino
2001 FIORILLO, in ARTE CRISTIANA, LXXXIX, 334
Matteo di Pacino
2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 28, 35, figg. 14-15.
Matteo di Pacino… commissionati da suor Paola Bardi suppongo dopo il 1370[6]… lezione di Giovanni da Milano nelle forme modellate con sottili e morbide gradazioni di chiaroscuro… propone una pittura sobria, possente e di sicuro effetto monumentale.

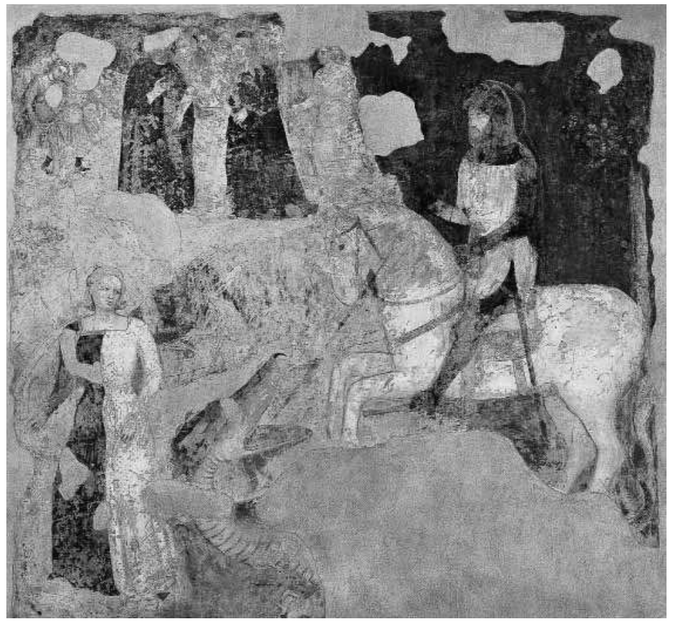
PHOTOGRAPHS
SSPMF, Nos. 128061, 128062, 128066, 129595 (prior to detachment), 132885, 132985, 132987 (after detachment and restoration).

[6] Mentioned as Mother Abbess of the monastery of San Donato a Torri in a document of 1371 (ASF, Diplomatico, San Donato a Torri, 8 October 1371, see Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 42 n. 74), also known in another version dated 1370 (ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal Governo Francese, 233, No. 103, see Lenza, in *Arte Cristiana*, XCIII, 2005, 42 n. 74). Since the document in question refers to the repayment to Suor Paola of a large loan made to the Monks of the Badia di San Salvatore a Settimo, the author assumes that it was from this date that the moneys reimbursed were dedicated to the restoration of the church. The author further underlines the kinship ties that subsisted between the family of Suor Paola and that of Francesco Rinuccini, probable patron of Matteo di Pacino in the frescoes in the sacristy of Santa Croce.



PL. LXIX[4-5]





MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
BASILICA OF SANTA CROCE, Rinuccini Chapel

PLS. LXX[1-6]

FRESCOES
Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple[1] and Betrothal of the Virgin[2] *on the left wall*; "Noli me tangere" and Maries at the Tomb,[3] Miracle of the Resuscitated Noblewoman[4] *on the right wall*; the Blessed Andrea da Anagni[5] and Saint Anthony of Padua[6] *on the inner face of the pilasters supporting the archway leading into the chapel*.
[date: 1366-1371]

INSCRIPTIONS
On the book of Saint Anthony of Padua:
OPTAVI ET / DATUS EST / SENS(US) / ET INVOCAVI / ET VENIT IN / ME SP(IRITU) S SAPIE(TIAE) / ET INTELLECTU(M) / ET PREPOSUI / ILLAM REGNIS / ET SEDIBUS / ET DIVITIAS / NICHIL ESSE / DIXI IN COM / PARATIONE / ILLIUS NEC / CO(M) PARAVI / ILLI LAPIDE / PRETIOSUM (Wis 7: 7-8)[7]
Under the figure of the Blessed Andrea da Anagni: SANCTUS ANDREAS DE A[N]A[GNI]

STATE
The frescoes were restored by Agostino Veracini and Giovanni Filippo Giarrè in 1736 (though his intervention was limited to the painted architecture); the restoration was commissioned by

1 On the iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple see Schiller, IV-2, 1980, 67-72; Lafontaine-Dosogne, 1992, I, 136-160, II, 106-108.

2 On the iconography of the Betrothal of the Virgin see Schiller, IV-2, 1980, 76-80; Lafontaine-Dosogne, 1992, I, 165-175, II, 135-144.

3 The scene contains two episodes, usually portrayed separately. To the left Christ appears to the Magdalen, who at first supposes him to be the gardener but then recognises him, and is shown genuflecting and about to touch him. Jesus, however, tells her not to do so – *Noli me tangere* – and invites her instead to go the Apostles to announce his resurrection (Jn 20: 17). See Schiller, III, 1971, 95-98.
To the right Mary, Mother of James, and Mary Magdalene, having gone to the sepulchre of Jesus to anoint his body with spices (Mk 16: 1), meet the Archangel Gabriel who is accompanied by two angels and who announces to them that the Resurrection of Christ has come to pass. The presence of the two angels has no precedent in Italian medieval art (Sandberg Vavalà, 1929, 483-485).

4 The subject of this fresco was erroneously identified with the Death of the Magdalen by Giuseppe Richa (I, 1754, 63). The narrative scene refers instead to a miracle of the Saint described in the *Speculum Paolini*, a copy of which was preserved in the Library of the Convent of Santa Croce at the time of the execution of the frescoes being discussed here (i.e. in the 1360s). It is now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Plut. XXI sin. 1, Cap. 144, fol. 91r). See Bandini, IV, 1777, 155-157; Aiazzi, 1840, 14. The miraculous episode is also reported by Jacopo da Varazze (ed. 1995, 520).

5 Kaftal, 1952, 49-51, figs. 48-49; Odoardi, in *Bibl. Sanctorum*, I, 1961, 1156-1157. Andrea dei Conti Segni di Anagni (1240-1302), Franciscan, rejected elevation to the College of Cardinals offered to him by Pope Boniface VIII. An allusion to this episode is found in the cardinal's hat portrayed behind his left foot, in the lower right of the fresco. Andrea was beatified by Innocent XIII on 11 December 1724. In Matteo's fresco in the Rinuccini Chapel, however, Andrea da Anagni is already portrayed with the halo. This is not unique. For elsewhere in the church of Santa Croce he is also represented with a halo: namely, in the stained-glass window of the *cappella maggiore* and in the frescoes of the Castellani Chapel painted by Agnolo Gaddi in the 1380s (Kaftal, 1952, fig. 49).

6 Kaftal, 1952, 77.

7 The passage from the Wisdom of Solomon corresponds to the Epistle of the feast of Saint Anthony of Padua in the *Ordo Missalis fratrum Minorum secundum consuetudine Romanae Curiae* compiled by Simon of Faversham (Faversham ? - Anagni, 1244).

the marchese Carlo Andrea Rinuccini (1679-1748)[8] (a). A further intervention, mainly dedicated to restoring the chapel's large two-light window, though perhaps extended to cleaning some of the frescoes, at least those of the decorative motifs on the dado and end wall, was begun in the late 1880s and concluded in 1893.[9] The integrations and overpaintings carried out during these early restorations were eliminated in the 1960s during the restoration supervised by Ugo Procacci[10] (b, c). The frescoes were subjected to a further restoration, conducted by Dino Dini, under the supervision of Paolo Del Poggetto, between 19 August and 17 November 1977.[11]

HISTORY

The chapel was founded in the 1360s following a legacy of Lapo di Lizio Guidalotti. The pictorial decoration was entrusted to Giovanni da Milano. On 26 May 1365 the Captains of the Compagnia di Orsanmichele granted him extension to 1 November of the same year for the completion of the work.[12] Giovanni painted in fresco the cross-vaulted ceiling with the figures of the Blessing Redeemer (in the central roundel) and the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremy, Ezechiel and Daniel, the two upper registers of the side walls with episodes of Stories of the Virgin and Mary Magdalene and the intrados of the entrance archway with Apostles and Saints Francis and Louis of Toulouse. Patronage of the chapel still belonged to the Guidalotti family on 16 August 1370.[13] The inscription that runs along the top of the chapel's wrought-iron grating, with the name of the Rinuccini family and the date 1371, shows, however, that the patronage of the chapel had since been transferred to Francesco di Cino Rinuccini; it thus represents a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the pictorial decoration.[14]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1568 VASARI, ed. MILANESI, 1878, I, 572
Taddeo Gaddi… *nella chiesa di Santa Croce in Firenze, nella cappella della sagrestia: … insieme con i suoi compagni… fece alcune storie di Santa Maria Madalena, con belle figure e abiti di que' tempi, bellissimi e stravaganti.*

8 Aiazzi, 1840, 311.

9 This is the date that is found incised in the architrave in *pietra serena* placed at the top of the back wall of the chapel, together with the names Tommaso Corsini and Eleonora Rinuccini, titulars of the chapel's patronage at that time. During the later nineteenth century the sacristy was subjected to a comprehensive restoration aimed at renovating its structure and reinstating its original gothic appearance by the re-opening of its former windows and the elimination of the whitewash from the fourteenth-century frescoes that originally decorated the walls of the chapel. Work had began in 1811 with an intervention – financed by the Peruzzi family, then titulars of the patronage of the huge square chamber – which was specifically devoted to the restoration of Taddeo Gaddi's *Crucifixion*, Spinello Aretino's *Ascent to Calvary* and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini's *Resurrection* and *Christ in Glory and Saints* on the south wall of the sacristy; subsequently the two-light windows on the west and east walls were reopened, while Gaetano Bianchi was commissioned to restore the paintings on the other walls. A further phase was represented by the reinstatement of the large window inside the Rinuccini Chapel. The intervention, planned by the architect Luigi Del Moro, was aimed at the elimination of the masonry by which it had been blocked. During this operation the original decoration with plant motifs of the window jambs was recovered. See Carocci, in *Arte e Storia*, III, 1884, 264, 335; *ibid*. IV, 1885, 23, 111, 120; *ibid.*, V, 1886, 39.

10 Firenze, Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Archivio, No. 3154. On 28 March 1960 Section II of the Consiglio Superiore di Antichità e Belle Arti adopted a resolution for the restoration of the frescoes in the Rinuccini Chapel according to the criteria already employed in the cleaning of the frescoes in the Peruzzi Chapel.

11 SSPMF, Ufficio Restauri, Perizia di spesa No. 7 of 2 January 1977.

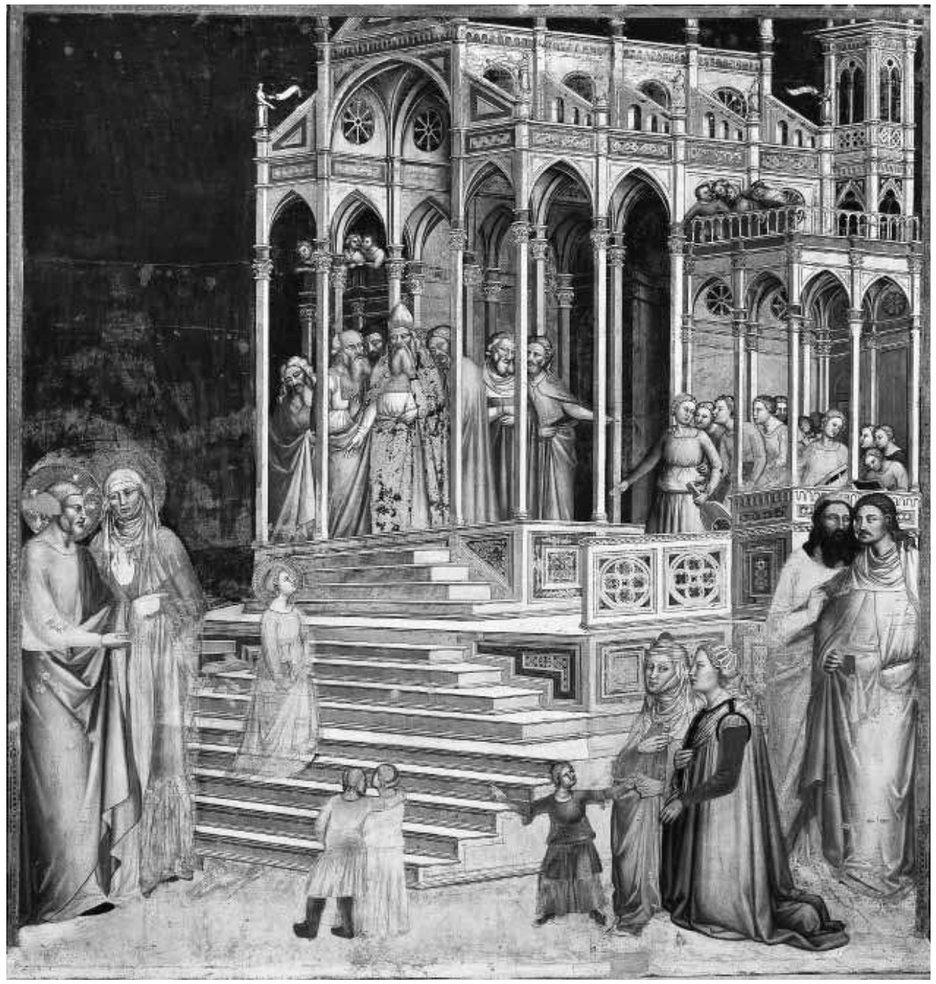
12 Florence Exh. Cat. 2008a, 298.

13 The Guidalotti family was then granted a chapel in the cloister, named after the Birth of the Virgin, where the Compagnia di San Francesco is reported to have met in 1406. Subsequently, patronage of the chapel was transferred to Michele di Francesco Banchi, the heirs of whom donated it to Antonio di Bernardo Miniati in 1486 (see Carl, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, XXV, 1981, 208).

14 The inscription consists of the following text: "A. D. MCCCLXXI. Ad honorem Nativitatis Beate Marie Virginis et S. M. Magdalene: pro anima Lapi Rinuccini et descendentium".

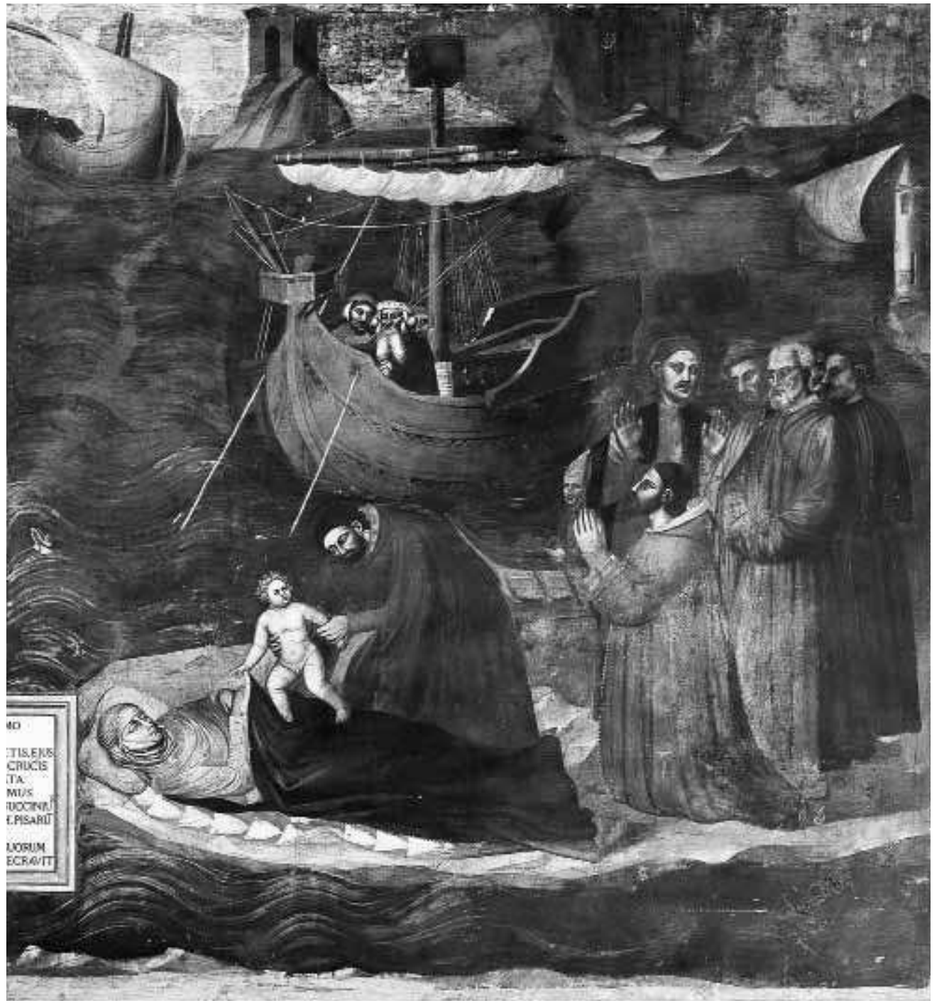
PL. LXX[1]

PL. LXX[2]



PL. LXX[3]

PL. LXX[4]



PL. LXX[5-6]

1681– BALDINUCCI (ed. 1845), I, 217
1728 *Taddeo Gaddi*

1754 RICHA, I, 63-64
Taddeo Gaddi…

1794 FOLLINI - RASTRELLI,V, 26-27
…È dunque non solo la tavola dipinta dal Gaddi [Taddeo Gaddi], *ma quattro pareti ancora e la volta, nella quale sono effigiati cinque Profeti, ed in altra parte il tempio di Salomone con diverse bizzarre idee…*

1819 GARGIOLLI, II, 9
Taddeo Gaddi

1827 RUMOHR, II, 80
Taddeo Gaddi… *Von diesem* (the Baroncelli chapel frescoed by Taddeo Gaddi in the same church) *im Zufassung und Manier himmelweit abweichende Leben der Jungfrau in der Altarnische der Sacristei… Auf dem Altare ist ein viel neueres Bild mit der Jahreszahl 1378, welches mit jenen Mauergemälden zugleich beschafft sehn dürfte.*

1838 BULGARINI, 68
Taddeo Gaddi

1840 AIAZZI[15], 305-327, pls. I-V[15]
(a) *Taddeo Gaddi… nell'istoria dipintavi della Maddalena ritrasse al vivo le sembianze di Messer Francesco.* Identifies the Miracle of Mary Magdalene represented on the right wall. With regard to Rumohr's observations, he points out that *il darsi a indovinare il nome d'un pittore dalla maniera di dipingere senz'altro sussidio che i propri occhi, è professione più incerta e più soggetta ad errare di ogni altra, eccettuata la medicina.*
Chiunque si ponga a confrontare… la storia della Madonna dipinta da Taddeo per i Baroncelli, con quella eseguita dal medesimo per i Rinuccini, vedrà l'istesso argomento, l'istesso concetto, l'istessa composizione, gl'istessi gruppi di figure, e non vi troverà altra discrepanza se non quella che passa da un lavoro eseguito con mano alquanto timida e novizia, da quello condotto da mano franca e spedita già usata a colorire con piena sicurezza il proprio concetto… nel 1736 il marchese Carlo seniore vide la necessità d'un discreto e prudente risarcimento, e ne affidò l'incarico al bravo… Agostino Veracini, il quale datosi con impegno a ripulire e ravvivare queste storie in ciò che riguarda le figure, fu aiutato da Giovan Filippo Giarrè nella parte dell'ornato architettonico e delle grottesche.

1840 ROSINI, II, 104
Taddeo Gaddi

1841 FLORENCE GUIDES, 313
Taddeo Gaddi

1842 FANTOZZI, 208-209
Taddeo Gaddi. Discusses restorations of the chapel

1842 VALERY, 131
Thadée Gaddi

1845 MOISÈ, 156-161
Taddeo Gaddi in the Miracle of the Noblewoman of Marseilles *si fece plagiario del suo maestro Giotto che aveva dipinto lo stesso soggetto nel palazzo del Podestà … salvo che …arrovesciò la composizione*

1850 FRANÇOIS, 441-445
Taddeo Gaddi

1851 FLORENCE GUIDES, 117
Taddeo Gaddi

1852a FLORENCE GUIDES, 44
Taddeo Gaddi

1852b FLORENCE GUIDES, 101
Taddeo Gaddi

1856 FLORENCE GUIDES, 75
Taddeo Gaddi

1857 BLANC, 111
Gaddi, réparés par Veracini et Giarré

[ante *1859]* FLORENCE GUIDES, 35
Taddeo Gaddi

1861 FLORENCE GUIDES, 16
Taddeo Gaddi

1862 FLORENCE GUIDES, 86
Taddeo Gaddi

[15] The engravings published here were based on drawings made by Giuseppe Gozzini (active in Florence between 1824 and 1870; Diz. Bolaffi, VI, 124), later engraved by Giovanni Paolo Lasinio (1798-1855).

1864 CAVALCASELLE - CROWE, I, 407 n. 3, 408 n. 1
Giovanni da Milano… Much damaged and repainted particularly in the backgrounds

1873 CAVALLUCCI, 39
Attribuiti dal Cavalcaselle a Giovanni da Milano

1873 HORNER, II, 67-69
Giovanni da Milano… These paintings are superior in drawing, as well as composition, to those of Taddeo in the Baroncelli chapel.

1875 BURCI, 99-100
Taddeo Gaddi. The editor Pietro Fanfani quotes Cavalcaselle's attribution to Giovanni da Milano.

1875 RICCI, 72
Taddeo Gaddi

1878 MILANESI, in VASARI, ed. by Milanesi, I, 572
Giovanni da Milano… sopra queste pitture c'è una deliberazione del 26 maggio 1365 de' Capitani d'Or San Michele

1879 BURCKHARDT, 494
Giovanni da Milano

1883 BACCIOTTI, 144-145
Taddeo Gaddi

1883 CAVALCASELLE - CROWE, II, 99, 100 n. 1 (II, 1903, 182, 185, 187 n. 1)
Giovanni da Milano… I dipinti della Presentazione e dello Sposalizio… i freschi del Noli me tangere e del Miracolo del Mercante, sono stati interamente ritoccati.

1884 HARE, 79
Taddeo Gaddi… the Dedication of the Virgin is peculiarly beautiful.

1884 OSTOYA, 10, 203
Attribuées… à Taddeo Gaddi… pourrait être aussi l'oeuvre de Giovanni da Milano

1888 FLORENCE GUIDES, 94
Giovanni da Milano

1892 BOLAFFIO, 97
Giovanni da Milano

1896 GRIFI, 239-240
Giovanni da Milano

1897 ALLEN, 25-26 (1906, 26-27)
Giovanni da Milano

1900 FLORENCE GUIDES, 68
Giovanni da Milano

1901 CARTWRIGHT, 52, 71
Giovanni da Milano

1904 FLORENCE GUIDES, 135 (1909, 119)
Giovanni da Milano

1905 MUÑOZ, 119
Giovanni da Milano

1905 SUIDA, 30-32
Nach der aus dem Dokument bekannten Unterbrechung der Arbeit hat ein recht schwacher und roher Geselle sie vollendet, den Tempelgang vielleicht noch mit Benutzung von Giovannis Angaben

1907 MUÑOZ, 21
Giovanni da Milano

1907 VENTURI, V, 907-913, figs. 717-718, 722-723
The Presentation to the Temple and the Betrothal of the Virgin *è probabile… siano stati dipinti da un seguace su disegni di Giovanni* da Milano. We cannot conclude with Suida that *furono eseguiti durante l'interruzione avvenuta nel lavoro della cappella, ché il documento, a cui quell'autore si riferisce, parla di proroga concessa all'esecuzione, non di sospensioni.* Also in the two scenes of the lower register of the facing wall *qua e là vi sono tratti rozzi nell'esecuzione, che potrebbero attribuirsi a un aiuto di Giovanni, se il ridipinto non fosse tutto alterato*

1908 CRUTTWELL, 92-93
Giovanni da Milano… entirely repainted

1908 SIRÉN, 53-55, 91
Die unteren Fresken von Giovanni del Biondo

1909 RYSS, 39-45
Giovanni da Milano

1910 CONWAY, 144
Giovanni da Milano

1910 GARNERI, 246-247
Giovanni da Milano

1912 TOESCA, 221 n. 1, 226 n. 5

mediocre pittore fiorentino che imitò *le composizioni di Taddeo Gaddi nella vicina cappella Baroncelli… fu probabilmente il mediocre Giovanni del Biondo*

1912 TROUTBECK, 129
Giovanni da Milano

1916 FLORENCE GUIDES, 18
Giovanni da Milano

1920 WATERFIELD, 30-31
Giovanni da Milano

1921 SUIDA, in THIEME - BECKER, XIV, 129
Giovannis Werk und die Annahme von deren Ausführung durch Schülerhand (m. e. nicht von Giovanni del Biondo) ist heute von allen Forschern angenommen

1924 van MARLE, IV, 224-226, 228, 519
The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and her Betrothal are not by Giovanni da Milano… I find no reason to believe, as Signor Toesca does, that the assistant artist was Giovanni del Biondo.

1925 NEWELL, 111
Giovanni da Milano

1926 LORENZINI, 50-52
Già attribuiti a Taddeo Gaddi… Ora dai più si attribuiscono a Giovanni da Milano. In the episodes of the Life of the Virgin *sono evidenti i segni, non di un restauro, ma di un raffazzonamento specialmente nelle vesti e nei colori*

1927 FLORENCE GUIDES, 44
Giovanni da Milano

1927 OFFNER, 120-121, 123-124
Rinuccini Master… the analogies of the lowest tier in the Rinuccini Chapel to Nardo are so much deeper than the analogies between these and Giovanni's frescoes in the same place… witness to a change of heart and a very nearly complete submission in his later stages to Nardo's enchantments… between 1366 and 1369

1928 LUMACHI, 385
Giovanni da Milano

1928 MANSFIELD, 57
Giovanni da Milano

1928 MENCHERINI, 25, 27, 57
Taddeo Gaddi

1929 SALMI, in RIV. ARTE, XI, 144
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel … *Affine a Niccolò di Tommaso si presenta un discepolo di Nardo che, intorno al 1370, finì gli affreschi di Giovanni da Milano (operando nella Presentazione al tempio e nello Sposalizio) nella cappella Rinuccini in Santa Croce*

1931 OFFNER, CORPUS III/I, IX
The chapel was frescoed by *two Masters who share subject and palette but are otherwise working independently*

1932 BERENSON, 238, 244 (1936, 204, 210)
Painter of Florence Academy Vision of Bernard (see pl. LXVIII[1-3])

1932 ARSLAN, in DEDALO, XII, 467
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini

1938 BRAUNFELS, 10
Giovanni da Milano und dem sogar. Meister der Rinuccinikappelle

1939 LUNS, 117
Giovanni da Milano

1940 OERTEL, in *Mitteilungen KIF*, 236
Meister der Rinuccini – Kapelle… The Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple *ist eine freie Wiederholung des Bildes von Taddeo Gaddi in der Baroncelli – Kapelle.*

1940 PAATZ, I, 564
Rinuccini Meister

1944 BETTINI, 54-55
I collaboratori di Giovanni qui sono più d'uno; …per uno di essi mi sembra accettabile… ch'egli possa essere Giovanni del Biondo… un altro, forse più interessante, riconoscibile a certa accentuata linearità, e ad un particolare sviluppo appunto degli scenari architettonici: lo si direbbe un settentrionale… In ogni caso, un legame tra l'aiuto di Giovanni da Milano in Santa Croce e il gruppo dei pittori lavoranti nell'Oratorio di San Giorgio dell'ultimo decennio del Trecento, mi sembra si possa supporre senza troppo rischio[16].

1946 COLETTI, II, LI, LXVIII No. 145, pl. 117
Jacopo di Cione… *l'eletta e malinconica eleganza delle figure degli Angeli e delle "Pie Donne al Sepolcro", e del "Noli me tangere" dimostrano che dopo la partenza di Giovanni, il lavoro fu ripreso da Jacopo, e poi finito, nella ultima storia della Maddalena … e nelle due storie di fronte… da quel piuttosto grossolano aiuto che fu il "Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini"*

1947 OFFNER, CORPUS III/V, 125
Nardesque collaborator of Giovanni da Milano

1947 ANTAL, 225 n. 140
Rinuccini Master, wholly lacks Giovanni's (da Milano) *concentration, delicate play of line and optical sensibility*

1950 BARGELLINI, 165
Giovanni da Milano e… allievi

1950 MARABOTTINI, 103
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini. Considers that the cycle was completed by a single Orcagnesque artist, *un derivato da Nardo di Cione.* Regarding attempts to identify this artist, observes that… *le opere di Giovanni del Biondo… sono troppo diverse… Giovanni Gaddi… potrebbe aspirare alla paternità di questi affreschi.*

1951 MEISS, 79
Rinuccini Master

1951 TOESCA, 763
mediocre fiorentino… il Maestro della cappella Rinuccini ha qualche affinità con Niccolò di Tommaso e con Giovanni del Biondo

1952 BARTOLINI, 168
Collaborator of the school of Orcagna

1952 KAFTAL, 49-50, 77, 720, XXXVIII, XLVI, fig. 50
Giovanni da Milano (Saint Anthony of Padua and the Blessed Andrea da Anagni); *Master of the Rinuccini Chapel* (Stories of Mary Magdalene)

1957 RUSSELL MUIRHEAD, 27
Giovanni da Milano

1959 FLORENCE GUIDES, 40
Giovanni da Milano

1959 LONGHI, in PARAGONE, X, No. III, 12
Laments the fact that *qualcuno si dispose senza vergogna a far terminare l'opera solenne da un imbrattamuri della brigata orcagnesca… "Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini"*

1959 SANDBERG - VAVALÀ, 169, 174-178
Anonymous Orcagnesque with some leanings towards Taddeo Gaddi… more conventional and less interesting vein

1960 CAVALLO, in BURL. MAG., CII, 506
Giovanni [da Milano] *or a follower*

1961 JANSSEN, 182-184
Meister der Rinuccini-Kapelle

1961 PROCACCI, in ARTE ANT. E MOD., IV, 49-66
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini

1961 PUCCI, 80
Giovanni da Milano e suoi allievi

1962 KAUFFMANN, 64-65
Giovanni da Milano und seine Helfer

1962 MARTELLUCCI, 101
Giovanni da Milano et ses élèves

1962 ROSSI, 85, figs. 67, 71, 72, 75
(b) *I due* [fresco panels] *in basso nella parete sinistra e l'ultimo in basso nella parete destra … vengono indicati come del maestro della cappella Rinuccini*

1962 STANO, in BIBL. SANCTORUM, II, 159
Giovanni da Milano

1962 TINTORI - MEISS, 24, 38 Nos. 38-39
Rinuccini Master

1963 BERENSON, I, 89, 143, pls. 279-281, 381.
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1963 FLORENCE GUIDE, 110
Giovanni da Milano and pupils

1965 CASTELFRANCHI - VEGAS, 6
Artista più che mediocre della bottega orcagnesca

1965 GREGORI, 2, 5
(c) *…limitato talento di stretta osservanza fiorentina*. Reports Roberto Longhi's hypothetical identification of the painter of the Rinuccini Chapel with Giovanni Gaddi.

1965 GROTE, 132 (1980, 132-133)
Giovanni da Milano

1965 MARCUCCI, 95
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… secon-

[16] The author is referring here to the Oratory of St. George in the Basilica del Santo at Padua, its fresco cycle a late work of Altichiero.

dario aiuto [of Giovanni da Milano] *nella cappella*

1966 BORSOOK, 93
Rinuccini Master

1966 BOSKOVITS, 18
Maestro Rinuccini

1966 CHIARELLI, 438-439
… siamo propensi a credere che l'autore delle quattro scene sia in effetti uno solo, e che si tratti di un pittore orcagnesco variamente suggestionato dalla stimolante presenza di Giovanni da Milano … e dalla vicinanza di Taddeo Gaddi nella cappella Baroncelli…

1966 OERTEL, 189
Meister der Rinuccini-Kapelle

1968 DEGENHARDT - SCHMIDT, 61-64, 65 n. 6, fig. 101
Von einem anonymen Florentiner den man Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini nennt, nach 1365 gemalt

1969 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, IV/V-2, 81 n. 15
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1966 BORSOOK, 93, 115 (1979, 90, 110-111)
Rinuccini Master

1972 FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 29
Observations on the restorations conducted by Agostino Veracini, who is said to have successfully imitated... *la tecnica particolare di Giovanni da Milano*

1972 SCHILLER, IV-2, 158-159, fig. 574 (1980, 78-79, fig. 574)
Giovanni da Milano

1973 BELLOSI, in *Mitteilungen KIF,* XVII, 180-181 fig. 5
Matteo di Pacino… Il S. Martino (of the ex-Stroganoff polyptych) *richiama quei volti di vecchi che compaiono nella cappella Rinuccini, dai tratti schematicamente forzati e scavati, soprattutto nelle guance e nelle occhiaie*

1974 TCI FIRENZE, 190
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini

1975 BOSKOVITS, 57, 213 n. 58, 358, pl. 59, fig. 54
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini… 1365-1370. L'autore cerca di assimilarsi allo stile del predecessore (Giovanni da Milano) facendo propria… la caratteristica gamma cromatica.

1975 DIZ. BOLAFFI, VII, 288-289, fig. 243
Matteo Pacini… verso il 1370… benché… si avvicini notevolmente ai modi del maestro milanese, …non può esserne ritenuto un allievo

1975 FREMANTLE, 195-198, figs. 385-392, 394
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1975 JANSON-LA PALME, 258, 492 n. 98
Rinuccini Master

1976 FLORENCE GUIDE, pl. 19.10
Giovanni da Milano

1976 ZEPPEGNO, 45
Giovanni da Milano aiutato da un pittore ignoto più vicino allo stile dei Gaddi e dell'Orcagna

1979 WACHMEIER, 80
Giovanni da Milano

1980 BORSOOK, XXXV
Notes the use of pouncing in *repeated patterns such as the cornice and consoled frieze in the dado of the Rinuccini chapel*

1981 OFFNER, 24
Rinuccini Master

1982 BUSIGNANI - BENCINI, 76
Giovanni da Milano

1982 LADIS, 246
Rinuccini Master

1982 MACADAM, 155
Giovanni da Milano

1983 GREGORI, 161-167
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini

1986 BIAGI, in PITTURA IN ITALIA, 637-638
Matteo di Pacino… si nota il tentativo di avvicinarsi allo stile di Giovanni da Milano

1986 CASTELLI, 54-56
Matteo di Pacino

1986a MOSCO, in FLORENCE EXH. CAT., 34
Matteo di Pacino

1988 TURNER, 304-315, pls. 134-135
Rinuccini Master

1990 DAL PRÀ, 106
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini

1991 WIGNY, 76, 348
Attribuiti a Matteo di Pacino, un allievo di Giovanni da Milano

1992 LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, II, 142 fig. 6
Suiveur de Gaddi

1992 ROBERTS - HALL, I, 68, 70, 222; II, 578
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1993 TCI FIRENZE, 402
Matteo di Pacino

1993 WUNDRAM, 176
Giovanni da Milano

1994 SKAUG, I, 191
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel… tentatively identified with Matteo di Pacino

1995 GREGORI, 736
Matteo di Pacino

1995 ZUFFI, 125
Giovanni da Milano

1996 GORDON, in DICT. OF ART, XII, 702
Matteo di Pacino

1997 CANALI, 47-48
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini

1999 BAMBACH, 155, 158 fig. 140, 430 n. 101, 436 Nos. 171-172, 443 n. 62
Anonymous artist

2000 MAUGERI, 56
Giovanni da Milano lasciò ad ultimare gli affreschi dei pilastri d'ingresso con figure di Santi a Matteo di Pacino, che li completò entro il 1371

2000 DEIMLING, in PASQUINUCCI - DEIMLING, CORPUS, IV/VIII, 177 n. 5, 184 n. 7
Matteo di Pacino

2001 KANTER, in WALL. - RICH. JAHRB., 152-153
Matteo di Pacino

2003 PAOLOZZI STROZZI, 49
Giovanni da Milano

2004 RAFANELLI, 144, 414, pl. 39
Rinuccini Master

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 28, 32-34, figg. 8-9
Matteo di Pacino… Non è escluso che le storie si basassero su disegni preliminari di Giovanni da Milano. Tuttavia, Matteo cambia leggermente l'impaginazione delle scene, allargando la superficie dei singoli episodi.

PHOTOGRAPHS[17]

Alinari, Florence, Nos. 1929 (c. 1890) ; 3953-3955 (ante 1916), 3959-3961 (ante 1916), 54502-54512; Artini 5081-5082; Brogi, Florence, 1936 (c. 1890), 5085, 6953-6954, 6958-6959, 22981 (c. 1920), 25519-25522 (1935); 25527 (1936) ; SSPMF, Nos. 113423 (c. 1960), 114430, 114432, 114458-114459, 114461, 114473-114477, 114481-114482, 116683, 116685-116686, 116687-116689; Florence, OPD, Archive, 1516-1520 (1976, by raking light).

[17] The bracketed dates refer to the presumed year when the photos were taken.

MATTEO DI PACINO

NEW YORK (NEW YORK) PL. LXXI
ALANA COLLECTION - *Inv. No. 2007-01*

PANEL
Saint Ivo with kneeling supplicant;[1] .42 x .185m [date: c. 1370]

STATE
The painting retains its original frame with triangular gable. The pictorial surface, subjected to cleaning prior to its sale in 2007 (a), is well preserved.

HISTORY
The painting retains a label with the inscription "Pinacotheca / Al[oysi] Aberici Trivulti" which attests to its provenance from the Milanese collection of the principe Luigi Alberico Trivulzio (1868-1938). It may be presumed that the painting entered the collection of the Lombard family, as dowry, on the occasion of the marriage between the Florentine Marianna Rinuccini and Giorgio Trivulzio in 1831 (a).[2] In 1935 or thereabouts it was in the Christopher Norris collection at Polesden Lacey (Surrey, UK). Having crossed the Atlantic, the panel was on loan to the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge (MA) from July 1940 to December 1945 (Loan No. 1940.533),[3] it then came onto the art market and is recorded first with Victor D. Spark (New York), then with Marco Grassi (New York) (a). Purchased from the latter dealer in July 2001, the work was presented for sale in New York in 2007 (a) and was acquired for the Alana collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[4]

1978 KAFTAL, 437-438, fig. 548
Bolognese school late XIV^th cent.

2001 KANTER, in WALL. - RICH. JAHRB., 153
Matteo di Pacino

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 35, fig. 10
Matteo di Pacino… La figura del Santo… ricorda in particolare il S. Antonio da Padova (in the frescoes of the Rinuccini Chapel in Santa Croce) (see in this volume pl. LXX[7]) *per i tratti fisiognomici, la salda volumetria, la solida costruzione e le vesti ampie, solcate da regolari pieghe verticali.*

2007 (a) NEW YORK, SALE CAT. Sotheby's, January 25, lot 37
Matteo di Pacino

PHOTOGRAPHS
Florence, Biblioteca Berenson; Florence, Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi; Corpus, Archive.

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1 See Ghinato, in *Enc. Catt.*, VII, 1951, 536. Saint Ivo Hélori (1253-1303) studied law in Paris and Orleans, then entered on the profession of a canon lawyer at the ecclesiastical court of Rennes and Tréguier where he was ordained as a priest. He is remembered especially for his charity to the poor and to orphans; whether he belonged to the Third Franciscan Order is uncertain. On the diffusion of this iconography in Florentine painting between the fourteenth and fifteenth century see Baldini, in *Arte cristiana*, XCV, 2007, 91-99.

2 The painting might have belonged to the collection of the Rinuccini family ever since it was produced. See in this volume oo.

3 This is confirmed by another label visible on the back of the panel bearing the inscription: Fogg Art Museum / Loan / 533.1940.

4 The photograph of the painting in the Biblioteca Berenson has a handwritten annotation on its back with an attribution to the Bolognese school of the late Trecento; the photo in the Fondazione di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Roberto Longhi reports, instead, Longhi's attribution to Giovanni del Biondo.

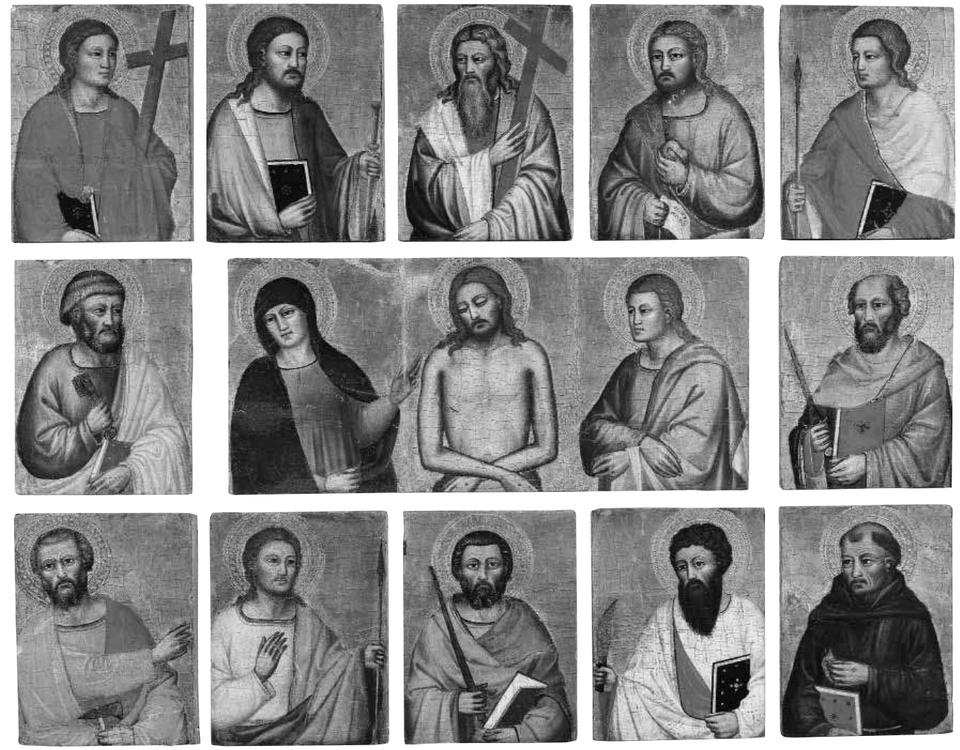
MATTEO DI PACINO

VATICAN CITY
PINACOTECA VATICANA (storerooms) - *Inv. No. 561 (formerly 65)* PL. LXXII

PANELS
St. Philip,[1] St. James Major,[2] St. Andrew,[3] St. James Minor,[4] St. Judas Thaddeus,[5] St. Peter,[6] Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*) between the Virgin and St. John,[7] St. Paul,[8] St. Matthew,[9] St. Thomas,[10] St. Simon[11] St. Bartholomew[12] and St. Francis;[13] .17 x .13 m (all the fragments except for that with the *Vir dolorum*, which measures .13 x .28 m) x .02m (thickness).
[date: c. 1370]

STATE
The fifteen fragments with half-length Saints and *Vir Dolorum* would originally have formed part of a single tier (presumably the predella of a polyptych, as suggested by the horizontal graining of the wood). In a photograph taken in the early twentieth century (Alinari, No. 38143) the fragments are inserted in a modern frame. The little panels were restored in 1963 (G. Colalucci, Prot. 4086). During this restoration the three

[1] Kaftal, 1952, 841-847. The Saint is portrayed with the cross, symbol of his maryrdom. His red tunic is one of the recognized iconographic variants; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[2] Kaftal, 1952, 507-518. The Saint is holding a pilgrim's staff, his traditional attribute, and is dressed, as usual, in a red tunic and blue mantle; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[3] Kaftal, 1952, 36-45. The Saint is carrying the cross, instrument of his martyrdom, and is wearing a red tunic and green mantle as in the traditional iconography; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[4] Also known as James the Less: Kaftal, 1952, 504-506. Portrayed with the epistle in his right hand. With his left hand the Saint supports an object identifiable as the brain that, according to the legend, was extracted from his skull after he had been beaten to death with a fuller's club. His blue tunic corresponds to the traditional iconography; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334
[5] Kaftal, 1952, 965-968. Portrayed with the lance, his traditional attribute.
[6] Kaftal, 1952, 800-816. Apart from the keys alluding to the powers conferred on him in the Church of Rome, the Saint is identifiable by his customary physiognomic type and the colours of his dress: blue tunic and yellow pallium; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[7] Kaftal, 1952, 560-569. The Saint is wearing the blue tunic and pink mantle according to the traditional iconography; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[8] Kaftal, 1952, 784-790. The Saint is carrying the sword in his right hand, symbol of his martyrdom. His red tunic and green pallium, lined with grey, do not correspond to the usual iconography; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[9] Kaftal, 1952, 729-732. Represented as a bearded middle-aged man, bearing the axe, instrument of his martyrdom. The yellow tunic corresponds to the traditional dress for this apostle; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[10] Kaftal, 1952, 969-977. The Saint can be identified by the lance, instrument of his martyrdom, and white tunic; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[11] Kaftal, 1952, 940-941. Identifiable by his symbol of martyrdom, the sword, and his pink tunic; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[12] Kaftal, 1952, 137-140. The Saint can be identified thanks to his peculiar physiognomic type, the knife he wields in his right hand, symbol of his martyrdom, and his light-coloured tunic, adorned with gilt decorative motifs; see Lisner, in Zeitschr. Kunstgesch., LV, 1990, 3, 334.
[13] Kaftal, 1952, 385-418. The Saint is portrayed inserting his hand into the wound opened in his side. The gesture is aimed at drawing the observer's attention to his *conformitas* to Christ (cf. Bonaventura, XIII.3); cf. Rave, 1984, 166-172).



fragments with the Man of Sorrows flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist were appended to a new support, which prevents any inspection of the *verso*. The support was treated for woodworm infestation and the pictorial surface cleaned. Colour losses, later retouched, can be noted along the cracks in the wood that horizontally run through the fragment with the Man of Sorrows flanked by the Madonna and St. John and those with Saints Andrew and Judas Thaddeus (respectively the third and fourth from the left in the upper register).[14]

HISTORY
The fragments were recorded in the Museo Cristiano annexed to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in 1867 (Armadio XIX, No. 4) (a).[15] They were transferred to the Pinacoteca Vaticana during a renovation and new hanging of the picture gallery in 1909 (b).

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Peinture du XIV^e siécle
1867 (a) BARBIER DE MONTAULT, 169
XIV^e siécle très-avancé
1924 van MARLE, III, 517 n. 1
school of Orcagna
1929 (b) D'ACHIARDI, 26, pl. CXXVII
Scuola fiorentina (?) sec. XIV… dalla Biblioteca (Vetrina I, III n. 213).
1932 BERENSON, 239 (1936, 206)
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini
1963 BERENSON, 144
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel…
(studio version)
1969 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, IV/V, II, 218
Master of the Vatican Busts
1975 BOSKOVITS, 359, fig. 48
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini, 1365-1370
1975 FREMANTLE, 202, fig. 407
Master of the Rinuccini chapel
1975 DIZ. BOLAFFI, VII, 289
Matteo di Pacino
1975 FREMANTLE, 202, fig. 407
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel
1977 (c) MANCINELLI, in RENDICONTI, XLVIII, 513
Scuola fiorentina del sec. XIV
1981 OFFNER, 26
Master of Vatican Busts
1987 VOLBACH, 38, fig. 80
Matteo di Pacino… 1365-1370
Details about state of conservation and provenance
2001 KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHRB., 153
Matteo di Pacino
2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 28, 29-30, 39 n. 31
Matteo di Pacino slightly later than the ex-Stroganoff polyptych and the Madonna and Child in SS. Annunziata at Florence[16] *crescente avvicinamento ai modi di Nardo di Cione nella condotta pittorica più pastosa e nelle fisionomie*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Alinari, Florence, 38143; Vatican Museum Photo XXXIV. 28.88/5

[14] Volbach (1987, 38) concluded that this (the Man of Sorrows flanked by two Saints) is a modern assemblage of three distinct panels; in fact the signs visible to the sides of the figure of Christ correspond to the marks of the modern frame.
[15] In 1929 (b) however the fragments were described as having a provenance from the Biblioteca Vaticana (Vetrina I, III No. 213). On the origins of the Museo Cristiano see in this volume 00.
[16] See in this volume 00.

MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
SANTA LUCIA SUL PRATO[1]
First altar to the left

PL. LXXIII

FRESCO
Annunciation;
[date: 1370-1374]

STATE
The surface of the fresco has been truncated along all four sides. A photograph undoubtedly taken before 1905 (Alinari 20301) (a) shows it placed in a modern frame and protected by glass shutters. In this period the surface was further damaged in the upper right by a crack, while a large area of fresco had been lost in the surrounding area, though this had been integrated and covered by a coarse overpainting. The surface was further damaged all over by scratches and abrasions, while retouches could be noted in the face of the archangel Gabriel and in the dress of the two protagonists.
In 1933 it was decided to remove the altar placed in front of the fresco with the aim of limiting the damage caused by humidity; the intervention was carried out in 1937. On this occasion the integrations in the upper right of the fresco were eliminated, while a decoration with floriated motifs was added to the curtains that conceal the bed of the background. The painting was newly restored in 1952,[2] when the pictorial surface was cleaned and the integrations eliminated, making the composition in the background easier to read. The figures of the archangel and the Virgin, their retouches now eliminated, seem fairly well preserved. But the gilding of the haloes has been completely lost, and the letters of the inscription proceeding from the Virgin's mouth are now almost illegible.

HISTORY
The fresco is a derivation of the well-known fresco with the same subject in the Basilica of SS. Annunziata in Florence. The date of the latter can therefore offer an approximate *terminus post quem*.[3]

[1] The church of Santa Lucia sul Prato di Ognissanti is recorded for the first time in 1251 when it was assigned by the Bishop of Florence Giovanni de' Mangiadori to the order of the Umiliati (its rule approved by Innocent III in 1201). Leaving their previous monastery at San Donato in Polverosa, the order thus came to be established within the walls of Florence. In 1547 the church was entrusted to the Canons Regular of San Salvatore (so-called Scopetini) and in 1575 to the Missionaries of St. Vincent de Paul. In 1720 patronage of the church was acquired by the Torrigiani family, who assigned it to the care of secular priests and began an important programme of restoration (Richa, IV part II, 1756, 205-218; Garneri, 1924, 107). Between 1831 and 1838 restoration was conducted on the ceiling and the façade, under the direction of the architect Giovanni Mannaioni, while the sanctuary and walls of the nave were reorganized in 1883 under the direction of the architect Michelangelo Maiorfi (1823-1906). The latter tried to give a neo-Renaissance appearance to the building, demolishing the eighteenth-century altars (Trotta 1988, 63).
[2] AAF, Visita Pastorale di Mons. Elia Dalla Costa, 1942: *I due* [altari] *laterali alla porta d'ingresso furono levati per rendere la Chiesa più libera e per togliere l'umidità che nuoceva all'affresco di Pietro Cavallini del secolo XIII, rappresentante una bellissima SS. Annunziata"*; AAF, Visita Pastorale di Mons. Elia Dalla Costa, 1955: *Fin al 1937 vi erano due Altari anche vicino alla porta d'ingresso ma furono levati perché non servivano al servizio: quello a sinistra rendeva anzi umidità all'affresco dell'Orcagna rappresentante la SS. Annunziata. Detto affresco divenuto irriconoscibile fu tutto ripulito e liberato da incrostazioni di tinte e calce nel 1952 per intendimento del parroco Mons. Adelmo Marrani; a spese e opera delle Belle Arti. E' attribuito ad Andrea di Cione, detto Orcagna e sembra essere stato eseguito circa il 1310 quindici anni prima di quello esistente nella Basilica della SS. Annunziata che ne è una autentica riproduzione"*.
[3] See in this volume 00.

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1756 RICHA, IV, part II, 205
Cappella della Santissima Annunziata tenuta in gran venerazione, credendosi da molti intendenti della Pittura, che ella sia una di quelle tavole di Pietro Cavallini Romano[4]

1793 CAMBIAGI, 215
Pietro Cavallini

1797 FOLLINI - RASTRELLI, VII, 162
Credesi essere una di quelle fatte da Pietro Cavallini Romano

1819 GARGIOLLI, I, 225
Pierre Cavallini

1820 FLORENCE GUIDES, II, 287
Pietro Cavallini

1842 FANTOZZI, 541
Pietro Cavallini

1850 FRANÇOIS, 485
Pietro Cavallini

1856 FLORENCE GUIDES, 122
Pietro Cavallini

1857 BLANC, 160
Cavallini

1896 GRIFI, 333
Cavallini

1905 (a) ALINARI, 174
Cavallini

1909 FLORENCE GUIDES, 177
Pietro Cavallini

1910 GARNERI , 134
Pietro Cavallini

1928 LUMACHI, 244
Attribuito al romano Pietro Cavallini

1929 TOESCA, 59
Nardo di Cione

1932 BERENSON, 337, (1936, 299; 1963, I, 136)
Maso di Banco

1939 PRAMPOLINI, 13, fig. 11
Maso di Banco… prescinde dalla vivacità di un colloquio, separa i protagonisti in due estasi simultanee

1941 PAATZ, II, 623
In der Art des Nardo di Cione, um 1360

1965 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, IV/III, 141 n. 5
Nardesque

1975 BOSKOVITS, 358, fig. 55
Matteo di Pacino… 1370-1375

1979 BUSIGNANI - BENCINI, 199, 200-201
Replica di discreta qualità dell'Annunciazione venerata all'Annunziata

1988 TROTTA, 25, 41 n. 1
Ignoto Discusses restorations in the church.

1993 VILLANI - CIRRI, 150
Ignoto autore tardogiottesco della seconda metà del Trecento

1996 RENNER, 103 n. 491
Maso di Banco um 1360

1998 CASALINI, 26
Maso di Banco

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 34-35, fig. 11
Matteo di Pacino… Nella prima metà degli anni Settanta, ancora sotto l'influsso di Giovanni da Milano

PHOTOGRAPHS

Alinari, Florence, 20301-3; SSPMF, Nos. 66744 (before the restoration in 1952), 67092 (after the restoration in 1952),; 154189.

[4] The attribution to Pietro Cavallini derives from Giorgio Vasari, who reported that the Roman painter had gone into Tuscany "to see the works of the other disciples of Giotto and those of Giotto himself", and that, during his period in Florence, he was responsible for the much-venerated fresco of the *Annunciation* painted on the entrance wall of the church of San Marco and other versions of the same subject in Florentine churches (ed. Milanesi, I, 1878, 539).

MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
SAN JACOPO TRA I FOSSI
Nave, first arch to the right

PLS. LXXIV[1-2]

FRESCO
Saint Bartholomew,[1] Saint James Major (?);[2]

STATE
The two fragments are in mediocre condition. The quatrefoil with the bust of Saint Bartholomew is interrupted by the wall erected to block access to the chapel, with the consequent loss of the Saint's right arm. The remaining pictorial surface is severely worn and its visibility further reduced by surface deposits of mineral salts caused by humidity. The pictorial surface is better preserved in the face of the other apostle; but here traces of dripping of a white substance can be noted in its right part.

HISTORY
Situated in the soffit of the arch to the right of the entrance, the fragments were discovered during the operation of stripping the whitewash from the walls of the church in 1870 (a). Originally they would have formed part of a cycle of busts of the Apostles that decorated the arch leading into the first side chapel to the right of the church, probably frescoed in its entirety by Matteo di Pacino.[3]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1870 (a) SSPMF, archivio storico, Direzione delle RR. Gallerie. Affari, 1870, Filza A, Posizione 1, fasc. 52[4]
…Altri frammenti furono pure scoperti, ma sono così poca cosa che ci sembra inutile di farne qui menzione. Infatti non si tratta che di piccole porzioni di fregi… Non crediamo che il Governo vorrà far la spesa di fare trasportare la parete unita all'arco a imbotte, il che pure si potrebbe fare, però con grave spesa

2009 PREYER, in ALBERTI, 18
Reports the opinion of Miklós Boskovits according to whom *the frescoes in the soffit of one of the arches date probably from the 1350s or 1360s.*

PHOTOGRAPHS
Florence, Università degli Studi, Giovanni Martellucci photos.

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1 As customary in the iconographic tradition, the Saint has short curly hair and is wearing a white mantle, decorated with floral motifs; see Kaftal, 1952, 137-140.

2 The identification of the Saint is doubtful, given that it is based solely on an analysis of his facial type which, in conformity with the iconographic tradition of St. James Major, would seem to evoke the likeness of Jesus; see Kaftal, 1952, 507-518.

3 The chapel was later walled up and annexed to the adjacent convent. When this happened is not known. But a *terminus ante quem* is established by the fact that traces of a fifteenth-century fresco of the Annunciation were still visible on the wall blocking off the chapel in 1870 (a).

4 See also in this volume 00.

MATTEO DI PACINO AND ASSISTANT

RALEIGH (NORTH CAROLINA)
NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART - *Inv. No. GL.60.17.9* PL. LXXV

PANEL
Saints Cosmas and Damian; (in the predella) Dream of the Deacon Justinian;[1] Decapitation of Saints Cosmas and Damian; 1.88 x 1 m (entire); 1.34 x .778 m (main compartment without frame); .18 x .406 (each compartment of the predella) [date: 1370-1374]

STATE
The painting, inserted in a modern frame that is not perfectly adjusted to the contours of the original painted surface, is fairly well preserved. The colour is slightly worn, probably due to over-energetic cleaning.

HISTORY[2]
In the 1930s the painting was in the collection of J. Sumári and then in that of Rudolf Bedó in Hungary (a, b).[3] It was later purchased by the connoisseur and dealer Alessandro Contini Bonacossi, who sold it to Samuel H. Kress (Washington) in 1939.[4] In 1960 it was ceded to the Museum in Raleigh (N.C.) together with other paintings from the Kress Collection (c, d).

Exhibitions: Budapest, 1937-1939 (a); Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1945-1954 (Inv. No. K1171) (c, d).

1 The scene refers to a *post mortem* miracle of the two Saints, as recounted by Iacopo da Varazze (ed. A. and L. Vitale Brovarone, 1995, 788-789). To the right the deacon charged with invigilating the church that contained the mortal remains of the two Saints is shown lying on his bed, close to death due to the gangrene that had infected one of his legs. Saints Cosmas and Damian draw close to the dying man, armed with the necessary instruments and ready to carry out a surgical operation. The continuation of the story is recounted in the left part of the compartment. The two Saints, realizing the need to amputate the gangrened leg, decide to replace it by that of a black man, who had died the same day and been buried nearby. They are shown leaving the latter's grave with the healthy leg, while the diseased leg of the deacon is buried in its stead. The painting of Matteo di Pacino represents the earliest known version of this iconography in Florentine territory. A panel of the same subject, which closely follows the iconography of Matteo di Pacino's panel, was painted by Bicci di Lorenzo in 1429 (Florence, Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore).

2 The original provenance of the painting is unknown. However, its accentuated vertical format suggests that it originally came from an altar resting against a pillar like those in the guild-church of Orsanmichele: during this same period Giovanni del Biondo produced an alterpiece with *St. John the Evangelist* for the altar of the Arte della Seta (silk-workers' guild) in Orsanmichele, while Lorenzo di Bicci produced one with *Saint Martin* for the Arte dei Vinattieri (vintners' guild); see Zervas, 1996, 633-634. Giovanni del Biondo's tempera measures 280 x 112 cm; that of Lorenzo di Bicci cm 195 x 100. These proportions are similar to those of Matteo di Pacino's panel, which is now shorn of its original gabled termination. The paintings of Giovanni del Biondo and Lorenzo di Bicci were removed from Orsanmichele in 1402 to be replaced by frescoes; the panels were probably transferred to the seats of their respective guilds or transferred by devotees to the cathedral.

3 Rudolf Bedó (1891-1978), Hungarian Jew, sent his whole collection for safekeeping to London in 1939 to escape the expropriations accompanying the racial persecutions. During the Second World War, following the alliance between Hungary and Germany, the British government, under the Trading with the Enemy Act, impounded the collection, which was placed on sale at the auction house Phillips in 1955. In 1978, Gabor Bedó, Rudolf's son, began legal proceedings for the identification and recuperation of the dispersed collection. Apart from Matteo di Pacino's painting, the collection also comprised a *Madonna and Child* of Jacopo di Cione, which was presented for sale at Sotheby's in London in 1985 (Martin, in Le Journal des Arts, No. 69, 23 October 1998).

4 On the history of this important collection see *Raleigh Exh. Cat.*, 1994, 13-35

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(a) Florentine school of the second half of the XIV century

1938 RAGGHIANTI, in CRIT. ARTE, III, I
Opera tipica e notevole di Nardo di Cione

1952 KAFTAL, 290, fig. 332

(b) *Gerinesque*

1960 RALEIGH EXH. CAT., 36

(c) *Master of the Rinuccini chapel… written opinions: G. Fiocco, R. Longhi, W. Suida, A. Venturi, as by the Rinuccini Master; F. F. M. Perkins, as by a Florentine XIV Century Master*

1963 WESCHER, in PANTHEON, XXI, 9
Meister der Rinuccini-Fresken

1963 BERENSON, I, 143, pl. 285
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1965 OFFNER - STEINWEG, CORPUS, Sec. IV, Vol. III, 116 n. 3
Master of the Prato Annunciation. Notes that the two Saints, painted in the Palazzo dei Priori at Volterra to the sides of an Annunciation with Saints Justus and Octavian, by Jacopo di Cione and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini in 1383, were particularly venerated in this city, because it was on their feast-day (27 September 1254) that an important treaty with Florence had been signed[5]

1966 SHAPLEY, 35-36, fig. 81

(d) *Master of the Rinuccini chapel …about 1370* Reports the written opinions of G. Fiocco, R. Longhi, W. E. Suida, A. Venturi and M. Boskovits who all agree that the painting should be attributed to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel. The latter scholar (letter to the museum of 13 April 1964) attributed the main panel to the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel, and the narrative scenes in the predella to an assistant.

1975 BOSKOVITS, 359
Matteo di Pacino, 1370-1375

1981 OFFNER, 50
Master of the Prato Annunciation

1988 BOSKOVITS, 147
Matteo di Pacino

1993 FIESOLE MUS. CAT., 95
Matteo di Pacino

1994 LORIA, 364
Maestro dell'Ashmolean Museum

1994 DUCHET-SUCHAUS - PASTOREAU,
Master of Rinuccini

2001 KWASTEK, 140
Meister der Rinuccini-kapelle

2006 LÉVY, VII
Master of the Rinuccini chapel

2006 CAMPBELL, VIII
Master of the Rinuccini chapel

2010 BINDMAN - LOUIS GATES, 353
Master of the Rinuccini chapel

PHOTOGRAPHS

New York, Murray K. Keyes; Museum photos.

[5] Maffei, 1886, 179. For representations of the two Saints prior to this date see *Corpus*, III/VI, 88 n. 2.

MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, VILLA LA PIETRA (Camera dei Genitori) PL. LXXVI
Inv. No. XLVIII.C.3

PANEL

Saint Blaise Visited in Prison by a Widow;[1] .265 x .295 x .25 m

STATE

The narrative scene is painted on a horizontally grained panel and is probably the fragment of a predella. The support shows signs of having been sawn, with a clear cut along both the vertical edges. Traces of gold can be noted along the right margin, probably part of a decorative frieze that separated the scene from its adjacent panel. The painting was restored in 1997 (Jean Dommermouth). The pictorial surface is fairly well preserved. A small area of colour loss, later retouched, can be detected in the forehead of the beggar standing to the back of the widow; other losses, also retouched, can be noted along the lower margin of the panel and here and there in the architectural backdrop to the scene.

HISTORY

In the early years of the twentieth century the painting was in Florence in the collection of Francesca Alexander (1837-1917).[2] In 1918 it was sold by her heirs to the Actons together with other paintings and thus came to furnish the Villa La Pietra, the Acton family home in Florence.[3] During the Second World War the painting, together with the rest of the collection, was confiscated and protected by the Monte dei Paschi di Siena, as attested by the red wax seal on the *verso*.

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1952 KAFTAL, 205, fig. 225
School of Orcagna

1981 OFFNER, 7
Master of the Golden Gate

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 35, fig. 13
Matteo di Pacino… il più sentito influsso delle opere contemporanee di Niccolò di Tommaso fa pensare ad un'esecuzione… già verso gli anni centrali dell'ottavo decennio

PHOTOGRAPHS

Brogi, Florence; SSPMF, 385698, 385703, 367712; New York University, Villa La Pietra, Florence.

[1] Kaftal, 1952, 205.

[2] Daughter of the American painter Francis Alexander (1800-1880) from whom she inherited his collection of painting and with whom she arrived in Florence in c. 1853 (information retrieved on December 2009 from www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/13981/Francesca-Alexander).

[3] Information on the painting's accession to the Acton collection was kindly furnished by Francesca Baldry, Collection manager at Villa La Pietra, New York University.
Hortense Mitchell (1871-1962), wife of Arthur Acton, acquired Villa La Pietra from the Incontri family, in 1907. In 1994, by the bequest of her son Harold, who died in that year, the Acton Collection became the property of New York University. See Acton, 1948; *Idem*, 1970; Gardner, 1998, I, 6.

scontornare

MATTEO DI PACINO

FLORENCE
GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA - *Inv. 1890 No. 460*

PANEL
Saint Aegidius giving alms,[1] .392 x .332 m;
[date: 1373-1374]

STATE
The panel is undoubtedly the fragment of a larger multi-part altarpiece. The support is formed of two vertically grained boards. The panel is now framed between two vertical fillets of wood. On the reverse the support reveals woodworm damage and has in part been thinned.
The painting was restored by G. Bisi (b) in 1957 and once again in 1966 (c). In a late nineteenth-century photograph (Brogi 7417) the pictorial surface appeared damaged by flaking pigment and small colour losses in the figure of the Saint. A larger area of colour loss in the upper right-hand corner had been masked by a coarse integration. Flaked pigment and retouches could also be detected along the lower margin. These retouches were eliminated during the later restoration and integrated with neutral colour.
Two early labels are preserved on the back of the panel: one with the number given to the painting in the 1880-1881 Uffizi Inventory (II Cat. No. 129), and the other, earlier in date, with the number "1591" written in dark ink.

HISTORY[2]
The painting is reported for the first time in the Inventory of the Galleria degli Uffizi of 1881 (a). It was transferred from the Uffizi to the Galleria dell'Accademia in 1933 (minute of 5 January 1933) (b).

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(a) *Ignoto toscano del sec. XIV*
1890 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., vol. II, 13, No. 460
Ignoto toscano del sec. XIV
1891 RIGONI, 88 n. 33
Ignoto toscano del sec. XIV
1899 PIERACCINI, 103 n. 33 (1901, 103 n. 33; 1910, 108 n. 33)
École toscane, XIVe siècle
1924 GARNERI, 447
Ignoto, XIV secolo
1936 PROCACCI, 39 (1951, 39)
Maestro fiorentino dell'ultimo quarto del sec. XIV... Non si è potuta rintracciare la provenienza del dipinto
1947 ANTAL, 226 n. 140
Close to the Rinuccini Master
1965 MARCUCCI, 96
(b) *Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… tarda attività, forse non poco dopo il '70, sia per qualche sua affinità con lo stile di Jacopo di Cione in quegli anni, sia per l'evidenza di una pratica pittorica ormai matura … faceva parte di un complesso maggiore, forse tra le "storie" laterali di un'immagine con l'intera figura di Sant'Antonio abate…*
1974 TCI FIRENZE, 238
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini
1975 BOSKOVITS, 358
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini… 1370-1375
1975 DIZ. BOLAFFI, VII, 289

[1] Kaftal, 1952, 452-457. See also oo in this volume.
[2] For a conjectural provenance of the painting from the men's ward in the Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova see in this volume oo.

Matteo di Pacino

1975 FREMANTLE, 202, fig. 406
Master of the Rinuccini Chapel

1979 BELLOSI, in FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 376, P 1038
Matteo di Pacino… 1365-1370 ca.

1981 OFFNER, 24
Rinuccini Master

1987 BONSANTI, 67
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini

1999 FALLETTI - ANGLANI, 92
Maestro della cappella Rinuccini

2001 KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHRB., LXII, 152-153
Matteo di Pacino

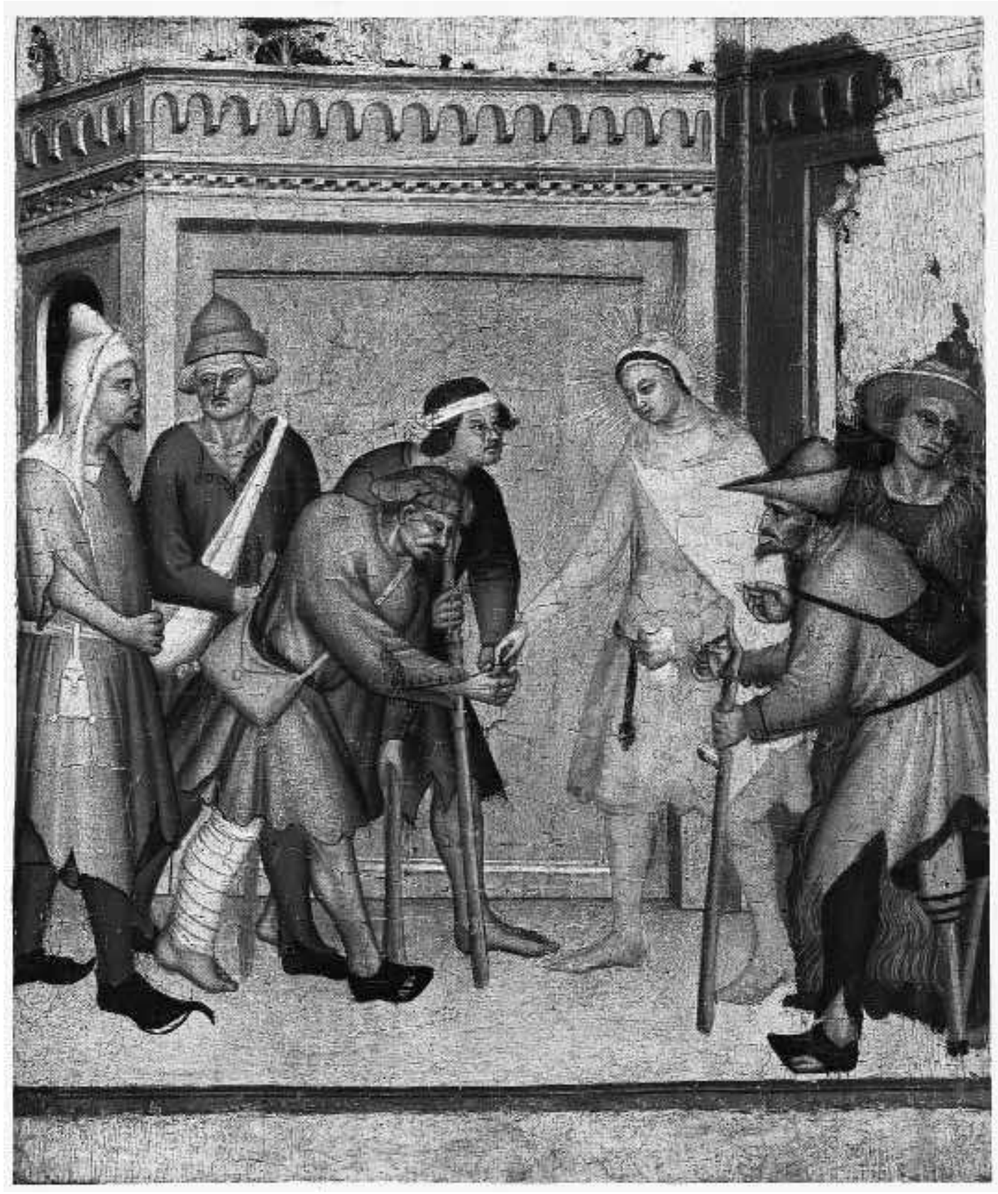
2003 FLORENCE MUS. CAT., 169-171

(c) *Matteo di Pacino… La materia pittorica più sfaldata e maggiormente fusa, sembra differenziarsi dalle forme più compatte del polittico dell'Accademia, trovando più puntuali riscontri negli affreschi della chiesa di San Donato in Polverosa a Firenze: si vedano… gli astanti sulla destra del Martirio di San Sebastiano, praticamente intercambiabili con i poveri che si serrano intorno al dipinto… sensibili rimandi ai modi di Jacopo di Cione … datazione più probabile intorno alla metà degli anni Settanta*

2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 35
Matteo di Pacino… marcate affinità stilistiche con la predella del polittico di San Pier Maggiore di Jacopo di Cione, ma risente anche dell'arte di Niccolò di Tommaso nel modellato e nella stesura pastosa del colore

PHOTOGRAPHS

SSPMF, Nos. 105050, 105232 (during the 1957 restoration); 105336 (after the restoration); 574095-574096; Brogi, Florence, 7417; Alinari, Florence, FIN-S-FIA000-0244.



MATTEO DI PACINO

LE MANS
MUSÉE DE TESSÉ - *Inv. No. 10.11*

PL. LXXVIII

PANEL
Saints James and Bartholomew; .259 x .187 m
[date: 1370-1374]

STATE
The painting, executed on a vertically grained panel, is probably the fragment of the shutter of a tabernacle, which has been cut along its top edge (eliminating its gable) and perhaps also along its other sides. Scratches and small colour losses can be noted on its pictorial surface, but it is on the whole well preserved. A larger loss, later retouched, can be noted in the tunic of St. James, over his breast.

HISTORY
The painting has been in the Musée de Tessé at Le Mans since 1863; it entered the museum with a provenance from the Evariste Fouret collection (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1863 PARIS SALE CAT., Hotel Druot,
(a) June 12, lot 208
Ancienne école de Sienne
1864 DUGASSEAU, 22 No. 8
Taddéo di Bartolo
1932 LE FEUVRE, 56 No. 88, fig. 288
Taddéo di Bartolo
1932 BERENSON, 274 (1936, 235; 1963, 105)
Jacopo di Cione
1975 BOSKOVITS, 359, fig. 59
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini… probabilmente frammento di un complesso più grande… 1365-1370
1981 OFFNER, 19
Master of the Ashmolean Predella… wing of a portable altarpiece
1996 TRIPPS, CORPUS,IV/VII-I, 33 n. 93
Matteo di Pacino
2001 KANTER, in WALL. - RICH. JAHRB., 152-153
Matteo di Pacino
2005 LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 31-32, 40 n. 51
Matteo di Pacino… opera realizzata sotto l'influsso di Giovanni da Milano e mostra contatti con il Maestro della Predella dell'Ashmolean Museum

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive; Giraudon, Paris, LA31006.

MATTEO DI PACINO[1]

PARIS
GALERIE JEAN-FRANÇOIS HEIM

PL. LXXIX[1]

PANEL
Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*) with instruments of the Passion;[2] .164 x .20 m

STATE
The panel formed part of the predella of a polyptych, of which one other fragment is known (one of the row of half-length saints that would have flanked the *Vir dolorum*) (pl. LXXIX[2]). The support, which is horizontally grained, shows signs of having been sawn through vertically on both margins of the panel and is also slightly cropped along the two horizontal sides. The condition of the pictorial surface is fairly good. Small retouches can be noted in the area of Christ's belly and in the gold ground. Larger integrations are visible along the upper and lower margins.

HISTORY
In 2007 the painting was with the Galleria Moretti (Florence).[3] In 2010 it was reported on the art market in Paris (Galerie Heim).[4]

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.

1 The attribution to Matteo di Pacino was verbally communicated by Miklós Boskovits to the Galleria Moretti (2007).
2 Jesus is portrayed down to his pelvis, dead, and with his hands crossed over his stomach, standing before the empty Tomb. The horizontal arm of the cross can be seen behind his back; the nails used to transfix his hands are still *in situ*; they have been reused as hooks on which to hang the hammer and pincers. On the iconography of the *Vir dolorum* and the instruments of the Passion see in this volume 00.
3 Verbal communication of Miklós Boskovits.
4 Communication kindly furnished to the Corpus of Florentine Painting by the panel's present owner.

MATTEO DI PACINO

MILAN
SALE

PL. LXXIX[2]

PANEL
Saint James Major, half length;[1] .16 x .20 m
[date: 1370-1374]

STATE
The panel formed part of the predella of a polyptych, of which one other fragment is known (pl. LXXIX[1]). The support has been cut along all four sides. The pictorial surface is worn, especially in the face of Saint James. The Saint's tunic has been extensively retouched. A large loss, later integrated, can be noted in the gold ground in the area of the halo.

HISTORY
The painting comes from a Lombard collection and was presented for sale in Milan in 1967 (a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1967 MILAN, Finarte, 1-9 March, lot 242
(a) *Allegretto Nuzi*
1975 BOSKOVITS, 359, fig. 53
Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini …
frammento di una predella, 1370-1375

PHOTOGRAPHS
Corpus, Archive.

[1] The identification of the saint is suggested by the physiognomic type and the pilgrim's staff that he holds in his right hand, the attribute of Saint James; see Kaftal, 1952, 507-518.

FURTHER ATTRIBUTIONS TO MATTEO DI PACINO[1]

AIX-EN-PROVENCE	Musée Granet, Inv. No. 860.1.187	Panel: Coronation of the Virgin, Annunciation, Nativity	OFFNER, 1981, 24 [DEIMLING, in PASQUINUCCI - DEIMLING, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 177-179: Master of Santa Verdiana (Tommaso del Mazza)]
AMSTERDAM	RIJKSMUSEUM, Inv. No. SK-C-1608	Triptych: Madonna and Child enthroned between Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Ansanus	MEISS, 1951, 53 n. 159 [BERENSON, in DEDALO, XI, 1930-1931, 986: Andrea Orcagna]
BUDAPEST	SZÉPMŰVÉSZETI MÚZEUM, Inv. No. 40	Predella panel: Adoration of the Magi	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [BOSKOVITS, 1975, 372: Master of the Ashmolean Predella]
CAMBRIDGE (MA)	FOGG ART MUSEUM, Inv. No. 1930.201	Predella panel: Adoration of the Magi	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [BOSKOVITS, 1975, 372: Master of the Ashmolean Predella]
CAMBRIDGE (MA)	FOGG ART MUSEUM, Inv. No. 1962.292	Panel: Saint Catherine of Alexandria and a Female Religious Saint	BOSKOVITS, 1975, 357[2] [BOSKOVITS, in *Corpus*, III/IX, 1984, 374 n. 2: Master of Barberino]

[1] This list includes works attributed by scholars to Matteo di Pacino but not accepted as such in this volume. The alternative attribution which seems more convincing to the author is added in brackets.

[2] This attribution was recently reaffirmed by Kanter, in *Wall.-Rich. Jahr.*, LXII, 2001, 153.

COLOGNE	WALLRAF-RICHARTZ MUSEUM, Graphische Sammlung M 184	Initial "I" with a Martyr Saint	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [Boskovits, in LENZA, in ARTE CRISTIANA, XCIII, 2005, 39 n. 24: Master of the Ashmolean Predella]
FIESOLE	MUSEO BANDINI	Predella panels: Nativity, Journey of the Magi, Circumcision, Massacre of the Innocents	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [OFFNER - STEINWEG, *Corpus*, IV/V, 1969, 78 n. 9: Master of the Ashmolean Museum]
FLORENCE	GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA No. 463	Panel: Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints Peter and Paul	MARCUCCI, 1965, 93 [BOSKOVITS, 1975, 202 n. 107: Master of the Misericordia]
FLORENCE	BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, Cor. 11, fols. 38r, 88r	Two historiated initials in an antiphonary: "A" with Saints, "E" with a Bishop Saint	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [BOSKOVITS, 1975, 373: Master of the Ashmolean Predella]
FLORENCE	BIBLIOTECA MEDICEA LAURENZIANA, Cor. 16, fol. 40v	Historiated initial in an antiphonary: "H" with the Madonna and Child, Saints and Angels	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [BOSKOVITS, 1975, 373: Master of the Ashmolean Predella]
FLORENCE	MUSEO DI SAN MARCO, Inv. No. 559	Illuminations in a psalter-hymnal	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [DEIMLING, in PASQUINUCCI - DEIMLING, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 216-222: Master of Santa Verdiana (Tommaso del Mazza)]

FLORENCE	MUSEO DI SAN MARCO, Inv. No. 560	Illuminations in a psalter-hymnal	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [DEIMLING, in PASQUINUCCI - DEIMLING, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 216-222: Master of Santa Verdiana (Tommaso del Mazza)]
HOUSTON	MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, Inv. No. 44.561	Predella panel: Meeting of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [BOSKOVITS, 1975, 374: Master of the Ashmolean Predella]
LONDON	ART MARKET	Panel: Saints Jerome and Julian	[Niccolò di Pietro Gerini]
LONDON	BRITISH LIBRARY, Add. MS. 38.896.1	Historiated initial: "E" with Christ and the Apostles	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [KANTER, in NEW YORK EXH. CAT. 1994, 191-193]
NEW YORK	METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, ROBERT LEHMAN COLLECTION, Inv. No. 1975.1.69	Triptych: Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints and, below, the Nativity; left shutter: the Angel of the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, the Man of Sorrows; right shutter: the Virgin Annunciate, Saints Onuphrius and Paphnutius	OFFNER, 1981, 25 [BOSKOVITS, in MITT. KIF, 1967, 34: Master of Santa Verdiana (Tommaso del Mazza)]
PARIS	MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, CABINET DES DESSINS, Inv. No. 1222	Drawing: Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple	OERTEL, in MITTEILUNGEN KIF, V, 1940, 236-238 [LADIS, 1982, 246: Follower of Taddeo Gaddi]

ROME	COLONNA COLLECTION	Panel: Madonna and Child with ten Saints and four Angels	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [BOSKOVITS, 1975, 375: Master of the Ashmolean Predella]
ROME	PINACOTECA VATICANA, Inv. No. 143	Triptych: Stories of the Passion of Christ	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [VOLPE, 1971, 20: Master of the Ashmolean Museum]
SANTA CROCE SULL'ARNO	PREPOSITURA DI SAN LORENZO, Cod. III, IV	Historiated initials of an antiphonary	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [DEIMLING, in PASQUINUCCI - DEIMLING, *Corpus*, IV/VIII, 2000, 211-215: Master of Santa Verdiana (Tommaso del Mazza)]
SIENA	COLLEZIONE CHIGI-SARACINI	Panel: Madonna and Child with eight Saints and four Angels	KANTER, in WALL.-RICH. JAHR., LXII, 2001, 153 [BOSKOVITS, 1975, 375: Master of the Ashmolean Predella]